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THE

# HISTORY OF ROME,

BY

TITUS LIVIUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL,

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

By GEORGE BAKER, A. M.

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History is Philosophy teaching by examples.—BOLINGBROKE.

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THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXVIII.

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Successful operations against the Carthaginians, in Spain, under Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and L. Scipio, his brother; of Sulpicius and Attalus, against Philip king of Macedonia. Scipio finally vanquishes the Carthaginians in Spain, and reduces that whole country; passes over into Africa; forms an alliance with Syphax king of Numidia; represses and punishes a mutiny of a part of his army; concludes a treaty of friendship with Masinissa; returns to Rome, and is elected consul: solicits Africa for his province, which is opposed by Quintus Fabius Maximus; is appointed governor of Sicily, with permission to pass over into Africa.

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I. At the time when, in consequence of Hasdrubal's removing his forces, Spain seemed to be relieved of so much of the burden of the war as had been thrown upon Italy, hostilities suddenly revived there with the same violence as before. The possessions of the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain, at that time, were thus situated: Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, had withdrawn quite to the ocean and Gades; the coast of our sea, and almost all that part of Spain which lies to the eastward, was under the power of Scipio, and the dominion of the Romans. Hanno, the new general, who had come over from Africa with a new army, in the room of Hasdrubal Barcas, and joined Mago, having quickly armed a great number of men in Celtiberia (an inland province, equidistant from both seas,) Scipio, to oppose him, sent Marcus Silanus with only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. Silanus proceeded with all possible expedition; and though his march was impeded by the ruggedness of the roads, and by defiles surrounded with thick woods, which are met with in most parts of Spain, yet, taking for guides some of the natives, who had deserted from Celtiberia, he came up with the Carthaginians before any messenger, or even any report of his approach, had reached them. From deserters he also received information,

when he was about ten miles distant from the enemy, that they had two camps, one on each side of the road in which he was marching; that the Celtiberans, who were newly-raised forces, amounting to more than nine thousand men, formed the camp on the left, the Carthaginians that on the right; that the latter was strong, and secured by outposts, watches, and every regular military guard: the other disorderly, and negligently guarded, being composed of barbarians, who were but lately enlisted, and were under the less apprehension because they were in their own country. Silanus, resolving to charge this division first, ordered the troops to direct their course a great way to the left, so as not to come within view of the posts of the Carthaginians; and having despatched scouts before him, he advanced in a brisk march to attack the enemy.

II. He had arrived within about three miles, and not one of the enemy had yet descried him; craggy rocks, interspersed with thick bushes, covered the hills. Here, in a valley so deep as to be out of the way of observation, he ordered his men to halt, and take refreshment: the scouts in the meantime arrived, confirming the intelligence given by the deserters. On this the Romans, collecting the baggage into the centre, armed themselves, and moved



forward in regular order. At the distance of a mile they were perceived by the enemy, among whom their appearance immediately created much hurry and confusion. On the first shout, Mago rode up in full speed from his camp. Now there were, in the Celtiberian army, four thousand targeteers, and two hundred horsemen; this regular legion (and it was almost the whole of their strength) he placed in the first line; the rest, who were lightly armed, he posted in reserve. While he was leading them out of the camp in this order, and when they had scarcely got clear of the rampart, the Romans discharged their javelins at them; these the Spaniards stooped to avoid, and then the enemy rose to discharge their own; which, when the Romans, in close array, had received on their conjoined shields, in their accustomed manner, they immediately closed foot to foot, and had recourse to their swords to determine the contest. But the unevenness of the ground, at the same time that it rendered their agility useless to the Celtiberians, who practise a desultory method of fighting, was no disadvantage to the Romans, accustomed to a steady fight, except that the narrow passes, and the bushes interspersed, disordered their ranks, and obliged them to engage one against one, or two against two, as if they had been matched for the combat. The same circumstance which prevented the enemy from flying, delivered them up, as if in fetters, to slaughter. The targeteers of the Celtiberians being thus almost entirely cut off, the light troops and the Carthaginians, who had come from the other camp to support them, were quickly routed and put to the sword. About two thousand foot, and all the cavalry fled with Mago at the very onset. Hanno, the other general, and those who came up last, after the battle was decided, were taken alive. Almost the whole of the cavalry, and what veteran infantry they had, following Mago in his flight, came on the tenth day to Hasdrubal in the province of Gades: the Celtiberian soldiers, being newly levied, dispersed into the neighbouring woods, and thence escaped to their respective homes. By this seasonable victory, was suppressed a war, which was not of so much importance on account of its present magnitude, as of its being a foundation from which one much more considerable might have arisen, had the enemy been allowed, after having roused the Celtiberians to arms, to persuade the other states to

join in the same cause. Scipio, therefore, having bestowed liberal commendations on Silanus, and seeing reason to hope that he might be able to finish the dispute at once by exerting himself with proper activity, advanced into Farther Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian, (who happened at that time to have his army in Bætica, for the purpose of securing the fidelity of his allies in that country,) decamping hastily, led it away, in a manner much more resembling a flight than a march, quite to the ocean and Gades. He was fearful, however, that as long as he kept his forces together, he should be considered as the primary object of the enemy's operations. Before he passed over the strait to Gades, he therefore dispersed them into the different cities; in the view, likewise, that they might provide for their own safety by help of walls, and for that of the towns by their arms.

III. When Scipio found that the enemy's troops were thus widely scattered, and that the carrying about his own to each of the several cities would be a very tedious if not difficult work, he marched back his army. Unwilling, however, to leave the possession of all that country to the Carthaginians, he sent his brother, Lucius Scipio, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to lay siege to the most considerable city in those parts, called by the barbarians Orinx, situate on the borders of the Milesians, a Spanish nation so called—a desirable spot, the adjacent parts affording mines of silver, and the soil being fruitful. This place served Hasdrubal as a fortress, whence he used to make incursions on the states around. Scipio encamped near to it. Before raising his works of circumvallation, however, he sent some persons to the gates to try the disposition of the inhabitants in a conference, and to recommend to them rather to make trial of the friendship than the power of the Romans. As their answers showed no inclination to peace, he surrounded the city with a trench and a double rampart; breaking his army into three parts, in order that one division might always carry on the attack while the other two rested. When the first of these began the assault, the contest was furious and desperate: it was with the greatest difficulty that they could approach, or bring up the ladders to the walls, on account of the showers of weapons which fell upon them; and even of those who had raised them, some were tumbled down with



forks made for the purpose, others found themselves in danger of being caught by iron grapples, and of being dragged up on the wall. When Scipio saw that his men were too few to make an impression, and that the enemy, from the advantage of their works, had even the better of the dispute, he called off the first division, and attacked with the two others at once. This struck such terror into the besieged, already fatigued, that not only the townsmen quickly forsook the walls, but the Carthaginian garrison, fearing that the town had been betrayed, likewise left their posts and collected themselves into a body. The inhabitants, upon this, were seized with apprehensions lest the enemy, if they broke into the town, should put to the sword every one they met without distinction, whether Carthaginian or Spaniard. They instantly, therefore, threw open one of the gates, and rushed out of the town in crowds, holding their shields before them, lest any weapons should be cast at them, and stretching out their right hands expanded, to show that they had thrown away their swords. Whether this latter circumstance was unobserved on account of the distance, or whether some stratagem was suspected, is uncertain; but the deserters were attacked as enemies, and put to death. Through this gate the troops marched into the city in hostile array. The other gates were broken open with axes and sledges, and as soon as the horsemen entered, they galloped forward to secure the forum, for such were the orders; the veterans also were joined to the horse to support them. The legionary soldiers spread themselves all over the city, but neither slew nor plundered any, except those who stood on their defence. All the Carthaginians were put into confinement, with above three hundred of the inhabitants who had shut the gates; the rest had the town delivered up to them, and their effects restored. There fell in the assault, of the enemy, about two thousand; of the Romans, not more than ninety.

IV. As the capture of this city afforded matter of much exultation to those engaged in it, so it rendered their approach to the camp a magnificent spectacle to the general and the rest of the army, on account of the immense crowd of prisoners which they drove before them. Scipio having declared his approbation of his brother's conduct, and in the highest strains extolled his taking of Orinx as equal

to his own taking of Carthage, led back his forces into Hither Spain. The approach of winter put it out of his power either to make an attempt on Gades, or to pursue the army of Hasdrubal, now dispersed in all parts of the province. Dismissing, therefore, the legions to their winter quarters, and sending his brother, Lucius Scipio, with Hanno, the enemy's general, and other prisoners of distinction, to Rome, he himself retired to Tarraco. During the same year, the Roman fleet, under Marcus Valerius Lævinus, proconsul, sailing over from Sicily to Africa, made extensive devastations in the territories of Utica and Carthage, carrying off plunder from the remotest bounds of the Carthaginian territory, even from under the very walls of Utica. On their return to Sicily, they were met by a Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy ships of war; seventeen of these they took, and sunk four; the rest were beaten and dispersed. The Romans, victorious by land and sea, returned to Lilybæum, with immense booty of every kind. The sea being thus cleared of the enemy, abundance of provision was brought to Rome.

V. In the beginning of the summer, during which these transactions passed, Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, and king Attalus, after having wintered at Ægina as mentioned above, united their fleets, consisting of twenty-three Roman five-banked galleys, and thirty-five belonging to the king, and sailed from thence to Lemnos. Philip also, that he might be prepared for every sort of exertion, whether he should have occasion to oppose the enemy on land or sea, came down to the coast of Demetrias, and appointed a day for his army to assemble at Larissa. On the news of the king's arrival, embassies from his allies came to Demetrias from all sides; for the Ætolians, elated both by their alliance with the Romans, and by the approach of Attalus, were ravaging the neighbouring states. Not only the Acarnanians, Bœotians, and Eubœans, were under violent apprehensions, but the Achæans also were kept in terror, as well by the hostilities of the Ætolians, as by Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, who had pitched his camp at a small distance from the borders of the Argives. All these representing the dangers both on land and sea, with which their several possessions were threatened, implored the king's assistance. Philip, even from his own kingdom, received accounts that affairs there



were not in a state of tranquillity; that both Scerdilædus and Pleuratus were in motion; and that some of the Thracians, particularly the Mædians, would certainly make incursions into the adjoining provinces of Macedonia, if the king should be employed in a distant war. The Bœotians, indeed, and the people of the inland parts of Greece, informed him that, in order to prevent them from passing to the assistance of the allied states, the straits of Thermopylæ, where the road is confined, and contracted to a very narrow breadth, had been shut up by the Ætolians with a ditch and a rampart. Such a number of disturbances on all sides were sufficient to rouse even an indolent leader: he dismissed the ambassadors with promises of assisting them all, as time and circumstances would permit. He sent to Peparethus a garrison for the city, a business which required the utmost despatch, accounts having been received from thence, that Attalus had sailed over from Lemnos, and was ravaging all the country round. He despatched Polyphantas, with a small number of forces to Bœotia; and likewise Menippus, one of the officers of his guards, with one thousand targeteers, (the target is not unlike the common buckler,) to Chalcis. Agrianum was reinforced with five hundred men, that all parts of the island might be secured. He himself went to Scotussa, ordering the Macedonian troops to be brought over thither from Larissa. He was there informed that the Ætolians had been summoned to an assembly at Heraclea, and that king Attalus was to come to consult with them on the conduct of the war. Resolving to disturb this meeting by his sudden approach, he led his army by forced marches to Heraclea, and arrived there just after the assembly had been dismissed. However, he destroyed the crops, which were almost ripe, particularly round the Ænian bay. He then led back his forces to Scotussa, and leaving there the body of his army, retired with the royal guards to Demetrias. That he might be in readiness to meet every effort of the enemy, he sent people from hence to Phocis, and Eubœa, and Peparethus, to choose out elevated situations, where fires being lighted, might be seen from afar. He fixed a beacon on Tisæum, a mountain whose summit is of an immense height, that by means of lights on these eminences, whenever the enemy made any attempt, he might, though distant, receive instant intelligence of it. The

Roman general and king Attalus passed over from Peparethus to Nicæa, and from thence sailed to the city of Orcus, which is the first city of Eubœa, on the left, on the way from the bay of Demetrias to Chalcis and the Euripus.

VI. It was concerted between Attalus and Sulpicius, that the Romans should assault the town on the side next the sea, and at the same time make an attack on the king's forces on the land side. Four days after the arrival of the fleet, the operations began. The intermediate time had been spent in private conferences with Plator, who had been appointed by Philip to the command of the place. There are two citadels, one hanging over the coast, the other in the middle of the town, and from this there is a subterraneous passage to the ocean, the entrance of which, next to the sea; is covered with a strong fortification, a tower five stories in height. Here the contest first commenced, and that with the utmost violence, the tower being well stored with all kinds of weapons; these, with engines and machines for the assault, having been landed from the ships. While the attention and eyes of all were drawn to that side, Plator, opening one of the gates, received the Romans into the citadel next the sea, of which they became masters in a moment. The inhabitants, driven thence, fled to the other citadel in the middle of the city; but troops had been posted there, to keep the gates shut against them, so that, being thus excluded and surrounded, they were all either slain or taken prisoners. In the meantime the Macedonian garrison making no resistance, stood in a compact body under the walls. These men Plator (having obtained leave from Sulpicius) embarked in some ships, and landed them at Demetrias in Phthiotis; he himself withdrew to Attalus. Sulpicius, elated by his success at Oreum, so easily obtained, proceeded with his victorious fleet to Chalcis, where the issue by no means answered his expectations. The sea, from being pretty wide at each side, is here contracted into a strait so very narrow, that at first view the whole appears like two harbours facing the two entrances of the Euripus. A more dangerous station for a fleet can hardly be found; for besides that the winds rush down suddenly, and with great fury, from the high mountains on each side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day at

stated hours, as report says; but the current, changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain; so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet. But, besides the perilous situation in which his fleet lay, he found that the town was firm and impregnable; surrounded on one side by the sea, extremely well fortified by land on the other; secured by a strong garrison, and, above all, by the fidelity of the commanders and principal inhabitants; which character those at Oreum had not supported with honour or steadiness. The Roman, in a business rashly undertaken, acted so far prudently, that, when he had seen all the difficulties attending it, not to waste time, he quickly desisted from the attempt, removing with his fleet from thence to Cynus in Locris, the landing-place for the city of Opus, which lies at the distance of a mile from the sea.

VII. Philip had received notice from Oreum by the signal fires; but, through the treachery of Plator, it was too late when they were raised on the beacons, and as he was not a match for the enemy at sea, it was difficult for him to approach the island; he hesitated, therefore, and took no part in that business. To the relief of Chalcis he flew with alacrity, as soon as he perceived the signal. For though Chalcis stands on the same island, yet the strait which separates it from the continent is so narrow, that there is a communication between them by a bridge, and the approach to it is easier by land than by water. Philip, therefore, having gone from Demetrias to Scotussa, and setting out thence at the third watch, dislodged the guard, routed the Ætolians who kept possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, and drove the dismayed enemy to Heraclea, accomplishing in one day a march of above sixty miles to Elatia in Phocis. About the same time the city of Opus was taken and plundered by Attalus. Sulpicius had given it up to the king, because Oreum had been sacked a few days before by the Roman soldiers, and his men had received no share. After the Roman fleet had retired to Oreum, Attalus, not apprised of Philip's approach, wasted time in levying contributions from the principal inhabitants; and so unexpected was his coming, that, had not some Cretans, who happened to go in quest of forage farther from the town than usual, espied the enemy, he might have been surprised.

Without arms, and in the utmost confusion, he fled precipitately to his ships. Just as they were putting off from the land, Philip came up, and though he did not advance from the shore, yet his arrival caused a good deal of confusion among the mariners. From thence he returned to Opus, inveighing against gods and men for his disappointment in having the opportunity of striking so important a blow thus snatched from him, and when almost within reach of his arm. The Opuntians, also, he rebuked in angry terms, because, although they might have prolonged the siege until he arrived, yet they had immediately, on sight of the enemy, made almost a voluntary surrender. Having put affairs at Opus in order, he proceeded thence to Thronium. On the other side, Attalus at first retired to Oreum, but having heard there that Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his kingdom, he laid aside all attention to the affairs of the Romans and the Ætolian war, and passed over into Asia. Sulpicius, too, withdrew his fleet to Ægina, from whence he had set out in the beginning of spring. Philip found as little difficulty in possessing himself of Thronium, as Attalus had met at Opus. This city was inhabited by foreigners, natives of Thebes in Phthiotis, who, when their own was taken by the Macedonian, had fled for protection to the Ætolians, and had obtained from them a settlement in this place, which had been laid waste and deserted in the former war with the same Philip. After recovering Thronium in the manner related, he continued his route; and, having taken Tritonos and Drymæ, considerable towns of Doris, he came thence to Elatia, where he had ordered the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. While they were deliberating there on the method of putting an end to the Ætolian war, (for the ambassadors had been present at the late assembly of the Romans and Ætolians at Heraclea,) news was brought that Machanidas intended to attack the people of Elis while they were busied in preparations for solemnizing the Olympic games. Judging it incumbent on him to prevent such an attempt, he dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, that "he had neither given cause for the war, nor would give any obstruction to a peace, provided it could be procured on just and honourable terms:" then, proceeding through Bœotia by quick marches, he came down to Megara, and from thence to Corinth; and, receiving there



supplies of provision, repaired to Phlius and Pheneus. When he had advanced as far as Heræa, intelligence was brought him that Machanidas, terrified at the account of his approach, had retreated to Lacedæmon; on which he withdrew to Ægium, where the Achæans were assembled in council, expecting at the same time to meet there a Carthaginian fleet which he had sent for, in order that he might be able to undertake some enterprise by sea. But the Carthaginians had left that place a few days before, and were gone to the Oxean islands, and from thence, (on hearing that the Romans and Attalus had left Oreum,) to the harbours of the Acarnanians; for they apprehended that an attack was intended against themselves, and that they might be overpowered while within the straits of Rhios (so the entrance of the Corinthian bay is called.)

VIII. Philip was filled with grief and vexation when he found that, although he had, on all occasions, made the most spirited and speedy exertions, yet fortune had baffled his activity, by snatching away every advantage when he had it within his view. In the assembly, however, concealing his chagrin, he spoke with great confidence, appealing to gods and men, that "at no time or place had he ever been remiss; that wherever the sound of the enemy's arms was heard, thither he had instantly repaired; but that it could hardly be determined, whether, in the management of the war, his forwardness or the enemy's cowardice was more conspicuous; in such a dastardly manner had Attalus slipped out of his hands from Opus; Sulpicius from Chalcis; and in the same way within these few days, Machanidas. That flight, however, did not always succeed; and that a war should not be accounted difficult, in which victory would be certain if the foe could be brought to a regular engagement. One advantage, however, and that of the first magnitude, he had already acquired: the confession of the enemy themselves, that they were not a match for him; and in a short time," he said, "he should have to boast of undoubted conquest; for whenever the enemy would meet him in the field, they should find the issue no better than they seemed to expect." This discourse of the king was received by the allies with great pleasure. He then gave up to the Achæans Heræa and Triphylia. Aliphera he restored to the Megalopolitans, they having produced sufficient evidence that it belonged to their ter-

ritories. Having received some vessels from the Achæans, three galleys of four, and three of two banks of oars, he sailed to Anticyra; from thence, with seven ships of five banks, and above twenty barks, which he had sent to the bay of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he proceeded to Erythræ, a town of the Ætolians near Eupalium, and there made a descent. He was not unobserved by the Ætolians; for all who were either in the fields, or in the neighbouring forts of Apollonia and Potidania, fled to the woods and mountains. The cattle, which they could not drive off in their hurry, were seized and put on board. With these, and the other booty, he sent Nicias, prætor to the Achæans, to Ægium; and going to Corinth he ordered his army to march by land through Bœotia, while he himself, sailing from Cenchrea, along the coast of Attica, round the promontory of Sunium, reached Chalcis, after passing almost through the middle of the enemy's fleet. Having highly commended the fidelity and bravery of the inhabitants, in not suffering either fear or hope to influence their minds, and having exhorted them to persevere in maintaining the alliance with the same constancy, if they preferred their present situation to that of the inhabitants of Oreum and Opus, he sailed to Oreum; and having there conferred the direction of affairs, and the command of the city, on such of the chief inhabitants as had chosen to fly rather than surrender to the Romans, he sailed over from Eubœa to Demetrias, from whence he had at first set out to assist his allies. Soon after, he laid the keels of one hundred ships of war at Cassandria, collecting a great number of ship-carpenters to finish the work; and, as the seasonable assistance which he had afforded his allies in their distress, and the departure of Attalus, had restored tranquillity in the affairs of Greece, he withdrew into his own kingdom, with an intention of making war on the Dardanians.

IX. Towards the end of the summer, during which these transactions passed in Greece, Quintus Fabius, son of Maximus, who served as lieutenant-general, brought a message from Marcus Livius, the consul, to the senate at Rome, in which he gave it as his opinion, that Lucius Porcius with his legions was sufficient to secure the province of Gaul, and that he himself might depart thence, and the consular army be withdrawn. On which the senate or-

dered not only Marcus Livius, but his colleague also, Caius Claudius, to return to the city. In their decree, they made only this difference—that Marcus Livius's army be withdrawn, but that Nero's legions remain in the province to oppose Hannibal. It had been concerted between the consuls, by letter, that as they had had been of one mind in the management of affairs, so they should arrive together at one time in the city, though they were to come from different quarters; whichever came first to Præneste, being directed to wait there for his colleague. It so happened that they both arrived at that town on the same day; and then, having sent forward a proclamation, requiring a full meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona, on the third day after, they advanced towards the city, from whence the whole multitude poured out to meet them. The surrounding crowds were not satisfied with saluting them, though but at a little distance; each pressed eagerly forward to touch the victorious hands of the consuls; some congratulating, others giving them thanks for having, by their valour, procured safety to the state. In the senate, having given a recital of their exploits, according to the usual practice of commanders of armies, they demanded that, “on account of their bravery and success in the conduct of affairs, due honours might be paid to the immortal gods; and they themselves allowed to enter the city in triumph.” To which the senate answered, that “they decreed with pleasure the matters contained in their demand, as a proper return, due, first to the gods, and, after the gods, to the consuls.” A thanksgiving in the name of both, and a triumph to each, had been decreed; the consuls, however, wishing that, as their sentiments had been united during the course of the war, their triumphs should not be separated, came to this agreement between themselves,—that, “inasmuch as the business had been accomplished within the province of Marcus Livius, and as, on the day whereon the battle was fought, it happened to be his turn to command, and as the army of Livius had been withdrawn and was now at Rome, while Nero's could not be withdrawn from the province; it should on all these accounts be ordered that Marcus Livius make his entry in a chariot, drawn by four horses attended by the troops; Caius Claudius Nero, on horseback, without troops.” As the uniting of their triumphs in this manner enhanced the glory of both the consuls, so it re-

flected peculiar honour on him who condescended to appear in the procession, as much inferior to his colleague in magnificence, as he was superior to him in merit. People said, that “the commander on horseback had, in the space of six days, traversed the extent of Italy, and had fought a pitched battle with Hasdrubal in Gaul, on the very day when Hannibal imagined he was lying in his camp opposite to him in Apulia; that thus this single consul (equal to the defence of both extremities of Italy against two armies and two generals) had opposed against one, his skill; against the other, his person. That the very name of Nero had been sufficient to confine Hannibal to his camp; and as to Hasdrubal, by what other means than by the arrival of Nero had he been overwhelmed and cut off? The other consul, therefore, might proceed in his stately chariot; he was drawn, indeed, by a number of horses, but the real triumph belonged to him who had only one; and that Nero, though he should go on foot, deserved to be for ever celebrated, both for having acquired so much glory in the war, and shown so much indifference to the pompous display of it in the present procession.” With such encomiums did the spectators attend Nero through his whole progress to the capitol. The consuls carried to the treasury three hundred thousand sesterces<sup>1</sup> in money, and eighty thousand *asses*<sup>2</sup> of brass; to the soldiers, Marcus Livius distributed fifty-six *asses*<sup>3</sup> each. Caius Claudius promised the same sum to his absent troops, as soon as he should return to the army. It was remarked, that the soldiers, on that day, directed more of their military songs and verses to Caius Claudius than to their own commander; that the horsemen distinguished Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, lieutenant-generals, by extraordinary praises, exhorting the commons to appoint them consuls for the next year; and that both Livius and Nero added their authority to this recommendation, representing next day in the assembly the bravery and fidelity which the said lieutenant-generals had manifested in the service.

X. When the time of the elections arrived, as it had been determined that they should be held by a dictator, the consul Caius Claudius nominated his colleague Marcus Livius to that office. Livius appointed Quintus Cæcilius master of the horse. By Marcus Livius were



elected consuls, Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, who was then master of the horse. The election of prætors was next held; there were appointed Caius Servilius, Marcus Cæcilius Metellus, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, and Quintus Mamilius Turinus, at that time plebeian ædile. When the elections were finished, the dictator, having laid down his office, and dismissed his army, set out for his province of Etruria, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, in order to make inquiries, what states of the Tuscans or Umbrians had, on the approach of Hasdrubal, formed schemes of revolting to him from the Romans; or who had afforded him men, provisions, or any kind of aid. Such were the transactions of that year at home and abroad. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule ædiles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. . . The plebeian games also were once repeated entire by the plebeian ædiles, Manius Pomponius Matho, and Quintus Mamilius Thurinus. [Y. R. 546. B. C. 206.] In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, when Lucius Veturius Philo, and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, were consuls, they were both appointed to the province of Bruttium, to conduct the war against Hannibal. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces; the business of the city fell to Marcus Cæcilius Metellus; the jurisdiction in relation to foreigners, to Quintus Mamilius; Sicily, to Caius Servilius; and Sardinia, to Tiberius Claudius. The armies were thus distributed: to one of the consuls, that which had been under Caius Claudius, the consul of the former year; to the other, that which had been under Quintus Claudius, prætor; they consisted each of two legions. It was decreed that Marcus Livius proconsul, whose command had been prolonged for a year, should receive two legions of volunteer slaves from Caius Terentius, prætor in Etruria; and that Quintus Mamilius should transfer his judicial employment to his colleague, and take the command in Gaul with the army which had belonged to Lucius Porcius, prætor; orders at the same time being given him to lay waste the lands of the Gauls, who had revolted on the approach of Hasdrubal. The protection of Sicily was given in charge to Caius Servilius, with the two legions of Cannæ, as Caius Mamilius had held it. From Sardinia, the old army which had served under Aulus Hostilius, was brought home; and the consuls levied a

new legion, which Tiberius Claudius was to carry with him. Quintus Claudius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus were continued in command for a year, that the former might hold Tarentum as his province, the latter Capua. Marcus Valerius, proconsul, who had been intrusted with the defence of the sea-coasts round Sicily, was ordered to deliver thirty ships to Caius Servilius, and to return home with all the rest of the fleet.

XI. While the public was under much anxiety, on account of the great danger and importance of the war, and ever apt to refer to the gods the causes of all their successes and disappointments, accounts were propagated of a number of prodigies: that at Tarracina, the temple of Jupiter; at Satricum, that of mother Matuta, had been struck by lightning; the people being also greatly terrified by two snakes creeping into the former unperceived through the very door. From Antium it was reported that ears of corn had appeared bloody to the reapers. At Cære, a pig had been littered with two heads, and a lamb yeaned which was of both sexes. It was said also, that two suns had been seen at Alba, and that light had burst forth on a sudden during the night-time at Fregellæ. An ox, it was asserted, had spoken in the neighbourhood of Rome; and a profuse sweat had flowed from the altar of Neptune, in the Flaminian circus; and also, that the temples of Ceres, Safety, and Romulus, were struck by lightning. These prodigies the consuls were ordered to expiate with the greater victims, and to perform a solemn supplication to the gods during one day; all which was strictly observed in pursuance of a decree of the senate. But what struck more terror into men's minds than all these ominous and preternatural appearances, at home or abroad, was the extinction of the fire in the temple of Vesta, and for which the vestal who had the watch for that night was whipped to death by order of the pontiff Publius Licinius. Although this extinction was occasioned, not by the gods directing it as a portent, but by the negligence of a human being, yet it was thought proper that it should be expiated by the greater victims, and that a supplication should be solemnized at the temple of Vesta. Before the consuls set out to the campaign, they received directions from the senate, to "take measures to make the common people return to their lands in the country, where they might



now reside in safety, as, by the favour of the gods, the war had been removed to a distance from the city of Rome, and from Latium; for it was quite inconsistent to pay more attention to the cultivation of Sicily than to that of Italy." It was however, no easy matter to obtain a compliance with this injunction: the labourers of free condition were most of them lost in the war, slaves were scarce, the cattle had been carried off in booty, and their dwellings thrown down and burnt. Nevertheless a great number, compelled by the authority of the consuls, returned as directed. The mention of this affair had been occasioned by deputies from Placentia and Cremona, who complained that incursions were made on them by the neighbouring Gauls; that a great part of their settlers had dispersed; that their cities were thinly inhabited, and their territory waste and deserted. A charge was given to the prætor Mamilius, to protect the colonies from the enemy. The consuls, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, issued an edict, that all the citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return before a certain day to those colonies; and then, in the beginning of the spring, they set out to carry on the war. Quintus Cæcilius, consul, received his army from Caius Nero; Lucius Veturius, his, from Quintus Claudius, prætor, he filling it up with the new levies which himself had raised. They led their forces into the territory of Consentia. Here, having made great ravages, the troops, now loaded with spoil, were thrown into such confusion, in a narrow pass, by some Bruttians and Numidian spearmen, that not only that spoil, but themselves were in extreme danger. However, there was more tumult than fighting; the booty was sent forward, and the legions without loss made their way to places of safety. From thence they advanced against the Lucanians, which whole nation returned, without a contest, into subjection to the Roman people.

XII. No action took place during that year between them and Hannibal; for the Carthaginian, after the deep wound so lately given both to his own private, and to the public welfare, cautiously avoided throwing himself in their way; and the Romans did not choose to rouse him from his inactivity: such powers did they suppose that leader possessed of, in his single person, though all things round him were falling into ruin. In truth, I know not whether he was more deserving of admiration in

adversity or in prosperity; considering, that, though he carried on war for thirteen years, and that in an enemy's territory so far from home, with various success, with an army, not composed of his own countrymen, but made up of the refuse of all nations, who had neither law, nor custom, nor language in common; who were of different stature, had different garb, different arms, different rites, and almost different gods; yet he so bound them together by some common tie, that, neither among themselves nor against their commander, did any sedition ever appear, although, in a hostile country, he often wanted both money to pay them, and provisions also,—wants which, in the former Punic war, had occasioned many distressful scenes between the generals and their men. But after the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, on whom he had reposed all his hopes of victory; and when he had given up the possession of all the rest of Italy, and withdrawn into a corner of Bruttium, must it not appear wonderful to all, that no disturbance arose in his camp? For there was this afflicting circumstance in addition to all his other difficulties, that he had no hope of being able even to procure food for his soldiers, except from the lands of Bruttium; which, if they were entirely under tillage, were too small for the support of so large an army. Besides, the war had employed a great part of the young men, and carried them away from the cultivation of the grounds; a base practice likewise prevailing through the whole nation, of making plundering excursions on every side; nor were there any remittances made him from home, where the whole attention of the public was engaged in endeavouring to keep possession of Spain, as if affairs in Italy were all in a state of prosperity. In the former, the fortune of the parties was, in one respect, the same; in another, widely different: the same so far, that the Carthaginians, being defeated in battle, and having lost their general, had been driven to the remotest coast of the country, even to the ocean; but different in this, that Spain, in the nature both of the ground and of the inhabitants, affords greater conveniences for reviving a war, not only than Italy, but than any other part of the world; and that was the reason, that although this was the first of all the provinces on the continent in which the Romans got footing, yet it was the last subdued; and that not until the present age, under the conduct and

auspices of Augustus Cæsar. In this country Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, a general of the greatest abilities and character next to the Barcine family, returning now from Gades, and being encouraged to a renewal of the war by Mago, the son of Hamilcar, armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, by levies made in the farther Spain. In the number of his cavalry authors are pretty well agreed; of the infantry, according to some, there were seventy thousand led to the city of Silpia. There the two Carthaginian generals sat down in an extensive plain, determined not to avoid a battle.

XIII. When Scipio received the account of this army being assembled, he saw plainly, that with the Roman legions alone, he could not oppose so great a multitude; nor without using the auxiliary troops of the barbarians, at least for the purpose of making a show of strength; but that, at the same time, it was highly improper that they should compose such a proportion of his force as might enable them, by changing sides, to produce consequences of importance—an event which had caused the destruction of his father and uncle. Sending forward, therefore, Silanus to Colca, who was sovereign of twenty-eight towns, to receive from him the horse and foot which he had engaged to raise during the winter; he set out himself from Tarraco, and collecting small bodies of auxiliaries from the allies who lay near his road, proceeded to Castulo. Hither Silanus brought three thousand auxiliary foot, and five hundred horse. From thence he advanced to the city of Bæcula, his army amounting, in the whole of his countrymen and allies, horse and foot, to forty-five thousand. While they were forming their camp, Mago and Masinissa, with the whole of their cavalry, made an attack on them, and would have dispersed the workmen, had not some horsemen whom Scipio had concealed behind a hill, conveniently situated for the purpose, suddenly rushed out as they advanced to the charge. These, at the first onset, routed all who had pushed on foremost against the men employed in the fortification. The contest with the rest, who advanced on their march drawn up in regular order, was longer and for some time doubtful. But the light cohorts from the outposts, the soldiers called off from the works, and afterwards greater numbers, who were ordered to take arms, came up fresh, and engaged the wearied enemy. At

the same time, a large body rushed in arms from the camp to battle. The Carthaginians and Numidians then fairly turned their backs; and though at first they retreated in troops, and without breaking their ranks, yet when the Romans fell furiously on their rear, they thought no more of order, but fled precipitately, and dispersed into such places as each found convenient. Although by this battle the spirits of the Romans were somewhat raised, and those of the enemy depressed, yet for several following days the horsemen and light troops were continually engaged in skirmishes.

XIV. After making trial of their strength in these slight engagements, Hasdrubal led out his forces to the field; then the Romans marched out. Both armies stood in order of battle under their respective ramparts, neither party choosing to begin the attack; when it was near sunset, the Carthaginians first, and then the Romans, marched back into camp. They acted in the same manner for several days, the Carthaginian always drawing out his troops first, and first giving the signal of retreat, when they were fatigued with standing. Neither side advanced in the least, nor was a weapon discharged, nor a word uttered. The centre divisions of their lines were composed, on one side, of Romans; on the other of Carthaginians and African auxiliaries: the wings were formed by the allies, who on both sides were Spaniards. In front of the Carthaginian line, the elephants at a distance appeared like castles. It was now generally said in both camps, that they were to engage in the same order in which they had stood before; and that their centres, consisting of Romans and Carthaginians, who were principals in the war, would no doubt encounter each other with equal courage and strength of arms. When Scipio understood that this opinion was firmly entertained, he took care to alter the whole plan against the day on which he intended to fight. On the preceding evening, therefore, he gave out orders through the camp, that the men and horses should be refreshed and accoutred before day; and that the horsemen, ready armed, should keep their horses bridled and saddled. Before it was clear day, he despatched all the cavalry and light infantry, with orders to charge the Carthaginian outposts; and immediately advanced himself with the heavy body of the legions, having, contrary to the expectation both of his own men and the enemy, strengthened the wings with his Roman



troops, and drawn the allies into the centre. Hasdrubal was alarmed by the shout of the cavalry, and, springing out from his tent, saw a bustle before the rampart, his men in hurry and confusion, the glittering standards of the legions at a distance, and the plain filled with troops. He immediately despatched all his cavalry against that of the enemy, marching himself from out the camp with the body of infantry; but, in drawing up his line, he made no alteration in the original disposition. The contest between the horse had continued a long time doubtful, nor could they decide it by their own efforts, because, when either were repulsed, which happened to both in turn, they found a safe refuge among the infantry. But, when the armies had approached within five hundred paces of each other, Scipio, giving the signal for retreat, and opening his files, received all the cavalry and light troops through them; and, forming them in two divisions, placed them in reserve behind the wings. When he saw that it was time to begin the engagement, he ordered the Spaniards who composed the centre, to advance with a slow pace, and sent directions from the right wing, where he commanded in person, to Silanus and Marcius, to extend their wing on the left, in the same manner as they should see him stretching on the right, and attack the enemy with the light-armed forces of horse and foot before the centres could close. The wings extending in this manner, three cohorts of foot, and three troops of horse from each, together with the light infantry, advanced briskly against the enemy, while the rest followed them in an oblique direction. There was a bending in the centre, because the battalions of Spaniards advanced slower than the wings, and the wings had already encountered, while the principal strength of the enemy's line, the Carthaginian veterans and Africans, were still at such a distance, that they could not throw their javelins with effect, nor did they dare to make detachments to the wings, to support those who were engaged, for fear of opening the centre to the forces advancing against it. The Carthaginian wings were hard pressed, being attacked on all sides; for the horse and foot, together with the light infantry, wheeling round, fell in upon their flanks, while the cohorts pressed on them in front, in order to separate the wings from the rest of the line.

XV. The battle was now very unequal in

all parts: not only because an irregular multitude of Balearians and undisciplined Spanish recruits were opposed to the Roman and Latin troops, but, as the day advanced, Hasdrubal's troops began to grow faint, having been surprised by the alarm in the morning, and obliged to hasten out to the field before they could take food to support their strength. With a view to this, Scipio had taken care to create delay, for it was not until the seventh hour that the battalions of foot fell upon the wings, and the battle reached the centre somewhat later; so that, before the enemy began regularly to engage, they were enfeebled by the heat of the meridian sun, the labour of standing under arms, and by hunger and thirst, distressing them at once. They stood, therefore, leaning on their shields; for, in addition to their other misfortunes, the elephants, terrified at the desultory manner of fighting used by the horse and the light infantry, had thrown themselves from the wings upon the centre. Harassed thus greatly, both in body and mind, they began to give way, but still preserved their ranks, as if the whole army were retreating by order of the general. The victors perceiving the superiority which they had gained, redoubled the fury of their assault on all sides, so that the shock could hardly be sustained. Hasdrubal, however, endeavoured to stop his men, crying out that "the hills in the rear would afford a safe refuge, if they would but retreat without hurry;" yet fear overcame their shame, and although such as were nearest the enemy still continued to fight, they quickly turned their backs, and all betook themselves to a hasty flight. They halted however for a time at the foot of the hills, endeavouring to restore order, while the Romans hesitated to advance their line against the opposite steep. But, when they saw the battalions pressing forward briskly, they renewed their flight, and were driven in a panic within their works. The Romans were not far from the rampart; and continuing their efforts, had nearly surmounted it, when such a quantity of rain poured suddenly down, that it was with difficulty they regained their camp. The sun, too, had been excessively hot, as is usually the case when shining forth from among clouds surcharged with water; which added greatly to the fatigues of the day. Some were even seized with a religious scruple against attempting any thing farther at that time. Though both night and the



rain invited the Carthaginians to take the repose so necessary to them, yet fear and the impending danger would not admit of it; and as they had reason to expect an assault from the enemy at the first light, they raised the height of the rampart with stones collected from the adjacent valleys, endeavouring to secure themselves by fortifications, since they found no protection in their arms. But the desertion of their allies soon gave them reason to think, that it was the safer way to fly. The beginning of this revolt arose from Attanes, prince of the Turdetans, who deserted with a great number of his countrymen; and afterwards, two fortified towns, with their garrisons, were delivered to the Romans by their commanders. Hasdrubal, dreading, since a disposition to throw off the Carthaginian yoke had once seized their minds, that the evil might spread farther, decamped during the silence of the ensuing night.

XVI. At the first light, the outguards having brought intelligence of the enemy's departure, Scipio, sending forward the cavalry, gave orders to the army to march; and these were executed with such expedition, that, had they directly pursued the track of the fugitives, they had certainly overtaken them; but they were persuaded by their guides, that there was another and a shorter road to the river Bætis, and where, it was said, they might attack them in their passage. Hasdrubal finding the ford in possession of the enemy, changed his course, directing it towards the ocean; his army now retreating with precipitancy, so that the Roman legions were left at some distance behind. However, the horse and the light infantry harassed and delayed them, by attacking sometimes their rear, sometimes their flanks; and as they were obliged to halt frequently, on occasion of these interruptions, and to support the attacks, at one time of the horse, at another of the infantry and auxiliary foot, they were overtaken by the legions. The consequence was, not a fight, but a carnage as of cattle; until at length the general himself, setting the example of a flight, made his escape to the adjacent hills with about six thousand men half armed: the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an irregular camp on the highest part of the ground, and defended themselves there without difficulty, the enemy in vain attempting to climb so difficult an ascent. But a blockade, in a place naked and destitute, was hardly to be support-

ed, even for a few days: desertions to the Roman, therefore, were frequent. Hasdrubal having at length procured some ships, and the sea being not far distant, left his army in the night, and fled to Gades. When Scipio was informed of the flight of the general, leaving ten thousand foot and one thousand horse with Silanus for the blockade of the camp, he returned himself with the rest of the forces to Tarraco, where he arrived after a march of seventy days; during which he was employed in examining into the conduct of the petty princes and states, in order that their rewards might be proportioned according to a just estimate of their merits. After his departure, Masinissa having held a private conference with Silanus, passed over with a few of his countrymen into Africa, in order to bring his own nation to participate in the design which he had newly formed. The cause of his sudden change was not at that time well known; but the inviolable fidelity which he ever afterwards preserved towards Rome, through the whole course of a very long life, is sufficient proof that he did not, even then, act without a reasonable motive. Mago went to Gades in the ships which had been sent back by Hasdrubal. Of the rest (thus abandoned by their generals,) some deserted, others fled and dispersed through the neighbouring states; no detachment remaining, considerable either for number or strength. These were the principal events, in consequence of which, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, the Carthaginians were compelled to relinquish all footing in Spain, in the thirteenth year from the commencement of hostilities, the fifth from Scipio's having received the command of the province and of the army. Not long after, Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, with information that the war was at an end.

XVII. Lucius Scipio was employed in conveying to Rome a great many prisoners of distinction, and in carrying the news of the reduction of Spain. While this was considered by all others as a most joyful and glorious event, he alone, by whose means it had been accomplished, insatiable in his pursuit of glory, considered it as a trifle in comparison with those designs which his aspiring mind and sanguine hopes prompted him to conceive. He now directed his views to Africa, regarding the subjugation of Carthage, in all her grandeur, as the consummation of his renown. Deeming it

necessary, therefore, to conciliate the friendship of the several African kings and people, he resolved to make the first trial of Syphax, king of the Massæsylians,—a nation bordering on Mauritania, and lying opposite to that part of Spain, particularly where New Carthage stands. There was an alliance at that time subsisting between this monarch and the Carthaginians. Supposing him, however, not more firmly attached than barbarians usually are, whose fidelity always depends on fortune, Scipio despatched Lælius to him as envoy, with proper presents. Syphax, highly delighted with these, and considering that the Romans were, at that time, every where successful, the Carthaginians unfortunate in Italy, and quite excluded from Spain, consented to embrace the friendship of the Romans, but refused to exchange the ratification of the treaty except with the Roman general in person. Lælius then returned to Scipio, having obtained from the king an engagement merely of safe conduct for him. To him, who aimed at conquests in Africa, the friendship of Syphax was, in every respect, of the utmost importance: he was the most powerful prince in that part of the world, had already opposed even the Carthaginians in war, while his dominions lay very conveniently with respect to Spain, from which they are separated by a narrow strait. Scipio thought the affair of such moment as to warrant the attempt, though attended with considerable danger; since otherwise it could not be accomplished. Leaving, therefore, for the security of Spain, Lucius Marcius at Tarraco, and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage (to which place he himself had made a hasty journey by land,) and setting sail from Carthage with Caius Lælius, in two galleys of five banks, he passed over to Africa, while the sea was so calm, that they generally used their oars, though sometimes they were assisted by a gentle breeze. It happened, that Hasdrubal, at the very same time, after having been driven out of Spain, had entered the harbour with seven galleys of three banks, and having cast anchor, was mooring his ships. On sight of these two five-banked ships, although no one doubted that they belonged to the Romans, and might be overpowered by superior numbers before they entered the harbour, yet nothing ensued except tumult and confusion among the soldiers and sailors, endeavouring to no purpose to get their arms and ships in readiness; for the quinqueremes, hav-

ing their sails filled by a brisk gale from the sea, were carried into the harbour before the Carthaginians could weigh their anchors, and afterwards, they dared not to raise a disturbance in the king's port. Having landed, therefore, they proceeded, (Hasdrubal first, then Scipio and Lælius,) on their way to the king.

XVIII. Syphax considered this as a very honourable circumstance (as it really was), that the generals of the two most powerful states of the age, should come, on the same day, to solicit peace and friendship with him. He invited them both to his palace, and as chance had so ordered that they were under the same roof, and in the protection of the same household gods, he endeavoured to bring them to a conference, for the purpose of putting an end to the enmity subsisting between them. Scipio declared that in his private capacity, he had not the least ill-will to the Carthaginian, which might require a conference to remove it; and with regard to public affairs, he could not enter into any negotiation with an enemy without orders from the senate. However, the king showing an earnest desire that he should come to the same table, so that neither of his guests might seem to be excluded, he did not refuse; and they there supped together. Scipio and Hasdrubal, perceiving that it would be agreeable to their entertainer, even reclined upon the same couch during the repast; and so pleasing were the manners of the former, such his pliability on every occasion, and such his engaging conversation, that he acquired the esteem not only of Syphax, a barbarian unacquainted with Roman habits, but even of his inveterate enemy who declared publicly, that "he appeared, on acquaintance, more worthy of admiration for his powers in conversation, than for his exploits in war; that he made no doubt, but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be under the direction of the Romans. Such address was that man possessed of, in acquiring an ascendancy over people's minds, that the Carthaginians were not more intent, at present, in inquiring how Spain had been lost, than how they were to retain possession of Africa. That it was not for the sake of travelling, or in the pursuit of pleasure, that so great a general, quitting a province but lately subdued, and leaving his armies, had passed over into Africa with only two ships, intrusting himself, in an enemy's country, to the power of the king, and to his fidelity, as yet untried. Scipio had formed the



scheme of subduing their people, had long entertained this design, and had openly expressed his regret, that he was not carrying on war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy." The league, however, being ratified with Syphax, Scipio set sail; and after being tossed a good deal during the voyage, by variable and generally boisterous winds, he made the harbour of New Carthage on the fourth day.

XIX. As Spain had now rest from the Carthaginian war, so it was manifest that some states remained quiet rather through fear, arising from the consciousness of misbehaviour, than through sincere attachment. The most remarkable of these, both in greatness and in guilt, were Illiturgi and Castulo. The inhabitants of Castulo, allies of the Romans while they were successful, had, on the destruction of the first Scipios and their armies, revolted to the Carthaginians. Those of Illiturgi, by betraying and killing such as had fled to them after that calamity, had added barbarity to revolt. To have executed severe vengeance on those states, at Scipio's first coming, when affairs in Spain were in a precarious state, would have been more suited to their demerits than agreeable to principles of sound policy; but now, when affairs were in a state of tranquillity, the proper time for inflicting punishment seemed to have arrived. He therefore sent for Lucius Marcius from Tarraco, and despatching him with a third part of the forces to besiege Castulo, he went himself with the rest of the army against Illiturgi, where he arrived on the fifth day. The gates there had been already shut, and every precaution taken, and preparation made for repelling an attack. So far had their consciousness of what they merited served them instead of a declaration of war. Hence Scipio took occasion to represent, in an exhortation to his soldiers, that the Spaniards themselves, by shutting their gates, had shown what, in justice, they had reason to apprehend; that they ought, therefore, to entertain a much greater animosity against them than against the Carthaginians; for, with the latter, the contest was for empire and glory, almost without resentment, but the former they were called upon to punish both for perfidy and cruelty. That the time was now come when they were to take vengeance for the horrid murder of their fellow-soldiers, and for the treachery ready to be executed on themselves also, had they hapened to fly to the

same place: and, by a severe example, to establish it as a maxim to all future ages, that no Roman citizen or soldier, in any state of fortune, should be injured with impunity." Their rage being excited by this harangue, they distributed the scaling ladders to chosen men in each company; and the army being divided into two parts, one of which Lælius, lieutenant-general, was to command, they assaulted the city in two places at once, striking terror into the assailed by the twofold danger to which they were exposed. It was not one leader, or a number of chiefs, but their own violent apprehensions, in consequence of their guilt, that induced the inhabitants to make a vigorous defence; they were fully sensible, and they reminded each other, that "their punishment, not a victory, was the object aimed at: that the matter for present consideration was, where they should choose to meet death, whether in the field and in fight, where the chance of war, equal to both parties, often raises the vanquished, and pulls down the conqueror; or whether after seeing their city burned and demolished, and after suffering every indignity and disgrace, they should expire among chains and stripes, in the presence of their captive wives and children." Therefore, not only those who were of an age to bear arms, or the men alone, but women and boys added exertions beyond the strength of their minds or bodies, supplying with weapons those who were engaged in the fight, and carrying stones to the walls for others who were strengthening the works; for beside that their liberty was at stake, and by which the brave are powerfully excited, the extreme severity of punishment which they must all expect, with a disgraceful death, were before their eyes. Further their courage was inflamed by mutual emulation in toil and danger, and even by the sight of each other. Thus animated, they opposed the enemy with such determined bravery, that the army which had subdued all Spain was often repulsed from the walls; and began, in a contest with the youth of a single town, not much to their honour, to abate of their ardour. Scipio perceiving this, and dreading lest, by these unsuccessful attempts, the courage of the enemy should be raised, and his own men dispirited, thought it necessary, to exert himself in person, and take a share in the danger. Whereupon, reprimanding the troops for their want of spirit, he ordered ladders to be brought to him, threaten-

ing to mount the wall himself, since the rest were backward; and accordingly, he had already advanced near it, and not without danger, when a shout was raised on all sides by the soldiers, alarmed at the situation of the general, and the scalade was attempted at once. Lælius, too, pressed on at the other side. The inhabitants were then no longer able to make opposition, and those who defended the walls being beaten off, the Romans took possession of them.

XX. The citadel, too, during the tumult, being attacked on that side where it was thought impregnable, was taken. While the inhabitants were engaged in defence of those places where the danger appeared, and the Romans, in making greater approaches where they found it practicable, some African deserters, who were then among the Roman auxiliaries, observed, that the most elevated part of the town, though protected by a very high rock, was neither secured by any works nor provided with men for its defence. As they were light of body, and very active from constant exercise, carrying iron spears along with them, they climbed up, by means of the irregular prominences of the rock, and when they met with a cliff too high and smooth, by driving in the spikes at moderate distances, they formed a kind of steps. In this manner, the foremost drawing up by the hand those who followed, and the hindmost lifting up those before them, they made their way to the summit: and from thence, with loud shouts, poured down into the city, which had been already taken by the Romans. Then it plainly appeared, that resentment and hatred had been the motives of the assault: no one thought of taking prisoners, no one thought of booty, though the objects lay before their eyes. The armed and unarmed were slain without distinction, women and men promiscuously; the cruel rage of the soldiers proceeded even to slaying of infants. They then set fire to the houses, and what could not be thus destroyed, they levelled to the ground; so earnest were they to erase every trace of the city, and to abolish every mark of the enemy's residence. Scipio from thence led his army to Castulo, which was defended by a great concourse of Spaniards, and also by the remains of the Carthaginian army, collected from the places whether they had dispersed in their flight. But the news of the calamities of the Illiturgians had preceded the arrival of Scipio, and

thrown the garrison into fright and despair; and as they were differently circumstanced, while each party wished to provide for their own safety, without regard to the rest, at first silent suspicion, afterwards open discord, ensued, and caused a separation between the Carthaginians and Spaniards. Cerdubellus openly advised the latter to surrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian garrison auxiliaries, who, together with the city, were delivered up to the Romans by Cerdubellus, after he had privately made terms for himself. This victory was not followed with so much severity; the guilt of this people not having been so great as that of the former, and their voluntary surrender mitigating, in some degree, the resentment against them.

XXI. Marcius proceeded from thence, in order to reduce to obedience such of the barbarians as had not been completely subdued. Scipio returned to New Carthage, in order to pay his vows to the gods, and to exhibit a show of gladiators, which he had prepared in commemoration of the death of his father and uncle. The combatants exhibited on this occasion were not of that sort which the Lanistæ are wont to procure, a collection of slaves, or such free men as are base enough to set their blood to sale. Every champion here gave his service voluntarily, and without reward; for some were sent by the princes of the country, to show a specimen of the bravery natural to their nation; some declared that they would fight to oblige the general; some were led by emulation, and a desire of superiority, to send challenges; and those who were challenged, from the same motive did not decline them; some decided, by the sword, controversies which they could not, or would not, determine by arbitration, having agreed between themselves that the matter in dispute should be the property of the conqueror. Not only people of obscure condition, but men of character and distinction; Corbis and Orsua for instance, cousin-germans, having a dispute about the sovereignty of a city called Ibis, determined to decide it with the sword. Corbis had the advantage in regard to years. The father of Orsua, however, had been last on the throne, having succeeded to it on the death of his elder brother. Scipio endeavoured to accommodate the matter by calm discussion, and to assuage their resentment; but they both affirmed that they had refused to submit it to their common relations, and that they would have no other



judge, either god or man, but Mars. They severally preferred death in fight to a submission to the other's authority, the elder confident in his strength, the younger in his activity; and so determined was their rage, that it was impossible to reconcile them. They afforded an extraordinary spectacle to the army, and a striking example of the evils occasioned by ambition. The elder, by experience in arms and superior skill, easily vanquished the ill-managed valour of the younger. To this exhibition of gladiators were added funeral games, conducted with as much magnificence as the province and the camp could supply.

XXII. While Scipio was thus employed, operations were carried on by his lieutenant Marcius, who, having passed the river Bætis, which the natives call Certis, got possession of two wealthy cities, by surrender without a contest. There was another called Astapa, which had always taken part with the Carthaginians; but that circumstance did not so much call for resentment, as from their having acted towards the Romans with an extraordinary degree of animosity, beyond what the exigencies of the war could warrant. This was the more surprising, as they had no city so secured, either by situation or fortification, as that it might encourage such fierceness of temper; but the disposition of the inhabitants delighting in plunder, led them to make incursions into the neighbouring lands belonging to the allies of the Roman people, and even to seize on small parties of soldiers, together with the sutlers and traders. A large detachment, also, which was attempting to pass through their territory, was surrounded by an ambuscade, and put to death in a place where they could not defend themselves. As soon as the army approached to besiege the city, the inhabitants, conscious of their crimes, saw no prospect of safety in surrendering to a people so highly provoked: and as their fortifications were in such a state that they could not greatly hope to defend themselves by arms, they contrived a plan of the most shocking and savage nature, which they agreed to execute on themselves and their families. They fixed on a part of the forum, into which they brought together all their most valuable effects, and having made their wives and children seat themselves on this heap, they piled up timber all round it, and threw on it abundance of faggots. They then gave a charge to fifty young men in arms, that "as long as the issue of the fight should be uncertain, they

should carefully guard in that spot the fortunes of all, and the persons of those who were dearer to them than their fortunes. Should they perceive that their friends were worsted, and that the city was likely to be taken, that then they might be assured, that every one whom they saw going out to battle would meet death in the engagement. They then besought them, by the deities celestial and infernal, that mindful of their liberty, which must terminate on that day, either in an honourable death or disgraceful slavery, they would leave no object on which the enraged enemy could vent their fury. That they had fire and swords at their command; and that it were better that their friendly and faithful hands should consume those things which must necessarily perish, than that the foe should insult over them with haughty scorn." To these exhortations they added dreadful imprecations against any who should be diverted from their purpose, either by hope or tenderness; and then with rapid speed and violent impetuosity, they rushed out through the open gates. There was none of the outposts strong enough to withstand them, because nothing could have been less apprehended than that they should dare to come out of the fortifications; a very few troops of horse, and the light infantry, despatched in haste from the camp, threw themselves in their way. The encounter was furious, owing more to their impetuosity and resolution, than to any regular disposition. The horse, therefore, which had first engaged, being discomfited, communicated the terror to the light infantry; and the battle would have reached to the very rampart, had not the main body of the legions drawn out their line, though there was very little time allowed them for forming. Even among their battalions there was some confusion; while the Astapans, blinded with fury, rushed on against men and weapons with the most daring insensibility of danger. But in a short time the veteran soldiers, too steady to be disturbed by such rash attacks, by killing the foremost, stopped the advance of the next. Afterwards, when they endeavoured to gain upon them, finding that not a man gave way, but that they were obstinately determined to die, they extended their line, which their numbers enabled them to do with ease; they then surrounded the flanks of these desperates, who, forming into a circle, and continuing the fight, were slain to a man.

XXIII. This severity, executed by an en-

raged enemy on those who opposed them in arms, especially as they were at the time engaged in hostilities with another people, was not inconsistent with the laws of war. But the more shocking havoc was in the city, where a weak unarmed crowd of women and children were assailed by their own countrymen, who tossed their almost lifeless bodies on the burning pile, while streams of blood kept down the rising flames, and who at last, wearied with the wretched slaughter of their friends, cast themselves with their arms into the midst of the fire. Just as the carnage was completed, the victorious Romans arrived. On the first sight of such a horrid transaction, they were for a time struck motionless with astonishment; but afterwards, on seeing the gold and silver glittering between the heaps of other matters, with the greediness natural to mankind, they wished to snatch them out of the burning heap. In attempting this, some were caught by the flames, others scorched by blasts of the heat, the foremost finding it impracticable to make a retreat against the press of so great a crowd. Thus was Astapa utterly destroyed by fire and sword, and without enriching the soldiers with booty. All the other inhabitants of that district, terrified at this event, made their submissions. Marcius led back his victorious army to join Scipio at Carthage. Just at the same time, some deserters arrived from Gades, who promised to deliver up the city, the Carthaginian garrison, and the commander of the garrison, together with the fleet. Mago had halted there after his flight; and having collected a few ships from the ocean adjoining, and, with the assistance of Hanno his lieutenant, assembled others from the nearest parts of Spain, had brought some supplies from the coast of Africa. Terms being adjusted with the deserters, and ratified on both sides, Marcius was despatched thither, with some cohorts equipped for expedition, and Lælius also, with seven three-banked and one five-banked galley, that they might act in concert both by land and sea, in the execution of the business.

XXIV. Scipio was seized with a severe fit of sickness; and the danger being magnified by report, (every one, through the natural propensity to exaggeration, adding something to what he had heard,) the whole province, more especially the distant parts of it, were thrown into disorder: which showed what important consequences must have attended the real loss of

him, when the rumour of his illness alone could excite such storms. Neither the allies continued faithful, nor the army obedient to command. Mandonius and Indibilis, who had entertained confident expectations that, on the expulsion of the Carthaginians, the dominion of Spain would fall into their hands, being entirely disappointed in all their hopes, called together their countrymen of Laceta and Illiturgi; sent for the young men of Celtiberia to assist them, and carried hostilities and devastation into the territories of the Suesetanians and Sedetanians, allies of the Roman people. Another commotion arose in the camp at Sucro, where there were eight thousand Romans stationed to secure the obedience of the nations bordering on the Iberus. Their disposition to mutiny did not take its rise from the uncertain accounts of the general's life being in danger; it had sprung up some time before, from the licentiousness incident to a long state of inaction, and partly from their circumstances being straitened during peace, having been accustomed during the war to live more plentifully on plunder. At first, they only expressed their dissatisfaction in private discourses: "If there was a war in the province, what business had they there, among people who were at peace? If the war was already ended, why were they not carried back to Italy?" They also demanded their pay with a peremptoriness unbecoming the condition of soldiers, while those on guard used to throw out abuse on the tribunes, as they went their nightly rounds. Favoured by the darkness, some had even gone out and plundered the peaceable country round: and at length they used to quit their standards without leave, openly, and in the day-time. In a word, every thing was directed by the licentious humour of the soldiery, nothing by the rules and discipline of war, or the commands of the officers. The form, however, of a Roman camp was preserved, merely on account of the hope which they entertained, that the tribunes would be infected with their madness, and become sharers in their mutiny and revolt. They therefore permitted them to hold their courts at the tribunals; they applied to them for the watchword, and mounted guards and watches in their turn; and as they had taken away all the power of command, so, by submitting from choice to the usual duties, they kept up the appearance of obedience to orders. But when they found that the tribunes disapproved and blamed their proceedings, that



they endeavoured to put a stop to them, and openly refused to assist in their designs, the mutiny then burst out; and having, by violence, driven the tribunals from their stands, and soon after, from the camp, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body, they bestowed the supreme command on Caius Albius of Cales, and Caius Atrius of Umbria, common soldiers, who were the principal movers of the sedition. These men, not satisfied with the ornaments used by tribunes, had the assurance to lay hold of the badges of supreme command, the rods and axes; never considering that their own backs and necks were in danger from those very rods and axes, which they carried before them to strike terror into others. Their groundless belief of Scipio's death blinded their understandings; and they entertained not a doubt that, on the news of that event, which would soon be generally known, the flames of war would break out in every part of Spain: that during this confusion money might be exacted from the allies, and the neighbouring cities plundered; and that the disturbances being general, and all men acting without restraint, their own behaviour would be the less liable to observation.

XXV. No accounts of the death of Scipio being received, the rumour which had been inconsiderately propagated, began to die away. They then began to inquire for the first authors of it; but every one threw it off from himself, that he might appear rather to have believed rashly, than to have been the contriver of the fiction. The leaders, now forsaken, began to dread even their own badges of office, and considered with terror the real and just authority which was about to take place of the empty show of command which they possessed, and which would doubtless be exerted to their destruction. While the mutiny was at a stand through the amazement of the soldiers, on receiving undoubted intelligence, first that Scipio was alive, and afterwards that he was in good health, seven military tribunes, despatched by himself, arrived in the camp. On their coming, the mutineers were at first exasperated, but they were soon softened by the mild and soothing language in which these addressed such of their acquaintances as they met. For, at first going round the tents, and then in the public tribunals, and in the prætorium, wherever they observed circles of soldiers engaged in conversation, they accosted them in such a manner, as carried the appearance rather of an inquiry into the cause of their resent-

ment and sudden disorder, than of throwing any blame on what had passed. The reasons generally alleged were, that "they had not received their pay regularly; although at the time of the horrid transaction at Illiturgi, and after the utter destruction of the two generals and their two armies, it was by their bravery that the Roman name had been supported, and the province secured. That the people of Illiturgi had indeed met with the punishment due to their guilt, but their meritorious conduct had remained unrewarded." The tribunes answered, that "in these remonstrances their requests were founded in justice, and should be laid before the general; that they were highly pleased to find that there was nothing in their case more grievous or incurable; and that, by the favour of the gods, they had both Publius Scipio and the state to reward their merit." Scipio, well practised in wars, but utterly unacquainted with the storms of intestine commotions, was filled with anxiety on the occasion; fearing lest the army should exceed all bounds in transgressing, or himself in punishing. For the present, he resolved to proceed as he had begun, by gentle measures; having, therefore, despatched collectors through the tributary states, he received reason to hope to be soon able to discharge the arrears. An order was then published, that the troops should come to Carthage to receive their pay, either in separate divisions or in one body, as they should choose. The mutiny, of itself abating in violence among the Romans, was reduced to a state of perfect tranquillity by the measures which the rebellious Spaniards suddenly adopted. Mandonius and Indibilis, on receiving information that Scipio was alive, desisted from their undertaking, and returned into their own country, as there was now remaining neither countrymen nor foreigner, to whom they could look up for a concurrence in their desperate scheme. The soldiers, after revolving every plan, were of opinion that they had nothing left, except (what is not always the safest retreat from bad counsels) the submitting themselves either to the just anger of the general, or to his clemency, of which it was thought they need not despair. "He had pardoned even enemies, with whom he had been engaged in battle: their mutiny had not been attended with any serious consequences; no lives had been lost, nor had any blood been shed: therefore, as it had not in itself been violent, it merited not a

violent punishment." Men's minds are generally ingenious in palliating guilt in themselves. They only hesitated then, whether they should go and demand their pay in single cohorts, or in a body. The majority voted, that, as the safer way, they should proceed in a body.

XXVI. Whilst they were employed in these deliberations, a council was held at Carthage concerning them; the members of which were divided in opinion, whether the authors only of the mutiny, who were not more than thirty-five, should be punished; or whether it was not necessary, that what ought to be called a revolt rather than a mutiny, and afforded such a dangerous example, should be expiated by the punishment of a greater number. The milder opinion prevailed, that the punishment should be confined to those who were the instigators to it, and that, for the multitude, a reprimand was sufficient. As soon as the council was dismissed, orders were issued to the army which was in Carthage, to prepare for an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis, and to get ready provisions for several days; in order that people might think that this had been the business of the meeting. Then the seven tribunes, who had before gone to Sucro to quell the disturbance, were again sent out to gather further information on the matter, when each of them made a return of five names of the leaders of it; with the intent that proper persons, appointed for the purpose, should invite these, with friendly countenance and discourse, to their lodgings, and that there, when stupefied with wine, they might be secured in chains. When they came near Carthage, they heard, from some persons on the road, that the whole army was to set out, next day, with Marcus Silanus, against the Lacetanians, which not only freed the disaffected from the apprehensions which, though concealed, lay heavy on their minds, but occasioned great joy amongst them; as they supposed that the general would be left alone, in their power, instead of their being in his. A little before sunset, they entered the city, and saw the other army busy in preparations for a march: they were received with discourses framed for the purpose, that "their coming was highly agreeable and convenient to the general, as it had happened just before the departure of the other army;" after which they retired to refresh themselves. The authors of the mutiny, having been conducted to lodgings by the persons appointed, were,

without any tumult, apprehended by the tribunes, and thrown into chains. At the fourth watch, the baggage of that army which, as pretended, was to march, began to set out. A little before day the troops moved also, but stopped in a body at the gate, whence guards were sent round to all the other avenues, to prevent any one going out of the city. Those who had arrived the day before, were then summoned to an assembly, and they ran together into the forum to the general's tribunal in the most turbulent manner, intending to excite terror by their tumultuous shouts. Just as the general was taking his seat, the troops, who had been recalled from the gates, spread themselves round, under arms, behind the unarmed assembly. On this, all the arrogance of the latter sunk at once, and, as they afterwards confessed, nothing terrified them so much as the unexpected vigour and complexion of the general, whom they had expected to see in a sickly state—his countenance showing more sternness, they said, than they had ever remembered to have seen, even in battle. He sat silent for a short time, until he was told that the authors of the mutiny were brought into the forum, and that all things were prepared.

XXVII. Then, a herald having commanded silence, he began thus: "Never did I imagine that I should be in want of language to address my own army: not that I ever gave more attention to words than to business; for, having lived in camps almost from my childhood, I was ever well acquainted with the soldier's way of thinking. But, with what sentiments, or in what terms, I should speak to you, I am entirely at a loss. I know not even what appellation I ought to give you. Can I call you countrymen, who have revolted from your country; or soldiers, who have renounced obedience to command, and broke through the obligation of your oath; or enemies? I behold, indeed, the persons, faces, habit, mien of my fellow-citizens; but I perceive the actions, words, schemes, dispositions of foes. For what other object did your hopes and wishes aim at, than the same which was proposed by the Illergetians and Lacetans? They, however, chose for leaders in their mad enterprise, Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal distinction; you conferred supreme authority and command on the Umbrian Atrius, and the Calenian Albius. Soldiers, deny that it was the act of you all, or that you all approved of it: assert that



it was the madness and folly of a few. I shall willingly give credit to your disavowal; for the crimes committed are of such a nature, that did the guilt of them extend to the whole army, it could not be expiated without very extraordinary atonements. I unwillingly touch those matters, as I should wounds; but unless such are touched and handled, they cannot be cured. After the Carthaginians were expelled from Spain, I really believed that there was not, in the whole province, any one place, or any description of men, to whom my life was not a matter of concern: such had been my conduct, not only towards the allies, but even towards the enemy. And yet even in my own camp, so much was I deceived in my opinion, the report of my death was not only readily believed, but longed for. Not that I wish this behaviour should be imputed to you all: I assure you, if I could believe that my whole army wished my death, I would here, this instant, die before your eyes; nor could life afford me any pleasure if it were displeasing to my countrymen and soldiers. But every multitude, like the sea, is incapable of moving itself; the winds and gales put it in motion: thus, when either calms or storms appear in you, all the madness lies in the first advisers. This you have caught by infection: and even this day, you do not seem to me to be sensible to what a pitch of folly you have proceeded, or how heinous your attempts have been with respect to me, how heinous with respect to your country, your parents and your children; how heinous with respect to the gods, who were witnesses of your oath; how heinous against the auspices under which you serve; how heinous against the practice of the service, the discipline of your ancestors, and the majesty of the supreme authority and rule! With regard to myself, I say nothing. Be it, that ye believed the report rather through want of thought, than through a wish that it should be true; and let me even be supposed such a person, that it were no wonder if the army were weary of my command: yet, what had your country deserved of you, that, by uniting your counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, you were going to betray it? What had the Roman people merited, when you took away the power from the tribunes appointed by their common suffrage, and conferred it on private men? when, not even content with having them for magistrates, you, a Roman army, bestowed

the badges of your generals on men who never had been possessed of so much as a single slave? Albius and Atrius dwelt in the general's pavilion, the trumpets sounded by their orders, the word was taken from them, they sat on the tribunal of Publius Scipio, they were attended by lictors, the way was cleared for them, the rods and axes were carried before them. That it should rain stones, that lightnings should be darted from heaven, and that animals should produce monstrous births, you look upon as prodigies. This is a prodigy that can be expiated by no victims, by no supplications, without the blood of those who dared to commit such enormous crimes.

XXVIII. "Now although no wickedness proceeds on any grounds of reason, yet, in a transaction of such atrocity as this, I should be glad to know what was your intention, what your scheme. Formerly, a legion, which had been sent as a garrison to Rhegium, wickedly put to death the principal inhabitants, and kept possession of that opulent city for ten years; for which offence the whole legion, four thousand men, were beheaded in the forum at Rome. These, however, did not put themselves under the command of an Atrius, a man no better than a scullion, whose very name was ominous; but of Decius Jubellius, a military tribune: nor did they join themselves to the enemies of the Roman people, either to the Samnites or Lucanians. You united in counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you intended to have united also your arms. Besides, those men expected to hold Rhegium as a lasting settlement, as the Campanians held Capua, after taking it from the ancient Tuscan inhabitants, and as the Mamertines held Messana in Sicily, —never entertaining a thought of making war on the Roman people or their allies. Did you intend to settle your habitations at Sucrio? a place in which, if I your general at my departure, after finishing the business of the province, had left you, and there to remain, you ought to have appealed to gods and men, on not being allowed to return to your wives and children. But supposing that you had banished out of your minds all recollection of them, as you did of your country and of me, let us examine what could be your design, and whether it can be accounted for on the supposition of a depravity of principle, without including also the utmost degree of folly. While I was alive, and the other part of the army safe,

with which I took Carthage in one day, with which I vanquished, put to flight, and drove out of Spain, four generals, with four armies of the Carthaginians; could you expect that you, who were but eight thousand men, (all of you of course inferior in worth to Albius and Atrius, since to their command you submitted yourselves,)—could you imagine, I say, that you should be able to wrest the province of Spain out of the hands of the Roman people? I lay no stress upon my own name, I put it out of the question, supposing myself no farther ill treated, than in your easily and joyfully giving credit to the report of my death. What! If I were dead; was the state to expire along with me; was the empire of the Roman people to fall with Scipio? Jove, supremely great and good, forbid that the city built for eternity, under the favour and direction of the gods, should last no longer than this frail and mortal body. Although so many illustrious commanders, Flaminius, Paullus, Gracchus, Posthumus, Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quintus Crispinus, Cneius Fulvius, my relations the Scipios, have all been lost in one war, yet the Roman people still survive, and will survive, whilst a thousand others perish, some by the sword, some by disease: and must the Roman state have been carried out to burial along with my single body? You yourselves, here in Spain, when my father and uncle, your two generals, were slain, chose Septimus Marcus your leader against the Carthaginians, exulting in their late victory. I mention this as if Spain would have been without a leader; but would Marcus Silanus, who was sent into the province, invested with the same privileges, the same command with myself; would my brother Lucius Scipio, and Caius Lælius, lieutenant-generals, be wanting to avenge the majesty of the empire? Could either the armies, or the leaders, or their dignity, or their cause, admit of a comparison? And even if you were superior to all these, would you bear arms on the side of the Carthaginians, against your country, against your countrymen? Would you wish that Africa should rule over Italy, Carthage over the city of Rome? And for what fault, I would ask, of your nation?

XXIX. "Coriolanus provoked by a grievous and undesired banishment to take up arms against his oppressors, yielded, however, to the call of duty to a parent, and refrained from committing parricide on his country. What grief, what anger had incited you? Was the

delay of your pay for a few days, and while your general was sick, sufficient reason for declaring war against your native land? to revolt from the Roman people to the Illergetians? to leave no obligation, divine or human, unviolated? Soldiers, the truth is, you have been mad; nor was the disorder which seized my body more violent than that which seized your minds. It shocks me to mention what such men believed, what they hoped, what they wished. But let all those matters be buried in oblivion, if possible; if not, let them however be covered in silence. I doubt not but my language may appear to you severe and harsh; yet how much more harsh your actions than my words! Do you think it reasonable, that I should bear the facts which you have committed, and that you should not have patience to hear them mentioned? But even with these things you shall be reproached no farther: I wish you may as easily forget them as I shall. Therefore, as to what concerns you all in general, if you are sorry for your error, I am fully satisfied with the expiation. The Calenian Albius, the Umbrian Atrius, and the other authors of that abominable mutiny, shall atone with their blood for the crime of which they have been guilty; and if you have recovered your sound judgment, the sight of their punishment will not only be not disagreeable, but even pleasing to you, for the tendency of their schemes was as pernicious and destructive to yourselves as to any other persons whatsoever." Scarcely had he finished his speech, when, according to a plan preconcerted, their eyes and ears were at once assailed by every object of terror. The troops, which had formed a circle round the assembly, clashed their swords against their shields; the herald's voice was heard citing by name those who had been condemned in the council: they were dragged naked into the midst, and at the same time, all the apparatus for death was produced; they were chained to the stake, beaten with rods, and beheaded; the spectators all the while standing so benumbed with fear, that not only no violent expression against the severity of the punishment, but not even a groan was heard. They were then all dragged out, the place was cleared, and their fellows being summoned by their names, took the oath of obedience to Scipio before the tribunes of the soldiers, at the same time receiving their pay. Such was the end and issue of the rising which began at Sucre.

XXX. About the same time Hanno, Ma-



go's lieutenant, having been sent from Gades with a small body of Africans, had, by tempting the Spaniards with money, collected four thousand young men in arms, near the river Bætis : but being afterwards beaten out of his camp by Lucius Marcius, and having lost the greatest part of his forces in the tumult, and others also in the flight, (his disordered troops having been pursued by the cavalry,) he made his escape with very few attendants. During these transactions on the Bætis, Lælius, sailing through the strait, came with the fleet to Carteja, a city situated on the coast, and where the sea begins to expand itself. There had been hopes of gaining possession of Gades without a contest, by means of a conspiracy of the inhabitants, some of whom came of their own accord to the Roman camp with promises to that effect, as has been mentioned before ; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe ; and Mago having seized all the conspirators, gave them in charge to Adherbal, the prætor, to be conducted to Carthage. Adherbal put them on board a ship of five banks, and sending it off before him, because it sailed slower than any one of three banks, followed himself at a small distance with eight three banked vessels. The quinquere was just entering the strait, when Lælius, who had sailed in a quinquere also from the harbour of Carteja, attended by seven triremes, bore down on Adherbal and the triremes ; taking for granted that the quinquere, once caught in the rapid current of the narrow pass, would not be able to tack about. The Carthaginian, alarmed by this unexpected affair, hesitated for some time whether he should follow the quinquere, or face the enemy. This delay put it out of his power to avoid an engagement, for they were already within a weapon's cast, and the Roman pressing him closely on all sides. The force of the stream, too, had rendered it impossible to manage their ships ; nor was the fight like a naval engagement, for nothing was effected either by skill or prudence. The tide, indeed, might be said to have the entire command, for it bore them down, sometimes on their own, sometimes on the Roman vessels, while they were endeavouring in vain to row in a contrary direction ; so that a ship which was flying might be seen whirled round by an eddy, and carried full against the conqueror ; while another, engaged in pursuit, if it happened to fall into a contrary current, would be turned about as if for flight. Thus

one ship aiming a violent stroke of its beak against the hull of the enemy, being carried itself in an oblique direction, received a blow from the beak of that it had strove to pierce ; while that which lay with its side exposed to the assailant, was suddenly whirled round, so as to present its prow to them. While the battle between the triremes was thus doubtful and irregular, being governed entirely by chance, the Roman quinquere, more manageable, either from being steadier on account of its great weight, or from making its way through the eddies by its superior number of rowers, sunk two triremes, and brushing along close by a third, swept off the oars on one side, handling roughly some others which it had overtaken : but Adherbal crowded sail, and with the five remaining ships escaped to Africa.

XXXI. Lælius returning victorious to Carteja, and having learned there what had passed at Gades, (that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators sent to Carthage, and the hopes which had invited them thither entirely frustrated,) he sent to acquaint Lucius Marcius, that he was of opinion that they ought to return to the general, unless they chose to waste time to no purpose lying before Gades. Marcius assenting, they both returned to Carthage. A few days after, by their departure, Mago not only gained a respite from the dangers which had environed him both by sea and land, but on hearing of the rebellion of the Illergetians, he even conceived hopes of recovering Spain. He sent messengers to the senate at Carthage, with instructions to exaggerate both the intestine dissension in the Roman camp, and the defection of the allies ; and to exhort them to send such supplies as should enable him to recover the empire of Spain, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. Mandonius and Indibilis, returning into their own territories, kept themselves quiet for some time, not knowing what to determine, until they could learn what measures were taken with regard to the mutiny ; for if pardon were granted by Scipio to his countrymen, they did not doubt but that it would extend to themselves. But when the punishment of the offenders came to be known, supposing that their own crime would be thought to demand an equal atonement, they called their countrymen to arms, and re-assembling the auxiliaries which had joined them before, they marched out with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, into the territory of

Sedeta, where, at the beginning of the revolt, they had established a camp.

XXXII. Scipio quickly conciliated the affections of his men by his punctuality in discharging all arrears, to the guilty as well as to the innocent, and which was strengthened by the mildness of his discourse, and the benignity of his countenance towards all without distinction. Summoning an assembly on his departure from Carthage, after copious invectives against the perfidy of the petty princes then in rebellion, he declared, that "he was setting out to take vengeance for their crimes, with feelings very different from those which he had lately experienced, while he was applying a remedy to the error of his countrymen; that then he had, with grief and tears, as if cutting his own bowels, expiated either the imprudence or the guilt of eight thousand men by the death of thirty; but now he was proceeding with cheerfulness and confidence to the destruction of the Illergetians: for these were neither born in the same land, nor connected with him by any bond of society; and for the only connection which had subsisted, that of good faith and friendship, they had wickedly rent it asunder. That there was one circumstance respecting his army, which gave him great satisfaction, which was, their being all either of his own country, allies, or of the Latine confederacy; that there was scarcely a single soldier in it who had not been brought thither from Italy, either by his uncle, Cneius Scipio, the first of the Roman name who entered that province, or by his father in his consulate, or by himself. That they were all accustomed to the name and authority of the Scipios: that he wished to carry them home with him to a well-deserved triumph; and that he entertained confident hopes that they would support his claim to the consulship, as if they were, every one of them, to share the honour of it. That as to the expedition before them, that man must have forgotten his own exploits, who could consider it as a war. For his part, he was really more concerned about Mago, who had fled with a few ships, beyond the limits of the world, into a spot surrounded by the ocean, than about the Illergetians; for on that spot, there was a Carthaginian general; and whatever forces might be there, they were Carthaginians. Here was only a band of robbers, and leaders of robbers; who, though they might have courage sufficient for ravaging their neighbours' grounds, burning

their houses, and seizing their cattle, would show none in the field, or in regular battle; and who, whenever they should see an enemy, would rely more on their activity for flight, than on their arms. It was not, therefore, because he apprehended any danger from thence, that he had determined to suppress the Illergetians before he left the province, but principally that such a heinous revolt should not escape without punishment: and also, that it might not be said, that there was one enemy left in a country which had been overrun with such bravery and success. He desired them, therefore, with the favour of the gods, to follow him, not to what could properly be called a war, for the contest was not with a people on an equality with them, but to inflict punishment on a set of criminals."

XXXIII. After this discourse he dismissed them, with orders to prepare for a decampment on the following morning. After a march of ten days, he arrived at the river Iberus, which he passed, and on the fourth day he pitched his camp within sight of the enemy. There was a plain before him, encircled by mountains; into this valley Scipio ordered some cattle, taken mostly from the surrounding lands, to be driven forward, in order to provoke the savage greediness of the barbarians; sending with them some light-armed troops as a guard, and giving orders to Lælius, that as soon as these should be engaged in skirmishing, he should charge with the cavalry from a place of concealment. A conveniently projecting mountain covered the ambush of the cavalry, and the battle began without delay; for the Spaniards rushed on the cattle, as soon as they saw them at a distance, and the light infantry attacked them, occupied with their booty. At first, they endeavoured to terrify each other with missive weapons; afterwards, having discharged their light darts, which were fitter to provoke than to decide the fight, they drew their swords, and began to engage foot to foot. The contest between the infantry was doubtful; but the cavalry came up, who, charging straight forward, not only trod down all before them, but some also, wheeling round along the foot of the steep, fell on the enemy's rear, inclosing the greater part of them: so that the number slain was far more considerable than is usual in such kind of engagements. This discomfiture served rather to inflame the rage of the barbarians than depress them. In order, therefore, to show that they



were not dispirited, at the first light on the day following they led out their troops to battle. The valley being narrow, as has been mentioned, could not contain all their forces; so that only about two-thirds of the infantry and all their cavalry came down to the engagement. The remainder of the foot they posted on a hill on one side. Scipio, judging that the narrowness of the ground was a favourable circumstance to him, both because fighting in a confined space seemed better suited to the Roman than the Spanish soldier, and also because the enemy could not completely form their line, turned his thoughts to a new scheme. Finding that he could not extend his cavalry on the wings, and that those of the enemy, whom they had brought out with the infantry, would be useless, he ordered Lælius to lead the cavalry round the hills by the most concealed roads, and to keep separate as much as possible the fight of the cavalry from that between the infantry. He himself led forward the battalions of infantry, placing four cohorts in front, for he could not greatly extend his line, and without delay began the engagement, in order to divert the enemy's attention, by the hurry of the conflict, from Lælius's detachment, who were advancing from among the hills. In this they succeeded, for the Spaniards were unconscious of their coming, until they heard the tumult of the fight between them and their own cavalry on the rear. Thus there were two different battles; two lines of foot, and two bodies of horse, were engaged along the extent of the plain, the circumscribed ground not allowing them to be composed of both together. On the side of the Spaniards, as neither the foot could assist the horse, nor the horse the foot, the latter, who had rashly ventured into the plain, relying on the support of their cavalry, were cut to pieces; and the cavalry, being surrounded, could neither withstand the Roman infantry in front, (for by this time their own was entirely cut off,) nor the cavalry on their rear; but, having formed in a circle, and defended themselves a long time without changing their position, they were all slain to a man. Thus not one of those who were engaged in the valley, either horse or foot, survived the fight. The third company, which had stood on the hill rather to view the engagement securely, than to take any part in it, had both room and time to make their escape. The two princes also fled with them during the tumult, and before the army was entirely surrounded.

XXXIV. The same day, the camp of the Spaniards was taken, together with about three thousand men, besides other booty. Of the Romans and their allies, there fell one thousand two hundred; above three thousand were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody, if the battle had happened in a more extensive plain, so as to have allowed the enemy an easy flight. Indibilis, renouncing his project of proceeding farther in the war, and seeing no better prospect of safety in this desperate state of his affairs than in the honour and clemency of Scipio, which he had already experienced, sent his brother Mandonius to him; who, prostrating himself at his feet, lamented "the fatal frenzy of the times, wherein, as it were, through some pestilent contagion, not only the Illergetians and Lacetanians, but even the Roman camp had been infected: that the present state of himself, his brother, and the rest of his countrymen, was such, that if it was required, they would surrender up to Scipio the life which he had spared to them; or, if they might be still preserved, they would ever devote it to his service; for in such case they should be actually twice indebted to him alone for existence. That, in the former case, they had confidence in their cause, before they had made trial of his clemency; but now, on the contrary, they could have none in their cause, and their only hope lay in the mercy of their conqueror." It was the practice of the Romans, observed from very early times with respect to persons with whom they had formed no treaty of friendship or alliance, never to exercise any act of authority over them; for they were not held as subjects, until they had surrendered all their property, both sacred and common, had given hostages, delivered up their arms, and received garrisons in their towns. On the present occasion, Scipio, after severely reproaching Mandonius, who was present, and Indibilis, who was absent, said that "they had deservedly been brought to ruin by their own wicked practices; that they should owe their lives to the generosity of himself and the Roman people. Further, he would not even deprive them of their arms; those were only to be taken, as pledges, by such as feared a renewal of war; they should, therefore, be freely left them; nor should their minds be shackled with fear. Should they again revolt, he would not take vengeance on guiltless hostages, but on themselves; he would inflict no punishment on defenceless enemies,

but on those who carried arms. That he left it to themselves, who had experienced both, to choose the favour or the resentment of the Romans." On these terms Mandonius was dismissed, and they were only fined a sum of money for the pay of the troops. Scipio, having sent on his lieutenant into Farther Spain, and Silanus back to Tarraco, delayed only a few days, until the Iltergetians had paid the fine demanded of them. Then, with some troops lightly equipped, he followed Marcius, whom he overtook at a small distance from the ocean.

XXXV. The negotiation, some time before commenced with Masinissa, had been delayed by various causes: the Numidian choosing to confer only with Scipio himself, and from his hand to receive the ratification of the compact. This was Scipio's reason for undertaking at that time so long a journey, and to places so distant from his quarters. When Masinissa received notice at Gades from Marcius, that he was drawing nigh, complaining that his horses were injured by being pent up in the island; that they not only caused a scarcity of every thing among the men, but felt it themselves; and besides that the horsemen were losing their spirits through want of exercise; he prevailed on Mago to allow him to pass over to the continent, to plunder the adjacent country of the Spaniards. On landing, he sent forward three chiefs of the Numidians, to fix a time and place for a conference, desiring that two of them might be detained by Scipio as hostages, and the third sent back to conduct him to the place appointed. They came to the conference with but few attendants; the Numidian had long been possessed with admiration of the man he was about to meet, from the fame of his exploits, and had formed a perfect idea of the grandeur and dignity of his person. But on seeing him, his veneration increased; for the elegance of his appearance, naturally majestic, was added to by his flowing hair, and by his becoming dress, not decorated with ornaments, but in a style truly manly and military; by his age also, as he was in full vigour, aided by the bloom of youth, renewed as it were after his late illness. At their meeting, the Numidian, struck with a degree of astonishment, first "thanked him for having sent home his brother's son; assured him, that ever since that transaction he had sought for the present opportunity, which being at length

offered by the favour of the immortal gods, he had not neglected; that he wished to exert himself in his service and that of the Roman people, with more zeal and effect than had ever been shown by any foreigner, in support of the Roman interest: that although this had long been his wish, yet he was less able to effect it in Spain,—a territory with which he was little acquainted; but in his own country, in Africa, where he had been born and educated with the hopes of enjoying the kingdom of his father, it would be more easily in his power to serve them; that if the Romans thought proper to send the same commander, Scipio, into Africa, he had good reason to hope that the existence of Carthage would be of very short duration." Scipio received and heard him with much satisfaction; he knew that Masinissa was the main support of the enemy with respect to cavalry, and the young man himself had given considerable proofs of spirit. After they had mutually pledged their faith, he returned to Tarraco; and Masinissa having, with permission of the Romans, ravaged the neighbouring soil, that he might not appear to have passed over to the continent for nothing, returned to Gades.

XXXVI. While Mago was preparing to pass into Africa, despairing of success in Spain, (of which he had been encouraged to entertain hopes, first, by the mutiny of the soldiers; and afterwards by the revolt of Indibilis,) information was brought from Carthage, that the senate ordered him to carry over to Italy the fleet which he had at Gades; and having there hired as many of the Gallic and Ligurian youths as he could find, to form a junction with Hannibal, and not to suffer the war to sink into languor, after the very great exertions and greater successes which had signalized its beginning. Money, to answer this purpose, was brought to Mago from Carthage; in addition to which he extorted much from the people of Gades, plundering not only their treasury but their temples, and compelling them to bring in their private properties of gold and silver to the public stock. As he sailed along the coast of Spain, he landed his men not far from New Carthage; and having ravaged the lands adjoining, brought up his fleet from thence to the city; where, having kept his soldiers on board the ships during the day, he disembarked them in the night, and led them on to that part of the wall over which the Romans had



entered when they took the place; for he had a notion that the garrison was not strong, and that, on seeing a hope of changing masters, some of the townsmen would raise a commotion. But those who had fled in a panic from the fields had already brought an account of the dispersion of the country people, and the approach of the enemy; the fleet also had been observed during the day, and it was sufficiently evident that its station before the city had not been chosen without some reason. The garrison were therefore drawn up, and kept under arms, withinside the gate which looks toward the basin and the sea. The enemy rushing on in a tumultuous manner, with crowds of seamen mixed among the soldiers, advanced to the walls with more noise than strength; when the Romans, suddenly throwing open the gate, rushed forth with a shout, and having disordered and repulsed the motley band at the first onset and discharge of their darts, pursued them with great slaughter to the coast; nor would one of them have survived the battle and the pursuit, had not the vessels, warping close to the shore, received them as they fled in dismay. Those on ship-board also were not without their share of the confusion, occasioned by the drawing up of the ladders, lest the enemy should force in along with their own men, and in cutting away their cables and anchors to avoid the delay of weighing them. Many, in attempting to swim to the ships, as they could not in the declining light distinguish whether they ought to direct their course, or what to avoid, met a miserable death. Next day, when the fleet had fled back to the mid-ocean, there were found between the wall and the shore eight hundred men slain, and two thousand stands of arms.

XXXVII. Mago, returning to Gades, was not permitted to enter the place; on which he put with his fleet into Cimbris at a little distance, and from thence sent ambassadors, complaining of their having shut their gates against an ally and friend. While they apologized for this act, alleging that it had been done by a part of the multitude, who were offended because some of their effects had been carried off by the soldiers when they were embarking, he enticed their *suffetes*<sup>1</sup> (which is the name of

the chief magistracy among the Carthaginians) and their treasurer to a conference: and then ordered them to be crucified, after they had been mangled with stripes. From thence he sailed to the island *Pityusa*,<sup>2</sup> about one hundred miles from the continent, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was received in a friendly manner, and supplied not only with abundance of provisions, but with a reinforcement of young men and arms. Emboldened by these succours, the Carthaginian proceeded to the Balearic islands, about fifty miles distant. There are two of the *Baleares*;<sup>3</sup> one larger and more powerful in men and arms than the other, and which has also a harbour, where he believed he might pass the winter commodiously, as it was now the latter end of autumn. But here he met with an opposition, as violent as if the inhabitants of that island had been Romans. As they now mostly use slings, so at that time these were their only weapons; in the skilful use of which the *Baleareans* universally excel all others. Such a quantity, therefore, of stones was poured, like the thickest hail on the fleet as it approached the land, that, not daring to enter the harbour, the Carthaginians tacked about to the main. They then passed over to the smaller of the *Baleares*, which is equally fertile in soil, though, as already noted, of lesser strength. Here they landed, and pitched their camp in a strong post, over the harbour, taking possession of the city and country without a contest. Then, having enlisted two thousand auxiliaries, and sent them to Carthage for the winter, they hauled their ships on shore. After Mago had departed from the coast, the people of *Gades* surrendered to the Romans.

XXXVIII. Such were the transactions in Spain under the conduct and command of *Publius Scipio*; who having committed the

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suls. The Carthaginians had a senate also like that of the Romans. There was one peculiarity in their proceedings which deserves notice: when the members were unanimous, there was no appeal from their decision; but when opinions were divided, the business devolved to the community at large. For a very long time the people interfered but little with the administration of public affairs; but afterwards, by means of factions and cabals, they almost entirely engrossed it to themselves, which proved a principal cause of their ruin. They had a council consisting of 104 members, called the tribunal of the hundred, to which the commanders of armies were responsible for their conduct.

<sup>2</sup> *Yviea*.

<sup>3</sup> *Majorca* and *Minorca*.

<sup>1</sup> These were two magistrates chosen annually, and invested with power similar to those of the Roman con-

charge of the province to Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Audinus, returned to Rome with ten ships; and having obtained an audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona without the city, made a recital of his services in Spain, how often he had engaged the enemy in pitched battles, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had reduced under the dominion of the Roman people; that "he had gone into Spain against four generals, and four armies, who were elated with victory; and that he had not left a Carthaginian in all that country." On account of these exploits, he rather made trial how far he might hope for a triumph, than pushed for it with any earnestness; because it was well known that no one had ever been honoured with it for achievements performed, unless invested with a public office. When the senate was dismissed, he proceeded into the city, and carried before him to the treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, and of coined silver a great sum. Lucius Veturius Philo then held the assembly for electing consuls; and all the centuries, with extraordinary marks of attachment, named Publius Scipio consul. The colleague joined with him was Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff. We are told that this election was attended by a greater concourse of people than any during that war. They had come together from all parts, not only for the purpose of giving their votes, but of getting a sight of Scipio; and ran in crowds, both to his house and to the capitol, while he was performing sacrifice, by offering to Jupiter a hundred oxen, which he had vowed on occasion of the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain. Strong expectations were at the same time entertained, that as Caius Lutatius had finished the former Punic war, so Publius Cornelius Scipio would finish the present; and that, as he had already expelled the Carthaginians from every part of Spain, he would in like manner expel them from Italy. They therefore destined Africa to him as a province, as if the war in Italy were at an end. The election of the prætors was then held: two were appointed, who were, at the time, plebeian ædiles, Spurius Lucretius and Cneius Octavius; and, of private rank, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Lucius Æmilius Popus. In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, as soon as Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered on the consulship, the provinces for the consuls were

named; for Scipio, Sicily, without drawing lots, with the consent of his colleague, because the necessary attendance on religious matters required the presence of the chief pontiff in Italy; for Crassus, Bruttium. The provinces of the prætors were then disposed of by lot; that of the city fell to Cneius Servilius; Ariminum (so they called Gaul,) to Spurius Lucretius; Sicily to Lucius Æmilius; and Sardinia to Cneius Octavius. The senate was held in the capitol; there, on the matter being proposed by Publius Scipio, a decree was made, that the games, which he had vowed during the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain, should be exhibited, and the expense defrayed out of the money which himself had conveyed to the treasury.

XXXIX. He then introduced to the senate ambassadors from Saguntum, the eldest of whom addressed them in this manner: "Conscript fathers, although there is no degree of evil beyond what we have endured, in order that we might preserve our faith towards you inviolate to the last; yet so highly has your behaviour, and that of your commanders, merited at our hands, that we do not repent of having exposed ourselves to sufferings. On our account you undertook the war, and although it is now the fourteenth year since it began, yet you still maintain it with such persevering spirit, as to endanger yourselves, while having often brought the Carthaginians to the very brink of ruin. At a time when you had so grievous a contest to maintain, and with such an antagonist as Hannibal, you sent your consul, with an army, into Spain, to collect as it were what remained of us after a shipwreck. Publius and Cneius Cornelius, from the moment of their arrival in the province, never ceased to pursue measures favourable to us, and destructive to our enemies. They, first of all, regained and gave back to us our city; and sending persons to search for our countrymen who had been sold and dispersed through every part of Spain, they restored them from slavery to liberty. When, after experiencing the utmost wretchedness, we were near being happily settled, your commanders, Publius and Cneius Cornelius, fell, more to be lamented in some measure by us, even than by you. Then, indeed, it appeared as if we had been called from distant places to our original residence, only that we might be a second time ruined; only that we might see a second destruction of our country. That, to accomplish this, there was no occasion for an army of Car-



thaginians; we might be utterly destroyed by our oldest and most inveterate enemies, the Turdulans, who had also been the cause of our former calamity. In which conjuncture, you speedily, and beyond our expectations, sent to us this Publius Scipio, the author of our well being, the supporter of all our hopes; of whose election to the consulship, our having been eye-witnesses, and our being able to carry home the joyful news to our countrymen, render us the happiest of the Saguntines. He, having taken a great number of the towns of your enemies in Spain, always separated the Saguntines from the rest of the prisoners, and sent them home to their own country; and, lastly, by his arms, so humbled Turdetania—a state so inveterate in its animosity against us, that, if its power had continued, Saguntum must have fallen,—that not only we, but (let me say it without presumption) even our posterity, need have no apprehensions from it. We now see their city destroyed,—the city of a people for whose gratification Hannibal ruined Saguntum. We now receive tribute from their country—a circumstance not more gratifying to us, in the profit we derive from it, than in the satisfying of our revenge. In gratitude for these blessings, greater than which we could not either hope or implore from the immortal gods, the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us, their ten ambassadors, to present their thanks; and, at the same time, to congratulate you on the success which has of late years attended your arms in Spain and Italy. You hold the possession of Spain, so acquired, not only as far as the city Iberus, but to the utmost limits and boundaries by the ocean; while in Italy you have left nothing to the Carthaginian, but what the rampart of his camp incloses. To Jove, supremely great and good, who presides over the fortress of the capitol, we have been ordered, not only to make acknowledgments for these blessings, but, with your permission, to bear thither this offering, a golden crown, in token of victory. We request that you will permit us this act of reverence; and also, that you will ratify by your authority, and fix on a permanent footing, the advantages bestowed on us by your commanders." The senate answered the Saguntine ambassadors, that "the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would be an example to all nations, of social faith fulfilled on both sides; that their commanders, in restoring that city, and delivering its inhabitants

from slavery, had acted properly, regularly, and agreeably to the intentions of the senate; that all other acts of kindness shown them had likewise their approbation; and that they gave them permission to deposit their charge in the capitol." Orders were then given that apartments and entertainment should be provided for the ambassadors, and a present made to each of them, of not less than ten thousand *asses*.<sup>1</sup> Other embassies were then introduced and heard. On the Saguntines requesting, that they might be allowed to take a view of Italy, as far as they could go with safety, guides were given them, and letters despatched to all the towns, requiring them to entertain these Spaniards in a friendly manner. The senate then took into consideration the state of public affairs, the levying of troops, and the distribution of the provinces.

XL. People in general expressed a desire that Africa should be constituted a new province, and assigned to Publius Scipio without casting lots; and he, not content with a moderate share of glory, affirmed that he had been appointed consul, not for the purpose only of carrying on the war, but of finishing it; that this could be accomplished by no other means than by transporting an army into Africa; declaring openly, that if the senate should oppose him in that point, he would carry it by the votes of the people. The principal senators by no means approved of the design; and whilst the rest, either through fear, or a desire of ingratiating themselves with him, declined uttering their sentiments, Quintus Fabius Maximus, being asked his opinion, expressed himself to this effect: "I know, conscript fathers, that many among you are of opinion, that we are this day deliberating on an affair already determined: and that he will expend words to little purpose who shall deliver his sentiments on the subject of Africa being constituted a province, as on a matter open to discussion. Yet, in the first place, I do not understand how Africa can be a province, already secured to that brave and active commander, our consul; when neither the senate have voted, nor the people ordered, that it should at all be considered as such; and again, if it were, in my judgment it is the consul who acts amiss; for it is a mockery of the senate to pretend to consult them on a question if already decided, and not the

senator, who in his place would speak to the business which he supposed in hand. Now I am well aware, that, by disapproving this violent haste to pass over into Africa, I expose myself to two imputations: one the caution natural to my temper, which young men have my free consent to call cowardice and sloth; while I have no reason to be sorry, that, although the schemes of others always carried at first view a more specious appearance, yet mine were on experience found to be more useful. The other imputation to which I shall be liable, is that of detraction and envy towards the rising glory of the valiant consul:—from a suspicion of which kind, if neither my past life and morals can free me, nor a dictatorship and five consulships, together with such a store of glory acquired in the transactions both of war and peace, that it is more likely I should be satiated, than desirous of more; let my age at least acquit me. For what emulation can I have with him, who is not equal in age even to my son? When I was dictator, when I was in full vigour, and proceeding in a course of the greatest achievements, no one heard me, either in the senate or before the people, make opposition to the proposed measure, (although such as had never before been heard of, even in conversation,) of conferring power equal to mine on the master of the horse, and who at the very time was endeavouring to injure my character. I chose to effect my purpose by actions rather than words; and that he who was set on a level with me in the judgment of others, should at length, by his own confession, allow me a superiority over him. Much less would I now, after having passed through every dignity of the state, propose to myself contests and emulations with a man blooming in youth. Is it that Africa, if refused to him, might be decreed as a province to me,—to me, already wearied, not only with the toils of business, but even with length of years? No: with that glory which I have already acquired, I am to live and die. I stopped the career of Hannibal's conquests, that you, whose powers are now in vigour, might be able to gain conquests over him.

XLI. "As I never, in my own case, regarded the opinion of the world when set in competition with the advantage of the state, it will be but reasonable that you pardon me, Publius Cornelius, if I do not consider even your fame in preference to the public good. If either

there were no war in Italy, or the enemy here were such that a victory over him would be productive of no glory, he who should attempt to retain you in Italy, notwithstanding that he consulted therein the general welfare, might seem to intend, while he restrained you from removing the war, to deprive you of a subject of future glory. Yet Hannibal, a powerful enemy, with an army unimpaired, maintains a footing in Italy, for the fourteenth year. Would you then have reason to be dissatisfied, Publius Cornelius, with your share of fame, if you should in your consulate expel such a foe from out of Italy; a foe, who has been the cause of so much mourning, of so many calamities to us? In fine, should you not be content to enjoy the reputation of having finished the present Punic war, as Caius Lutatius did that of finishing the former? Unless, indeed, you will say, that Hamilcar is a general more formidable than Hannibal; or that a war in Africa is of greater importance than it would be in Italy; that a victory there, (supposing it should be our good fortune to obtain such while you are consul,) would be more profitable and illustrious than one here. Would you choose to draw away Hamilcar from Drepanum or Eryx, rather than to expel the Carthaginians and Hannibal out of Italy? Although you should look with a more partial regard on the renown which you have acquired, than on that which you have in prospect, yet surely you would not pride yourself so much in having freed Spain, as in freeing Italy. Hannibal is not yet in such a condition, that he who prefers engaging with another general, must not evidently appear to be actuated by fear of him, rather than by contempt. Why, then, do you not direct your efforts to this point, and carry the strength of the war immediately to the place where Hannibal is, and not by that circuit, presuming that, when you shall have passed into Africa, Hannibal will follow you thither? Do you wish to be crowned with the distinguished honour of having finished the Punic war? In the very nature of things, you are to defend your own property, before you attack another's. Let peace be restored in Italy, before hostilities commence in Africa. Let us be delivered from fear ourselves, before we attempt to make others afraid of us. If both can be accomplished under your conduct and auspices, it will be well. After you have vanquished Hannibal at home, then go and lay siege to Carthage. If



one or the other of these conquests must be left to succeeding consuls, the former, as it will be the more important and the more glorious, will be also the cause of the subsequent one. For in the present state of affairs, besides that the treasury cannot maintain two different armies, one in Italy, and another in Africa; besides that we have nothing left us wherewith we could equip fleets, or be able to supply provisions; who does not see what danger must be incurred? Publius Licinius will wage war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. What if Hannibal, having gained a superiority, should advance to the city, (may all the gods avert the omen! my mind is shocked even at mentioning it; but what has happened, may happen again,) will that be a time for us to be obliged to send for you, the consul, from Africa, as we sent for Quintus Fulvius from Capua? Besides, are we to suppose that in Africa the chances of war will not be the same with both parties? Let your father and your uncle be a warning to you,—cut off, together with their armies, in the space of thirty days; and after having, during a course of several years, by their great services, as well on land as at sea, rendered the name of the Roman people, and of your family, in the highest degree illustrious among foreign states. The whole day would not be sufficient, were I to recount to you all the kings and generals, who, by passing rashly into an enemy's country, have brought the greatest calamities on themselves and their armies. The Athenians, for instance, a state remarkable for prudence, having, at the instigation of a youth who was distinguished as much by his active spirit as by his nobility, neglected a war at home, and sent over a large fleet to Sicily, (their commonwealth at that time in a most flourishing condition,) suffered, in one naval engagement, such a blow as could never be retrieved.

XLII. "But, not to bring examples from distant countries, and times of such remote antiquity, Africa itself, and Marcus Atilius, (a remarkable instance of both extremes of fortune,) may serve as a warning to us. Be assured, Publius Cornelius, that, when you shall have a view of Africa from the sea, all your exploits in Spain will appear to you to have been only matter of sport and play. For in what circumstance can they be compared? After sailing along the coasts of Italy and Gaul, where there was nothing to oppose you,

carried your fleet into the harbour of Emporia, a city belonging to our allies; and, having landed your men, you led them through countries entirely free from danger, to Tarraco, to the friends and allies of the Roman people. From Tarraco, you passed amid Roman garrisons. It was on the Iberus, indeed, that the armies of your father and uncle were exasperated by the loss of their generals, their new commander being Lucius Marcius, irregularly appointed, it is true, and chosen for the time, by the suffrages of the soldiers; but, except that he wanted a noble birth, and a regular course of promotion, equal to many celebrated captains in every military accomplishment. The siege of New Carthage you carried on quite at your leisure, while neither of the three Carthaginian armies attempted to relieve the place. As to the rest of your exploits, I am far from wishing to lessen their merit, but they are certainly, by no means, to be compared with a war in Africa; where there is not a single harbour open to our fleet; no part of the country at peace with us; no state our ally; no king our friend; no room, anywhere, either to stand or advance. On whatever side you turn your eyes, all things are hostile and threatening. Will you depend on Syphax and the Numidians? Suffice it to say, that they were once trusted. Rashness is not always successful; and hypocrisy, by acquiring a foundation of credit in smaller matters, prepares for itself the opportunity of deceiving with greater advantage. The foe did not get the better of your father and uncle by arms, until their Celtiberian allies had first got the better of them by treachery. Nor were you yourself brought into so much danger by Mago and Hasdrubal, the enemy's generals, as by Indibilis and Mandonius, whom you had received into your protection. Can you, who have experienced a defection of your own soldiers, place any confidence in Numidians? Both Syphax and Masinissa are desirous of becoming the greatest powers in Africa, to the exclusion of the Carthaginians; but still they prefer the interest of those people to that of any other state. At present, mutual emulation embitters them against each other, and which arises from their feeling no immediate apprehensions from any foreign force. The moment they behold the Romans arms, they will instantly unite, as if to extinguish a fire equally threatening them both. The efforts which these same Cartha-

ginians made in support of Spain were widely different from what they will exert in defence of the walls of their native city, of the temples of their gods, their altars, and their dwellings; when their wives, distracted with fear, shall accompany them as they go to battle, and their helpless children gather round them. Besides, what if the Carthaginians, thinking themselves sufficiently secured by the harmony subsisting in Africa, by the faith of the kings their allies, and by their own fortifications, should, on seeing Italy deprived of your protection, either send over a new army from Africa into Italy, or order Mago, (who, we know, has sailed over from the Baleares, and is now cruising on the coast of the Alpine Ligurians,) to join his forces to those of Hannibal? We should then be seized with the same terror which we felt lately, on hearing of the approach of Hasdrubal; and whom you, (who are to shut up with your army, not only Carthage, but all Africa,) allowed to slip through your hands into Italy. You will say, that he was defeated by you: the less, for that very reason, can I wish that he should be permitted, after being defeated, to march into this country; and that, not only upon the account of the public, but your own also. Allow us to ascribe to your good conduct all those events in your province which were favourable to you and to the state; and to impute such as were unfavourable to fortune, and to the chances of war. The more merit and bravery you possess, the more is your country and all Italy concerned to keep at home so powerful a protector. You cannot but acknowledge, that wherever Hannibal is, there the main stress and head of the present war must be looked for: yet the reason you give for passing over into Africa is, that you may draw Hannibal thither. Whether the Carthaginians, therefore, be in this country or in that, your business is to oppose him. Now, I pray you, whether will you be better able to cope with him in Africa, where you are to stand alone; or here, with the army of your colleague joined to your own? Is not the importance of this consideration sufficiently evinced by the recent fate of the consuls Claudius and Livius? What! is Hannibal to be feared here, as receiving an augmentation of men and arms from the remotest corner of the country of Bruttium, (and which he in vain solicits from home,) or with Carthage at his back, and all Africa con-

federated with him? What is this plan of choosing to fight there, where your forces must be less by half, and those of the enemy considerably greater, rather than here, at the head of two armies against one, and that one impaired in strength by so many battles, and by such long and laborious service? Consider well how far this plan of yours resembles that of your father. He, in his consulship, after having gone to Spain, came back from his province to Italy, in order to meet Hannibal as he was descending from the Alps: you, when Hannibal is in Italy, intend to quit the country, not because you judge that measure useful to the state, but because you expect from it splendour and glory to yourself. Just as when, without an order of the commons, without a decree of the senate, you left your province and your army;—yes, you, a commander employed by the Roman people, intrusted to two ships the fortune of the public, and the majesty of the empire, which were then exposed to hazard in your person. In my judgment, conscript fathers, Publius Cornelius Scipio was elected consul for the purpose of serving us and the people; not for his own private schemes of ambition. In my opinion, the armies were enlisted for the protection of the city and of Italy, and not to be carried about by the consuls with king-like ostentation, in gratification of their own vanity, and to any part of the world they may think proper."

XLIII. By this speech, formed for the occasion, by his authority and his established character for prudence, Fabius influenced a great part of the senate, especially those advanced in years; and a greater number approving of the wariness of the sage than of the spirit of the youth, Scipio is said to have spoken thus:—"Conscript fathers, even Quintus Fabius himself, in the beginning of his speech, has acknowledged that, in the declaration which he has made of his sentiments, he might possibly be suspected of detraction; and although I will not presume to bring a charge of such a nature against so great a man, yet certainly, whether through a defect in his discourse, or in the subject, the suspicion has not been removed. For, in order to avoid the imputation of envy, he has extolled his own honours, and the fame of his exploits, in very magnificent terms; tending to show, that whatever competition I may enter into with others, however I may fear that some person, now in obscurity, may one day be



equal with me; yet, from him I have no kind of rivalry to apprehend: for he has attained to such a height of eminence, that he will not suffer me at any time to be placed on a level with him, however anxiously I may wish it; and that I do wish it, I will by no means dissemble. He has, therefore, represented himself as a man of gravity and wisdom, who has passed through every degree of public honours; and me, as below the age even of his son; as if ambition extended not its views beyond the present life, and did not look forward to posterity and future remembrance as the greatest possible reward. I well know, that it is usual with persons of exalted merit to compare themselves with the illustrious men, not only of the present, but of every age; and I do not deny, Quintus Fabius, that I wish not only to overtake you in the race of glory, but (pardon the expression) to outrun you, if I can. That disposition of mind will not, I hope, affect you towards me, nor me towards my juniors, that we should be displeased if any of our countrymen became distinguished like ourselves; for that would be an injury not only to those who were the objects of our envy, but to the state, and in some measure to all mankind. Fabius has descanted on the danger which I must incur if I pass into Africa, so as to appear anxious, not only about the safety of the nation and the army, but about mine. Whence has this concern for me so suddenly arisen? When my father and uncle were slain; when their two armies were cut off almost to a man; when Spain was lost; when four armies and four generals of the Carthaginians, by terror and by arms, kept possession of every thing; when the public were at a loss for a general to conduct that war, and no one stepped forward except myself; when no one dared to declare himself a candidate; when the Roman people had conferred the command on me, though but twenty-four years old—how happened it that no mention was then made of my age, of the power of the enemy, of the difficulties of opposing him, or of the recent calamity of my relatives? Has any greater misfortune befallen us in Africa, than had at that time been experienced in Spain? Are there now on that continent more numerous armies or better generals, than there were then in Spain? Was I fitter at that time of life for conducting a war than I am now? Is a contest with a Carthaginian enemy less difficult in Spain than in Africa? It is an easy

matter, after four Carthaginian armies routed and entirely dispersed; after so many cities taken by force, or terrified into a surrender. while all places, even as far as the ocean, have been brought under entire subjection; while so many princes, so many savage nations have been wholly reduced; in a word, after all Spain has been reconquered, and in such a manner as that no trace of war remains;—it is easy, I say, to depreciate the value of my services; just as easy, in truth, as it will be, if I shall return victorious from Africa, to make light of those very circumstances which are now so greatly aggravated, and painted in such terrible colours, for the purpose of detaining me here. It is affirmed that no entrance can be found into Africa; that there are no harbours open to us; that Marcus Atilius was taken prisoner there, as if Marcus Atilius had miscarried on approaching that coast. But Fabius does not recollect that this commander (afterwards, indeed, unfortunate) found the harbours of Africa open, and during the first year performed extraordinary services; and as far as concerned the Carthaginian generals, remained unconquered to the last. The example which you produce, therefore, does not in the least deter me. If that loss had even been sustained in the present war, and not in the former; if lately, and not forty years ago; yet why should I not as well pass into Africa after Regulus was made prisoner, as into Spain, after the Scipios were slain; nor suffer it to be said, that the birth of Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, was, by the defeat of our consul, more fortunate to Carthage, than mine to my own country? and why might not I assume additional confidence from that very circumstance, that it was possible for the bravery of one man, a Spartan, to produce such important consequences? But we are also told of the Athenians neglecting a war at home, and passing inconsiderately into Sicily. Why do you not rather (since you have leisure to recount Grecian fables) mention Agathocles king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was for a long time wasted by a Punic war, by passing over into this same Africa, averted that war to the place from whence it came?

XLIV. "But what need is there either of ancient or foreign examples to remind us how useful it is to spread terror among the enemy by a sudden attack; and after removing the danger to a distance from ourselves, to make

him abide the hazard? Can there be any greater or more striking instance than is found in Hannibal? Between wasting the territories of others, and seeing our own destroyed with fire and sword, the difference is immense. The assailant has ever more spirit than the defendant; and people's apprehensions are the greater in the latter case. When you have entered an enemy's territories, you can then see more distinctly the advantages and disadvantages which pertain to the same. Hannibal never entertained a hope that so many nations in Italy would revolt to him as did, and which was induced by our misfortune at Cannæ. How much less can any firm and steady support in Africa be expected by the Carthaginians, who are themselves faithless allies, severe and haughty masters? As to ourselves, even when deserted by confederates, we stood firm in our own natural strength, the soldiery of Rome. This the Carthaginians do not possess; besides, their soldiers are procured for hire,—Africans, with Numidians, of all men the most unsteady in their attachments. If no obstruction be thrown in my way at home, you shall shortly hear, that I have made good my descent, and that Africa is in a blaze of war; that Hannibal, in returning thither, comes but to experience a defeat, and that Carthage is besieged: in fine, expect confidently more frequent and more joyful despatches from that continent than you received from Spain. These hopes are suggested to me by the fortune of the Roman people, the gods who witnessed the treaty which the enemy have violated, and the friendship of the kings, Syphax and Masinissa, to whom I shall look for aid while securing myself against perfidy. The war will disclose many things which do not appear now; and it is the business of a general, not to fail of improving the overtures of fortune, and to convert casual occurrences to the accomplishment of his designs. I shall, Quintus Fabius, have the antagonist whom you assign me, Hannibal: I shall compel him to fight in his own country, and Carthage rather shall be the prize than the half-ruined forts of the Brutians. With respect to the security of the state, and that it should suffer no injury while I am on my passage; while I am landing my army in Africa; while I am marching forwards to Carthage; be careful in any assertion as to what you, Quintus Fabius, were able to accomplish, at a time when Hannibal was pursuing a rapid career of victory through all parts of

Italy; be mindful, I say, lest it be considered as an insult, that you do not too freely affirm of him, that, shaken and almost broken in pieces, his overthrow by Publius Licinius the consul were easy,—a man by the way of the most consummate valour, and who declined the lot of so distant a province as Africa; only because, being chief pontiff, he must not be absent from his religious duties. In fact, even though the war were not to be brought to a speedier conclusion by the method which I propose, still it would concern the dignity of the Roman people, and their reputation among foreign kings and nations, that we should appear to have spirit, not only to defend Italy, but to carry our arms into Africa; and that it should not be spread abroad, and believed, that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; and that, in the former Punic war, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa had been often attacked by our fleets and armies; but that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should enjoy peace. Let Italy, so long harassed, enjoy at length some repose: let Africa, in its turn, feel fire and sword. Let the Roman camp press on the very gates of Carthage; rather than that we, a second time, should behold from our walls the rampart of that of the enemy. Let Africa, in short, be the seat of the remainder of the war: thither be removed terror and flight, devastation of lands, revolt of allies, and all the other calamities with which, for fourteen years, we have been afflicted. It is sufficient that I have delivered my sentiments on those matters which affect the state, the dispute in which we are involved, and the provinces under consideration: my discourse would be tedious, and unsuitable to this audience, if, as Quintus Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should, on the other hand, endeavour in like manner to disparage his glory, and extol my own. I shall do neither, conscript fathers; but young as I am, I will show that I excel that sage, if in nothing else, yet certainly in modesty and temperance of language. Such has been my life and conduct, that I can, in silence, rest perfectly satisfied with that character which your own judgments have formed of me."

XIV. Scipio was heard the less favourably on account of a rumour which prevailed, that if he did not carry the point in the senate, of having Africa decreed to him as his province, he was determined immediately to submit the business to public decision. Therefore Quin-



tus Fulvius, who had been consul four times, and censor, demanded of the consul, that he should declare openly in the senate, whether "he meant to abide by the determination of the fathers in regard to the provinces, or whether he intended to bring the matter before the people?" Scipio having answered, that he would act in such a manner as he should deem most advantageous to the state, Fulvius replied, "I did not ask the question through ignorance of what you would answer, and what you intended to do. It is thus plainly seen, that you are rather sounding the senate, than consulting them; and have an order ready to be proposed to the people, if we do not immediately decree to you the province that you desire. I therefore call upon you, tribunes, to support me in refusing to give my opinion, and for this reason, that, although a majority should concur with me, yet the consul would appeal from their judgment." On this an altercation arose, Scipio insisting, that it was unfair for the tribunes to interpose, so as to prevent any senator from giving his opinion, on being asked it in his place. The tribunes determined thus: "If the consul submits the regulation of the provinces to the senate, we are satisfied that their decision shall be final, and we will not suffer that matter to be carried before the people; if he does not so submit it, we will support such as shall refuse to give their opinion on the subject." The consul desired time until the next day, that he might confer with his colleague, and the affair was then submitted to the senate, who decreed the provinces in this manner: to one consul, Sicily, and the thirty ships of war, which Caius Servilius had commanded the preceding year, with permission to pass over into Africa, if he should judge it for the advantage of the state; to the other, Bruttium, and the war against Hannibal, with the army which Lucius Veturius, or that which Quintus Cæcilius commanded; that these latter should cast lots, or settle between themselves, which of them should command in Bruttium, with the two legions which would be left by the consul; and that he, to whose lot that province fell, should be continued in it for another year. The others also who were to have the charge of armies, besides the consuls and prætors, had their commission prolonged. It fell by lot to Quintus Cæcilius, that, in conjunction with the consul, he should manage the war against Hannibal in Bruttium.

Scipio's games were then exhibited to a vast concourse of spectators, who expressed the highest approbation. Marcus Pomponius Matho, and Quintus Cati, being sent ambassadors to Delphi, with a present out of the spoils of Hasdrubal, carried a golden crown of two hundred pounds weight, and representations of the prizes, formed of one thousand pounds weight of silver. Although Scipio had not obtained, nor earnestly solicited, authority to levy soldiers, he yet was permitted to enrol volunteers; and as he had declared that the fleet should be no expense to the public, so he might receive such contributions as should be offered by the allies for building new ships. The states of Etruria first promised to give assistance to the consul proportioned to the respective abilities of each; the people of Cære engaged to bring corn, and provisions of all kinds, for the seamen; the Populonians, iron; the Tarquinians, canvass for sails; the Volaterrans, tacking and corn; the Arretians, thirty thousand shields, the same number of helmets; of javelins, short pikes, and long spears, each an equal number, amounting in the whole to fifty thousand; to supply axes, mattocks, bills, buckets, and millstones, sufficient for forty ships of war, with one hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat; they also promised to contribute to the expense of the decurions<sup>1</sup> and rowers. The people of Perusium, Clusium, and Rusella gave assurance of fir for building ships, and a large quantity of corn. The states of Umbria, with the people of Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, and the whole country of the Sabines, engaged to furnish soldiers. Fir, however, he took out of the woods belonging to the state. Great numbers of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrusinians, voluntarily gave in their names to serve in the fleet. The Cameritans, though confederated with the Romans on equal terms, sent a cohort of six hundred men and arms. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes, Scipio pressed forward the work by his personal attendance in such a manner, that on the forty-fifth day after the timber had been brought from the woods, the ships were rigged, armed, and launched.

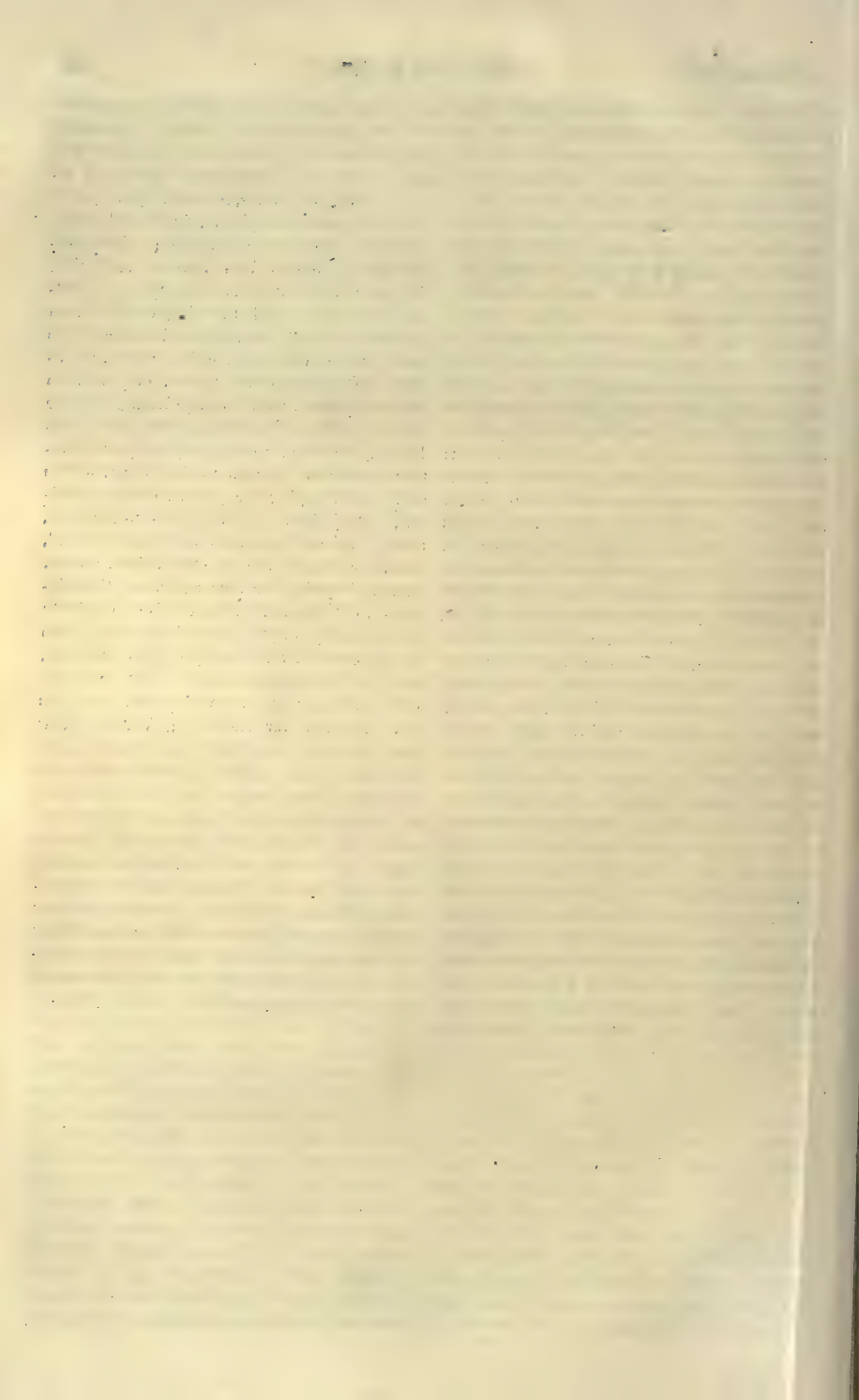
XLVI. The consul proceeded to Sicily with thirty ships of war, having embarked about seven thousand volunteers. Publius Licinius

<sup>1</sup> Officers who had the command of the rowers.

came into Bruttium to the two consular armies, of which he chose for himself that which had been commanded by the late consul Lucius Veturius; he placed Metellus at the head of the same legions as before, because he thought it would be the easier for him to transact business with those who were accustomed to his command: the prætors also repaired to their different provinces. Money for the war being wanting, the quæstors were ordered to sell a district of the Campanian territory, extending from the Grecian trench to the sea; they were also empowered to make inquiry what lands had been the property of any native, in order that they might be transferred to the Roman people; with a reward to any informer of the tenth part of the value of the lands so discovered. It was also given in charge to Cneius Servilius, prætor of the city, that the natives of Campania should be obliged to remain in those places which had been decreed for their residence by the senate, and that such as removed to any other should be punished. During the same summer, Mago, son of Hamilcar, after having spent the winter in the smaller of the Baleares, and having there embarked a chosen body of young men on board his fleet, which consisted of near thirty ships of war, and a great number of transports, carried into Italy twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse; and, by his unexpected arrival, surprised Genoa, there being no forces stationed to protect the coast. From thence he sailed to the coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to try if he could raise any commotions there. The Ingaunians, a tribe of the Ligurians, were at that time engaged in war with the Epanterians, who inhabited the mountains: the Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, a town of the Alps, and left a squadron of ten ships of war to protect it, sent the rest to Carthage, to guard the sea-coast, a report being

spread that Scipio intended to pass over thither. He then formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, whose friendship he esteemed, resolving in person to attack the mountaineers. His army increased daily, the Gauls, induced by the greatness of his character, pouring in from all sides. When the senate were informed of these proceedings, by letters from Spurius Lucretius, they were filled with much anxiety, apprehending that the joy which they had conceived on the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, two years before, would prove ill-founded, if another war, equal to the former, only under a different general, were to arise from the same quarter. They therefore commanded Marcus Livius, proconsul, to march an army of volunteer slaves from Etruria to Ariminum, at the same time charging the prætor, Cneius Servilius, if he judged it advantageous to the state, to order the city legions to be led into the field, by such commander as he should think proper. Marcus Valerius Lævinus conducted those legions to Arretium. About this time eighty transport ships of the Carthaginians were taken on the coast of Sardinia by Cneius Octavius, who held the government of that province. Cælius relates that these were laden with corn and provisions for Hannibal; Valerius, that they were carrying to Carthage the plunder of Etruria, and the Ligurian mountaineers, who had been made prisoners. In Bruttium, hardly any thing memorable happened during that year. A pestilence had attacked both Romans and Carthaginians with equal violence, except that the Carthaginians, besides the disorder, were distressed by famine. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinea, where he built and dedicated an altar, with an inscription in the Carthaginian and Greek characters, containing a pompous recital of his exploits.





THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXIX.

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In Spain, Mandonius and Indibilis, reviving hostilities, are finally subdued. Scipio goes over from Syracuse to Locri : dislodges the Carthaginian general : repulses Hannibal, and recovers that city. Peace made with Philip. The Idæan Mother brought to Rome from Phrygia : received by Publius Scipio Nasica, judged, by the senate, the best man in the state. Scipio passes over into Africa. Syphax, having married a daughter of Hasdrubal, renounces his alliance with Scipio. Masinissa, who had been expelled his kingdom by Syphax, joins Scipio with two hundred horsemen ; they defeat a large army commanded by Hanno. Hasdrubal and Syphax approach with a most numerous force. Scipio raises the siege of Utica, and fortifies a post for the winter. The consul Sempronius gets the better of Hannibal in a battle near Croton. Dispute between Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, censors.

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When Scipio arrived in Sicily, he formed his volunteers into cohorts and centuries ; of which forces he kept three hundred about him, all of them vigorous young men, and ignorant of the purpose for which they were reserved, being neither enrolled in the centuries, nor supplied with arms. Then, out of the whole number of youths in Sicily, he chose also three hundred of distinguished birth and fortune as horsemen, who were to pass over with him into Africa, appointing a day on which they were to attend, equipped and furnished with horses and arms. This service appeared to them very severe, being so far from home, and attended with great fatigues and great dangers, both by sea and land ; so much so, that not only themselves, but their parents and relations, were distressed with anxiety on their account. At the time appointed, they brought their horses and arms to be inspected ; Scipio then told them, that " he was informed that some of the Sicilian horsemen dreaded the service on which they were going, as laborious and severe ; that if any were thus affected, he wished them to acknowledge it then to him, rather than to complain afterwards, and prove inactive and useless soldiers to the state : he desired them to express their sentiments freely, assuring them they should be listened to without displeasure." On which one of them ventured to say, that if he had a free option, he certainly would wish to decline the service. Scipio replied ; " Since then, young man, you have not dissembled your sentiments, I will provide a substitute for you, to whom you must deliver your horse, your arms, and other implements of war ; take him hence directly to your house ; exercise him, and take care that he be instructed in the management of his horse and arms." These terms the other embraced with joy, on which Scipio put into his hands one of the three hundred whom he kept unarmed. When the others saw the horseman discharged in this manner, with the approbation of the general, each began to excuse himself, and receive a substitute. Thus were Roman horsemen substituted in the place of the three hundred Sicilians, without any expense to the public. The Sicilians had the trouble of instructing and exercising them ; the general having ordered, that any who did not perform this, should continue in the service. We are told that this proved an excellent body of horse, and did good service to the state in many battles. Afterwards



reviewing the legions, he chose out of them those soldiers who had been the longest time in the army, especially those who had served with Marcellus; believing that they were not only formed under the best discipline, but in consequence of the long siege of Syracuse, were best skilled in the method of attacking towns; for the object to which his views were now directed was no small matter, being nothing less than the utter destruction of Carthage. He then cantoned his army in the different towns; ordered in a supply of corn from the Sicilian states, sparing what he had brought from Italy; repaired the old ships, and sent Caius Lælius with them to Africa, to plunder the country; then hauled up the new ones on land at Panormus, that they might lie dry during the winter, because they had been hastily built of green timber; and having completed the preparations for the war, he came to Syracuse, where tranquillity was not yet entirely re-established, after the late violent commotion. The Greeks, in pursuance of a grant of the senate, demanding a restoration of their effects from some Italians, who kept possession of them with the same force with which they had seized them, Scipio, reckoning it essentially requisite to support the public faith, procured a restitution of the same; partly by a proclamation issued, and partly by sentences passed against those who persisted in retaining their unjust acquisitions. This proceeding was highly acceptable not only to the persons aggrieved, but to all the states of Sicily, and added to their alacrity in forwarding the preparations for war.

II. A formidable war was raised this summer in Spain by the instigation of Indibilis, the Illergetian, on no other grounds than the contempt which, through his great admiration of Scipio, he entertained of all other generals. He was of opinion, that "this commander was the only one whom the Romans had remaining; the others of any note, having, as he conceived, been slain by Hannibal. For when the Scipios were cut off in Spain, they had none whom they could send thither; and afterwards, when the war pressed too heavily on them in Italy, the present one had been recalled to act against Hannibal. That besides the Romans having only nominal generals in Spain, their veteran army had been withdrawn from thence: that among the troops which remained, there was neither spirit nor firmness, as they consisted of an undisciplined multitude of new recruits:

that there would never again be such an opportunity of asserting the liberty of Spain: that until that day, they had been slaves either to the Carthaginians or Romans; and that, not to one or the other by turns, but sometimes to both together: that the Carthaginians had been expelled by the Romans; and that the Romans might now be expelled by the Spaniards, if these would act with unanimity, so that being for ever freed from the dominion of foreigners, they might return to their own native manners and rites." By these, and other the like discourses, he roused to arms, not only his own countrymen, but the Ausetanians also, a neighbouring state, with other nations that bordered on his and their country; so that within a few days thirty thousand foot and about four thousand horse assembled in the territory of Sedeta, according to his directions. On the other side, the Roman generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, lest the war, being neglected in the beginning, should spread with increasing violence, united their armies; and conducting them through the country of the Ausetanians in as peaceable a manner as if they were among friends, they arrived at the place where the enemy lay; and pitched their tents at three miles' distance from the Spanish camp. By sending ambassadors, they endeavoured to prevail on them to lay aside their arms, but in vain. Afterwards, the Spanish horsemen having made a sudden attack on the foragers of the Romans, and the latter sending some troops to support them from one of their outposts, there ensued a battle between the cavalry, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage.

III. At sunrise next day, the whole force of the enemy appeared in arms, and drawn up in order of battle, at the distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetanians were in the centre, the Illergetians formed the right wing, and people of several inconsiderable Spanish states the left: between the wings and the main body, they had left very wide intervals, through which the horse might charge upon occasion. The Romans drew up their army in the usual manner, yet so far following the example of the enemy as to leave passages open for the cavalry between the legions. Lentulus, however, considering that the horse could be of use only to that party which should first make an attack on the enemy's line, divided by the intervals, commanded Servius Corue-

lius, tribune of the soldiers, to order them to charge through the same. The fight between the infantry being rather unfavourable to the Romans at the beginning, he was obliged to delay for a time, while the thirteenth legion from the reserve was brought up to the first line, so as to support the twelfth, which had been posted in the left wing against the Illergetians, and which began to give ground. The fight being restored, Scipio hastened to Lucius Manlius, who was exerting himself among the foremost battalions, encouraging and supporting his men by a supply of fresh troops wherever occasion required, and acquainted him that matters were safe on the left wing, and that Cornelius Servius, whom he had despatched for the purpose, would quickly assail the enemy on all sides with his cavalry. Scarcely had he uttered these words, when the Roman horse, pushing forwards into the midst of their ranks, threw the line of infantry into confusion; and at the same time closed up the passes by which the Spanish horse were to have advanced to a charge. The Spaniards, therefore, quitting all thoughts of fighting on horseback, dismounted, in order to engage on foot. When the Roman generals perceived the enemy's disorder, that they were confused and terrified, and their battalions wavering, they encouraged, they entreated their men, to "push them briskly while they were dismayed, and not to suffer their line to be formed again." The barbarians could not have withstood so furious an onset, had not their prince, Indibilis, dismounting with the cavalry, thrown himself into the front of the foremost battalions of infantry. There the contest was supported for some time with great fury. At length, those who fought round the king fell, overwhelmed with darts, and he himself, continuing to make resistance, though ready to expire, was pinned to the earth with a javelin; on which their troops betook themselves to flight in all parts. The number of the slain was the greater, because the horsemen had not time to remount their horses, being vigorously pressed by the Romans, who did not relax in the least until they had driven them from their camp. There fell on that day of the Spaniards thirteen thousand, and about eight hundred were taken. Of the Romans, and their allies, little more than two hundred were killed, most of them on the left wing. The Spaniards, who were beaten out of the camp, or who had escaped from the bat-

tle, at first dispersed about the country, and afterwards returned to their respective homes. They were soon after summoned thence to an assembly by Mandonius, where, after complaining heavily of their losses, and severely censuring the advisers of the war, they came to a resolution, that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio, with proposals to make surrender of themselves. These laid the blame on Indibilis and the other chiefs, most of whom had fallen in battle, offering to deliver up their arms. They received for answer that "their surrender would be accepted, provided they delivered up alive Mandonius and the other promoters of the war; that if this condition was not complied with, the Romans would lead their armies into the lands of the Illergetians and Ausetanians; and afterwards into those of the other states." This answer the ambassadors carried back to the assembly; and there Mandonius and the other chiefs were seized and delivered up to punishment. Terms of peace were then settled with the states of Spain, who were ordered to pay double taxes for that year, and to supply corn for six months, together with cloaks and vests for the army, hostages being received from about thirty states. This tumultuary rebellion in Spain having been thus suppressed, without any great difficulty, within the space of a few days after its commencement, every warlike operation was directed against Africa.

IV. Caius Lælius, having arrived in the night at Hippo Royal, led out his soldiers and marines in regular bodies, at the first light, in order to ravage the country; and, as the inhabitants had taken no precautions more than if it had been a time of peace, great damage was done, and affrighted messengers filled Carthage with the most violent alarms; affirming that the Roman fleet had arrived, and that it was commanded by Scipio, of whose passing into Sicily they had already heard. Nor could they tell, with any degree of exactness, while their fears aggravated every circumstance, how many ships they had seen, or what number of men they had landed. At first, therefore, consternation and terror, afterwards melancholy dejection, seized the people's minds, reflecting on the reverse of fortune which had taken place, and lamenting that "they who lately, flushed with success, had their forces lying at the gates of Rome, and after cutting off so many armies of the enemy, had made almost every state in Italy submit to them, either through fear or



choice were now, from the current of success having turned against them, to behold the devastation of Africa, and the siege of Carthage; and when they possessed not by any means such a degree of strength as the Romans had enjoyed to support them under those calamities. The latter had received, from the commonalty of Rome, and from Latium, continually increasing supplies of young men in the room of so many legions destroyed: but the citizens of Carthage were unwarlike, and equally so in the country. Auxiliaries, indeed, they had procured for pay from among the Africans; but they were a faithless race, and veering about with every blast of fortune. Then, as to the kings: Syphax, since his conference with Scipio, was apparently estranged from them: Masinissa had openly renounced their alliance, and was become their most inveterate enemy; so that they had no hope, no support on any side. Neither did Mago raise any commotions on the side of Gaul, nor join his forces to Hannibal's: and Hannibal himself was now declining both in reputation and strength." Their minds, which, in consequence of the late news, had sunk into these desponding reflections, were again recalled, by dread of the impending evils, to consult how they might oppose the present dangers. They resolved to levy soldiers with all haste, both in the city and the country; to hire auxiliaries from the Africans; to strengthen the forts; to collect corn; to prepare weapons and armour; to fit out ships, and send them to Hippo against the Roman fleet. While they were thus employed, news at length arrived, that it was Lælius, and not Scipio, who had come over; that his forces were no more than what were sufficient to make plundering incursions; and that the main force of the enemy was still in Sicily. Thus they got time to breathe, and began to despatch embassies to Syphax and the other princes, to endeavour to strengthen their alliances. They also sent to Philip, with a promise of two hundred talents of silver,<sup>1</sup> on condition that he invaded Sicily or Italy. Others were sent to Italy, to their two generals there, with orders to use every effort to raise the apprehensions of the enemy, so that Scipio might be induced to return home. To Mago they sent not only deputies, but twenty-five ships of war, six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and also

a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries, whose support might encourage him to advance his army nearer to the city of Rome, and effect a junction with Hannibal. Such were the preparations and plans at Carthage. Whilst Lælius was employed in carrying off immense booty from the country, which he found destitute of arms and protection, Masinissa, roused by the report of the arrival of a Roman fleet, came to him attended by a few horsemen. He complained that "Scipio was dilatory in the business; otherwise before that time he would have brought over his army into Africa, while the Carthaginians were dismayed, and Syphax engaged in wars with his neighbours. That the latter was irresolute and undetermined; and that if time were allowed him to settle his own affairs as he liked, it would be seen that he had no sincere attachment to the Romans." He desired him to "exhort and stimulate Scipio to activity;" assuring him, that "he himself, though driven from his kingdom, would join him with no contemptible force, both of horse and foot." He said, that "Lælius ought not to make any stay in Africa: that he believed a fleet had sailed from Carthage, which it would not be very safe to encounter in the absence of Scipio." After this discourse, Masinissa departed; and next day Lælius set sail from Hippo, having his ships laden with spoil; and, returning to Sicily, delivered Masinissa's message to Scipio.

V. About the same time, the ships which had been sent from Carthage to Mago, arrived on the coast between the country of the Albingaunian Ligurians and Genoa, near which place the Carthaginian happened at that time to lie with his fleet. On receiving orders from the deputies to collect as great a number of troops as possible, he immediately held a council of the Gauls and Ligurians, (for there was a vast multitude of both nations present,) and told them that he had been sent for the purpose of restoring them to liberty, and, as they themselves saw, aid was now afforded him from home. But with what force, with how great an army the war was to be carried on, was a matter that depended entirely upon them. That there were two Roman armies, one in Gaul, another in Etruria; and he was well assured that Spurius Lucretius would join his forces to those of Marcus Livius; wherefore they on their side must arm many thousands, to enable them to oppose two

Roman generals and two armies." The Gauls answered, that "they had the strongest inclination to act as he advised; but as they had one Roman army in the heart of their country, and another in the next adjoining province of Etruria, almost within their sight, if it should be publicly known that they gave aid to the Carthaginians, those two armies would immediately commence hostilities against them on both sides." They requested him to "demand such assistance only as the Gauls could supply in secret. The Ligurians," they said, "were at liberty to determine as they thought fit, the Roman camps being far distant from their lands and cities; besides, it was reasonable that they should arm their youth, and take their part in the war." This the Ligurians did not decline; they only required two months' time to make their levies. Mago, having sent home the Gauls, hired soldiers privately in their country; provisions also of all kinds were sent to him secretly by their several states. Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves from Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, kept himself in readiness to oppose Mago, if he should move from Liguria towards the city; intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under that corner of the Alps, to continue in the same district, near Ariminum, for the protection of Italy.

VI. After the return of Caius Lælius from Africa, although Scipio was urged to expedition by the representations of Masinissa, and the soldiers, on seeing the spoil which was landed from the ships, were inflamed with a desire of passing over immediately; yet this more important business was interrupted by one of smaller consideration, the recovery of Locri; which, at the time of the general defection of Italy, had revolted to the Carthaginians. The hope of accomplishing this was kindled by a very trifling circumstance: the operations in Bruttium were rather predatory excursions than a regular war; the Numidians having begun the practice, and the Bruttians readily joining in it, not more from their connection with the Carthaginians, than from their own natural disposition. At length the Romans themselves, by a kind of contagion, became equally fond of plunder; and, when not prevented by their officers, made excursions into the enemy's country. By these, some Locrensians, who had come out of the city, had been surrounded, and carried off to Rhegium; and among whom

were some artizans, who happened to have been often hired by the Carthaginians, to work in the citadel of Locri. They were known by the chiefs of the Locrensians, who, having been banished by the opposite faction which had given up the city to Hannibal, had retired to Rhegium. The prisoners, after answering many of their inquiries concerning affairs at home, gave them hopes, that if they were ransomed and sent back, they might be able to put the citadel into their hands; telling them that they had their residence in it, and were entirely trusted by the Carthaginians. In consequence of this, the said chiefs, who anxiously longed to return to Locri, inflamed at the same time with a desire of revenge, immediately ransomed and sent home these men; having first settled the plan for the execution of their project, with the signals which were to be given and observed between them at a distance. They then went themselves to Scipio, to Syracuse, where some of the exiles were, and informing him of the promises made by the prisoners, inspired probable hopes of success. On this; the consul despatched Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, military tribunes, (the exiles accompanying them,) with orders to lead three thousand men from Rhegium to Locri, and for Quintus Pleminius, proprætor, to give assistance in the business. These set out as commanded, carrying scaling ladders fitted to the height of the citadel, according to their information, and about midnight they gave the signal from the place appointed, to those who were to betray that fortress. These were prepared, and on the watch; and letting down from their side, machines made for the purpose, received the Romans as they climbed up in several places at once. They then fell on the Carthaginian sentinels, who, not apprehending any danger, were fast asleep; their dying groans were the first sound heard. A sudden consternation followed as the remainder awoke, with a general confusion from being wholly ignorant of the cause of alarm. At length, the greater part of them being roused from sleep, the truth was discovered. And now every one called loudly to arms; that the enemy were in the citadel; that the sentinels were slain. The Romans, being much inferior in number, would certainly have been overpowered, had not a shout, raised by those who were at the outside of the citadel, prevented the garrison from discerning on what side the danger threat-



ened, while the darkness of the night aggravated every fear. The Carthaginians, supposing that the citadel had been surprised and taken, without attempting a contest, fled to another fortress not far distant from this. The inhabitants held the city which lay between these strongholds, as a prize for the conquerors, slight engagements happening every day. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison, both of whom increased their forces daily, by calling in aid from the neighbouring places. At length Hannibal prepared to come thither, so that the Romans could not have kept their ground, had not the principal part of the Locrensians, exasperated by the pride and avarice of the Carthaginians, inclined to their side.

VII. As soon as Scipio was informed that the danger increased at Locri, and that Hannibal was approaching, he began to fear, lest even the garrison might be endangered, as it was not easy to retreat from it: he therefore left the command at Messana to his brother, Lucius Scipio, and going on board as soon as the tide turned, he let his ships drive with the current. On the other hand, Hannibal sent forward directions from the river Aleces, which is not far from Locri, that his party, at dawn of day, should attack the Romans and Locrensians with their whole force; in order that, while the attention of all should be turned to the tumult occasioned thereby, he might make an unexpected assault on the opposite side of the city. When, at the first appearance of day-light, he found that the battle was begun, he did not choose to attempt the citadel, in which there was not room, had he even gained it, for such numbers to act, nor had he brought ladders to effect a scalade. Ordering, therefore, the baggage to be thrown together in a heap, he drew up his army at a little distance from the walls, to terrify the enemy; and while all things necessary for the assault were getting ready, he rode round the city with some Numidian horsemen to find out the properest place at which it might be made. As he advanced near the rampart, the person next to him happened to be struck by a dart from a scorpion, he was so terrified at the danger to which he had been exposed, that he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and fortified his camp far beyond the reach of a weapon. The Roman fleet arrived from Messana at Locri, while some hours of day remained, so that the troops were all

landed and brought into the city before sunset. Next day, the Carthaginians, from the citadel, began the fight. Hannibal, now furnished with scaling ladders, and every thing proper for an assault, was coming up to the walls, when, on a sudden a gate flying open the Romans rushed out upon him, when he apprehended nothing less than such an encounter, and, as the attack was unexpected, two hundred of his men were slain. The rest Hannibal carried back to the camp, as soon as he understood that the consul was there in person; and sending directions to those who were in the lesser citadel, to take care of themselves, he decamped by night. On which, setting fire to the houses there, in order to obstruct any operations of the enemy, they hastened away, as if flying from a pursuit, and overtook the main body of their army at the close of day.

VIII. When Scipio saw both citadel and camp deserted by the enemy, he summoned the Locrensians to an assembly, rebuked them severely for their revolt, inflicted punishment on the chief promoters of it, and bestowed their effects on the leaders of the opposite faction, as a reward for their extraordinary fidelity towards the Romans. As to the community of the Locrensians, he said, "he would neither make any grant to them, nor take any thing from them. Let them send ambassadors to Rome, where they would obtain such a settlement of their affairs as the senate should judge reasonable. Of this he was confident, that, though they had deserved harsh treatment from the greatly provoked Romans, they would yet enjoy a better state in subjection to them than under their professed friends the Carthaginians." Then leaving Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, with the troops which had taken the citadel, to defend the city, he returned to Messana with the forces which he had brought from thence. The Locrensians, after their revolt from the Romans, had been treated by the Carthaginians with such haughtiness and cruelty, that they could now have endured a lesser degree of severity not only with patience, but almost with content. But in all excesses, so much did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, who had commanded their garrison, and the Roman soldiers the Carthaginians, that there seemed to be a greater emulation between them in vices than in arms. Not one of those acts, which render the power of a superior odious to the helpless, was left un-

practised on the inhabitants by the commander or his troops: the most shocking insults were offered to their persons, to their children, and to their wives. Nor did their avarice refrain even from the plundering of things sacred; inasmuch, that not only the temples were violated, but even the treasure of Proserpine was seized, which through all ages had remained untouched, except by Pyrrhus, who made restitution of the spoil, together with a large atonement for his sacrilege. Therefore, as at that time the king's ships, after being wrecked and shattered, had brought nothing safe to land, except the sacred money of the goddess, so now, that same money, by a different kind of vengeance, inspired with madness all those who were polluted by the robbery of the temple, and turned them against each other with hostile fury, general against general, soldier against soldier.

IX. Pleminius was governor in chief; that part of the soldiers which he had brought with him from Rhegium was under his own immediate command: the rest under military tribunes. These tribunes, Sergius and Matienus, happened to meet one of Pleminius' soldiers running away with a silver cup, which he had taken by force out of the house of a citizen, the owners pursuing him: on the cup being taken from him by order of the tribunes, at first ill language was used, then ensued clamour; and at length a scuffle between the soldiers of Pleminius and those of the tribunes. The disturbance increasing, as any happened to come up to assist their party, Pleminius' men, being worsted, ran to him in crowds, showing their blood and wounds, with violent outcries and expressions of resentment, and recounting the reproaches that had been thrown on himself; which so inflamed him, that rushing out of his house, and calling the tribunes before him, he ordered them to be stripped, and the rods to be prepared. As some time was spent in stripping them, (for they made resistance, and implored aid,) on a sudden their own soldiers, rendered bold by their late success, ran together from all parts, as if they had been called to arms against an enemy. On seeing the persons of the tribunes already injured by the rods, they were suddenly seized with such ungovernable rage, that without regard either to his dignity, or even to humanity, after having cruelly abused his lictors, they assaulted the general himself; and having surrounded and

separated him from his party, they dreadfully mangled him, cutting off his nose and ears, and leaving him almost without life. Accounts of these transactions being carried to Messana, Scipio, a few days after, sailed over to Locri in a ship of six banks of oars: and having brought Pleminius and the tribunes to trial before him, he acquitted Pleminius, and continued him in the command of the place; adjudged the tribunes guilty, and threw them into chains, that they might be sent to Rome to the senate: he then returned to Messana, and went from thence to Syracuse. Pleminius, giving a loose to his rage, because he thought that the injury done him had been treated too lightly by Scipio, and that no other person was qualified to rate the penalty in such a case but he who had suffered the wrong, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him. After having made them undergo the utmost degree of torture which the human body is capable of enduring, he put them to death; and not satisfied with the punishment thus inflicted, he cast them out without burial. The like cruelty he used towards the chiefs of the Locrenians, who, as he heard, had complained to Scipio of the treatment they had received at his hands. But the extreme severities which he had formerly practised on those allies through lust and avarice, he now multiplied through rage and resentment, bringing infamy and detestation not only on himself, but on the general also.

X. The time of the elections was now drawing near, when a letter was brought to Rome from Publius Licinius the consul, stating, that "he and his army were afflicted with a grievous sickness, and that they could not have stood their ground, had not the disorder attacked the enemy with the same or even greater violence. As therefore he could not come to the elections, he would, if the fathers approved of it, nominate Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, dictator, for the purpose of holding them. That it was for the interest of the state, that the army of Quintus Cæcilius should be disbanded, as it could be of no use at present, Hannibal having already retired into winter-quarters; and besides, so powerful was the distemper in that camp, that unless they were speedily separated, not one of them probably would survive." The senate left it with the consul to determine concerning those matters, in such manner as he should judge best for the good



of the nation, and his own honour. The city was at that time suddenly engaged in a consideration respecting religion. Frequent show-ers of stones having fallen, the Sybilline books were on that occasion inspected; in which were found certain verses, importing, that "whenever a foreign enemy shall have carried war into the land of Italy, he may be expelled and conquered, if the Idæan Mother be brought from Pessinus to Rome." These verses, discovered by the decemvirs, affected the senate the more, because the ambassadors who had carried the offering to Delphi, affirmed also, that they had performed sacrifice, and consulted the Pythian Apollo; and that the oracle had answered, that the Romans would soon obtain a much greater victory than that which gave them the spoils of which their offering was composed. They considered as a confirmation of the same, that Scipio's mind was impelled, as it were, by some presages of an end to the war, when he had so earnestly insisted on having Africa for his province. In order, therefore, that they might the sooner acquire the enjoyment of this triumph, portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they set about considering how the goddess might be transported to Rome.

XI. The Romans were not in alliance with any of the states of Asia. However, recollecting that *Æsculapius* had formerly, on occasion of a pestilence, been brought from Greece before any connection with that country; that they had already commenced a friendship with king *Attalus*, on account of their being united in the war against Philip, and that he would probably do any thing in his power to oblige the Roman people, they came to a resolution of sending as ambassadors to him, *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who had been twice consul, and had commanded in Greece; *Marcus Cæcilius Metellus*, who had been prætor; *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who had been ædile; and two who had been quæstors, *Caius Tremellius Flaccus* and *Marcus Valerius Falto*. A convoy of five quinquagena was ordered for them, that they might appear with suitable grandeur in those countries where they wished to procure a respect for the Roman name. The ambassadors in their way to Asia, having landed and gone to Delphi to the oracle, inquired what hopes might be entertained of accomplishing the business on which they had been sent: they were answered, it is said, that "they would obtain

what they were in search of by means of king *Attalus*; and that, when they should have carried the goddess to Rome, they were to take care that the best man in the city was the exerciser of the laws of hospitality towards her." On coming to the king at Pergamus, he received them kindly, conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, delivered to them the sacred stone, which the natives said was the mother of the gods, and desired them to convey it to Rome. *Marcus Valerius Falto*, being sent homeward before the rest, brought an account that they were returning with the goddess; and that the best man in Rome must be sought out to pay her the due rites of hospitality. *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus* was, by the consul in *Bruttium*, nominated dictator, for the purpose of holding the elections, and his army was disbanded. *Lucius Veturius Philo* was made master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator; the consuls elected were *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus* and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, the latter absent, being employed in the province of Greece. The prætors were then elected: *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, *Marcus Marcius Rolla*, *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, and *Marcus Pomponius Matho*. As soon as the elections were finished, the dictator resigned his office. The Roman games were repeated thrice, the plebeian seven times. The curule ædiles were *Cneius* and *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*; *Lucius* held the province of Spain, and being elected while there, continued absent during the whole time of his office, *Tiberius Claudius Asellus* and *Marcus Junius Pennus* were plebeian ædiles. In that year *Marcus Marcellus* dedicated the temple of *Virtue*, at the Capuan gate, seventeen years after it had been vowed by his father at *Clastidium* in Gaul, during his first consulate. *Marcus Æmilius Regillus*, flamen of Mars, died that year.

XII. During the two last years, the affairs of Greece had been neglected; a circumstance which enabled Philip to reduce the *Ætolians*, thus forsaken by the Romans, on whose aid alone they relied. They were therefore obliged to sue for, and agree to a peace on such terms as the king should impose: but had he not used every effort to hasten the conclusion of it, *Publius Sempronius*, proconsul, who succeeded *Sulpicius* in the command, would have fallen upon him (while engaged in settling the treaty) with ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and

thirty-five ships of war; no small force in support of an ally. The peace was scarcely concluded, when news was brought to Philip that the Romans had come to Dyrrachium; that the Parthinians, and other neighbouring nations, seeing a prospect of changing their situation, were in motion, and that Dimallum was besieged. The Romans had turned their operations to that side, instead of going forward to the assistance of the Ætolians, whither they had been sent, provoked at the peace thus made with the king without their concurrence, and contrary to the treaty. On the receipt of this news, Philip, fearing lest some greater commotions might arise among the neighbouring nations and states, proceeded by long marches to Apollonia, to which place Sempronius had retired, after sending his lieutenant general, Lætorius, with part of the forces and fifteen ships, to Ætolia, that he might take a view of the situation of affairs, and, if possible, annihilate the compact of that people with the Macedonian. Philip laid waste the lands of the Apollonians, and, marching his forces up to the city, offered the Romans battle; they, however, remained quiet, only defending the walls, while his force was insufficient for laying siege to the place. He was yet desirous of concluding a peace with the Romans, as with the Ætolians; or, if that could not be accomplished, of obtaining a truce; and, not choosing to provoke their resentment farther by a new contest, he withdrew into his own kingdom. At the same time the Epirots, wearied by the length of the war, having first tried the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip concerning a general peace; affirming that they were very confident it might be brought about, if he would come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. They easily prevailed on him to pass into Epirus, for the king himself was not averse from the measure. There is a city in Epirus called Phœnice; there Philip, having conferred with Eropus, and Dardas, and Philip, prætors of the Epirots, had afterwards a meeting with Publius Sempronius. Amynder also, king of the Athamanians, was present at the conference, together with other magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnanians. Philip the prætor spoke first, and entreated both the king and the Roman general to put an end to hostilities; and to consider, in a favourable light, the liberty which the Epirots took in mediating between them. Publius

Sempronius dictated the terms of peace;— That the Parthinians, and Dimallum, and Bargulum, and Bugenium, should be under the dominion of the Romans; that Atintania should be ceded to the Macedonian, if, on sending ambassadors, he should obtain it from the senate. Peace being agreed to on these terms, the king included in the treaty Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. On the side of the Romans, were included the Ilrians, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. The conditions were committed to writing, and signed by both parties, a truce being made for two months, to allow time for ambassadors to be sent to Rome, in order that the people might ratify the whole. Every one of the tribes assented to it, because, having turned their efforts against Africa, they wished to be eased for the present from every other enemy. When all was settled, Publius Sempronius went home to Rome, to attend to the duties of his consulship.

XIII. In the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, which was the fifteenth year of the Punic war, [Y. R. 548. B. C. 204.] the provinces were thus decreed:—to Cornelius, Etruria, with the old army; to Sempronius, Bruttium, with power to levy new legions. Of the prætors, to Marcus Marcius fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign, and to the same person, Gaul; to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sicily; and to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sardinia. Publius Scipio's command was prolonged for a year, with the same army and the same fleet he then had: as was also that of Publius Licinius, who was ordered to hold Bruttium, with two legions, as long as the consul should judge it to be for the interest of the state that he should continue in that province. Marcus Livius, and Spurius Lucretius, also held on their commissions, with the two legions with which they had protected Gaul against Mago; and likewise Cneius Octavius, who, after delivering up Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, was, with forty ships of war, to defend the sea-coast, within such limits as the senate should appoint. To Marcus Pomponius, prætor in Sicily, two legions of the forces that had been at Cannæ were decreed; and it was ordered, that, of the proprætors (Titus Quintius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus,) the former should hold Tarentum, the latter Capua, as in the former year



each with the old garrison. With respect to Spain, it was referred to the people to determine on the two proconsuls who should be sent thither; when all the tribes agreed in ordering Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, in quality of proconsuls, to hold the command of that province in the same manner as they had held it the year before. The consuls gave directions for a levy of soldiers, out of whom they might at once form the new legions for Bruttium, and fill up the numbers of the other armies; for such were the orders of the senate.

XIV. Africa had not yet been publicly declared a province—the senate, I suppose, keeping the matter secret, lest the Carthaginians should get intelligence of it. The city, however, was filled with sanguine hopes that a decisive blow would soon be struck on that shore, and that there would be an end to the Punic war. From this cause arose abundance of superstitious notions; and the minds of the people became disposed both to believe and to propagate accounts of prodigies, of which a very great number were reported: “that two suns had been seen, and that in the night time light had suddenly appeared: that at Setia, a blaze like that of a torch had been observed, extending from east to west: that at Tarracina, a gate, and at Anagnia, both a gate and several parts of the wall had been struck by lightning: that in the temple of Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium, a great noise had been heard, succeeded by a dreadful crash.” For the expiation of these, there was a supplication of one day’s continuance; and nine days were set apart for religious offices, on account of a shower of stones that had fallen. In addition to these matters, they had to consult on the reception to be given to the Idæan mother. For, besides the account brought by Marcus Valerius, (one of the ambassadors, who had come before the rest,) that the goddess would soon be in Italy, a late account had been received that she was at Tarracina. The senate also was engaged in the decision of a question of no trifling importance—who was the best man in the city. A well-grounded preference in that point, every one would certainly value much more highly than any honours which could be conferred by the votes either of the senate or the people. They gave their judgment, that Publius Scipio, son of Cneius who had fallen in Spain, (a youth who had not yet obtained a

quæstorship,) was the best of all the good men in Rome. If the authors who wrote in the times nearest to this transaction, and when the memory of it was fresh, had mentioned the particular merits which induced them to make this determination, I should gladly have handed down the information to posterity: but I will not obtrude any opinion of my own, formed, as it must be, on conjecture, when relative to a matter buried in the obscurity of remote antiquity. Publius Cornelius was accordingly ordered to repair to Ostia, to meet the goddess, attended by all the matrons; to receive her himself from the ship, and then to deliver her to the said matrons, to be transported to the city. Scipio, falling down the river Tiber, as had been ordered, received the goddess from the priests, and conveyed her to the land. She was there received by the above-mentioned women, and who were the principal of the city, among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone has been distinguished; for her character, as is said, having at one time been dubious, the share which she had in this solemn act of religion rendered her chastity no longer questionable, and she became illustrious among posterity. These, relieving each other in succession, carried this saving divinity into the temple of Victory, on the Palatine hill, whilst all the city poured out to meet her, censers being placed before the doors, wherever the procession passed, and incense burned in them; all praying that she would enter the city with good will, and a favourable disposition. This happened on the day preceding the ides of April; and which was appointed a festival. The people in crowds carried presents to the goddess, and there was a religious feast ordained, with games called Megalesian.

XV. When they came to consider of the supplies for the legions that were in the provinces, it was suggested by certain of the senators, that there were some things, which, however they might have been tolerated in times of distress, ought not to be any longer endured; since, by the favour of the gods, they had been delivered from the apprehension of danger. The attention of the fathers being roused, they proceeded to mention, that the twelve Latine colonies, which had refused a supply of soldiers to Quintus Fabius, and Quintus Fulvius, when consuls, enjoyed now, for almost the sixth year, an immunity from serving in war, as if it had been a privilege granted to do them honour,

and on account of their good conduct; while the worthy and dutiful allies, in return for their fidelity and obedience, had been exhausted by continual levies through the course of many years. These words at once recalled to the recollection of the senate a matter which had been almost forgotten, and at the same time roused their resentment; so that, before they suffered the consuls to proceed on any other business, they decreed, that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates, and ten principal inhabitants from each of the following colonies, so privileged: Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sara, Suessa, Circeæ, Narnia, and Interamna; and should give them orders, that whatever was the greatest number of soldiers, which they had separately furnished to the Roman people, at any time, since the enemy came into Italy, they should now provide to the amount of twice that number of footmen, and one hundred and twenty horsemen: and if any of them were unable to produce so many horsemen, that then they should be allowed to bring three footmen, instead of each horseman. That both horsemen and footmen should be chosen from among the wealthiest orders, and should be sent wherever there was occasion for a supply out of Italy. That if any of them should refuse to comply with this requisition, it was their pleasure, that the magistrates and deputies of that colony should be detained; and if they demanded an audience of the senate, that it should not be granted them until they had obeyed those injunctions; and farther, that an annual tax of one *ass* on every thousand which they possessed, should be imposed on them. That a survey of persons and estates should be made in those colonies, according to a regulation of the Roman censors, which should be the same that was directed for the Roman people; and a return of this made at Rome by the censors of the said colonies on their oaths, and before they went out of office." The magistrates and principal inhabitants of the places in question being summoned to Rome, in pursuance of this decree of the senate, and receiving the commands of the consuls respecting the soldiers and the tax, they all declared violently against them, exclaiming, "that it was impossible for them to raise such a number of soldiers; they could scarcely accomplish it if their whole property were to be entreated by the regulation. They begged and entreated that they might be allowed to appear

before the senate, and implore a mitigation of their sentence. They had been guilty of no crime, that deserved to be punished by their ruin; but, even if they were to be ruined, neither their own guilt, nor the resentment of the Roman people, could make them furnish a greater number of soldiers than they actually had." The consuls, unmoved, ordered the deputies to remain at Rome, and the magistrates to go home, to make the levies; assuring them, that "they should have no audience of the senate, until they had strictly fulfilled its orders. Their hopes of obtaining an audience being thus cut off, the levies were completed without difficulty; the number of young men in those colonies being much increased, by their having been so long exempt from service.

XVI. Another affair also, and which had been almost as long passed over in silence, was proposed for consideration by Marcus Valerius Lævinus; who said, "it was highly reasonable that the several sums of money, which had been contributed by private persons, when Marcus Claudius and himself were consuls, should now be repaid. That no one ought to be surprised, at his thus appearing in an affair wherein the public faith was pledged; for besides that in some respect it peculiarly concerned the consul of that year in which the money had been advanced, he had also been the first adviser of the same, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, and the inability of the people to pay taxes." The senate were well pleased at being reminded of this matter, and the consuls being ordered to propose the question, decreed, that "money should be discharged in three payments: that the present consuls should make the first payment immediately; and that the other two instalments should be made by the third and fifth consuls from that time." All their cares soon after gave place to one alone: when, on the arrival of ambassadors, they were made acquainted with the grievances of the Locrensiens, of which, until that day they had been ignorant; grievances which greatly disturbed the people, who were, however, less provoked at the villany of Quintus Pleminius, than at the partiality or negligence shown in the business by Scipio. As the consuls were sitting in the comitium, ten ambassadors of the Locrensiens in squalid mourning apparel holding out branches of olive (the badges of suppliants) according to the Grecian



custom, prostrated themselves on the ground before the tribunal with lamentable cries. On inquiring who they were, they answered, "that they were Locrensians, who had experienced such treatment from Quintus Pleminius, the lieutenant-general, and his soldiers, as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to suffer; and that they requested the favour of being admitted to an audience of the senate, that they might represent to them their deplorable situation."

XVII. An audience being granted, the eldest of them spoke to this effect: "Conscript fathers, I know that it would tend exceedingly to increase the regard which you may think proper to afford to our complaints, if you were fully informed of the manner in which Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and also by what means the Carthaginian garrison was expelled, and the town re-established under your dominion. For if the people generally taken, were entirely clear of the guilt of the revolt, and if it also appeared that our return to obedience, and to acknowledgment of your authority, was not only voluntary, but effected by our own co-operation and courage, you would see the greater indignation at such grievous and unmerited injuries being inflicted on good and faithful allies, by your lieutenant-general and his soldiers. But I think it better to defer the subject of our changes of party to another time; and that for two reasons: first, that it may be discussed in the presence of Publius Scipio, who regained possession of Locri, and was a witness of our behaviour, whether good or bad; and secondly, that, let our conduct have been what it may, we ought not to have suffered the evils which have been poured on us. We cannot, conscript fathers, disown, that while we had a Carthaginian garrison, we suffered many cruelties and indignities, as well from Hamilcar the commander there, as from the Numidians and Africans. But what are these, when compared with what we this day endure? I request, conscript fathers, that you will hear, without being offended, what I unwillingly mention. All mankind are in suspense whether they are to see you or the Carthaginians sovereigns of the world. Now, if an estimation were to be formed of the Roman and Carthaginian governments from the treatment which we of Locri have borne on the one hand, and from that which on the other we at this present time bear, without remission, from your

garrison, there is no one who would not rather choose Africans than Romans for his masters. Yet, observe what dispositions the Locrensians have, notwithstanding, shown towards you. When we were ill-treated by the Carthaginians in a much less degree, we had recourse to your general for redress. Now, when we suffer from your garrison worse than hostile cruelty, we have carried our complaints to no other but to you. Conscript fathers, you will consider our desperate situation, or we are left without any resource for which we can even pray to the immortal gods. Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, was sent with a body of troops to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and was left with those troops to garrison the town. In this your officer, conscript fathers, (the extremity of our miseries gives me spirit to speak freely,) there is nothing of a man but the figure and appearance; nor of a Roman citizen, but the features, the dress, and the sound of the Latine language. He is a pestilent and savage monster; such as fables tell us, formerly lay on each side of the strait which divides us from Sicily, causing the destruction of mariners. If, however, he had been content with practising his own atrocities alone against us your allies, that one gulf, however deep, we should patiently have filled up. As the case at present stands, he has made every one of your centurions and soldiers a Pleminius: so much does he wish to render licentiousness and wickedness universal. All rob, spoil, beat, wound, slay; ravish both matrons and virgins; while free-born children are torn from the embraces of their parents. Our city is every day stormed, every day plundered; all parts of it resound with the lamentations of women and children, who are seized and dragged away. Whoever knows our sufferings cannot but be surprised that we still subsist under them, and that our persecutors are not yet wearied. It is neither in my power to recapitulate, nor ought you to be troubled with hearing, the particulars of our calamities; I shall comprise them in general terms. I affirm that there is not one house, that there is not one man in Locri, exempt from injury; I affirm that there is no instance of cruelty, lust, or avarice, which has not been put in practice against every one capable of being the object of it. It is scarcely possible to estimate which was the more lamentable disaster to the city, its being taken in war by the enemy, or its be-

ing crushed under the violence and arms of a tyrant sent to protect it, yet bent on its destruction. Every evil, conscript fathers, which cities taken by storm suffer, we have suffered, and still continue to suffer, without remission. Every kind of barbarity which the most merciless and unreasonable tyrants practise against their oppressed countrymen, has Pleminius practised against us, our children, and our wives.

XVIII. "There is one thing, conscript fathers, concerning which we are obliged, by the regard to religion impressed on our minds, both to make a particular complaint, and to express our wish that you may think proper so to attend to the same, as to free your state from any guilt resulting from it: for we have seen with what due solemnity you not only worship your own, but even receive foreign deities. We have a temple of Proserpine, of extraordinary sanctity, of which probably some account may have reached you during the war with Pyrrhus: for in his return from Sicily, sailing near Locri with his fleet, among other violent outrages against our city, on account of our fidelity to you, he plundered the treasures of Proserpine, which to that day had ever remained untouched; and then putting the money on board his ships, he left the land. What was then the result, conscript fathers? His fleet was next day shattered by a most furious tempest, and all the vessels which carried the sacred treasures were thrown on our coasts. By the greatness of this calamity, that haughty king being at length convinced that there were gods, ordered all the money to be searched for, collected, and carried back to the treasury of Proserpine. Never afterwards was he successful in any one instance; but after being driven out of Italy, and having entered Argos inconsiderately by night, he fell by an ignoble hand; he met a dishonourable death. Although your lieutenant-general and military tribunes had heard these and many other such things (which were not contrived for the purpose of increasing respect to the deity, but presented to the observation of our ancestors and selves, through the immediate influence of the goddess;) yet, notwithstanding this, I say, they dared to lay their impious hands on the treasures, till then untouched except in the instance of Pyrrhus, and with the sacrilegious spoil to pollute themselves, their families, and your armies; whose service, we beseech you, conscript fathers, for your own

sakes, for your honour's sake, not to employ in any business, either in Italy or in Africa, until you have first expiated their guilt, lest they atone for the crimes which they have committed, not by their own blood merely, but by some public disaster; although, even at present, the anger of the goddess does not fail to show itself against both your officers and men. They have already, more than once, engaged each other in pitched battles: Pleminius was leader of one party, the two military tribunes of the other; never did they use their weapons with more eagerness against the Carthaginians, than on this occasion; and, by their mad proceedings, they would have afforded Hannibal an opportunity of recovering the possession of Locri, had not Scipio, whom we sent for, arrived in time to prevent it. It may be said, perhaps, that the subalterns who had been polluted by the sacrilege, were alone agitated with frenzy, and that no influence of the goddess appeared in punishing the officers; whereas, in fact, it has been here most conspicuous. The tribunes were scourged with rods by the lieutenant-general; afterwards, the lieutenant-general was treacherously seized by the tribunes, and, his whole body being mangled, and his nose and ears cut off, he was left apparently lifeless. Recovering from his wounds, he threw the military tribunes into chains, scourged them, made them suffer every kind of torture usually inflicted only on slaves, put them to a cruel death, and then prohibited them the rites of burial. Such penalties has the goddess exacted from the plunderers of her temple; nor will she desist from harassing them with every kind of frenzy, until the sacred money shall be replaced in the treasury. Our ancestors, being engaged in a grievous war with the Crotonians, intended, because this temple lies without the walls, to remove the money therein deposited into the city; when a voice was heard by night from the shrine, commanding them to desist; for that the goddess would defend her own treasures. This admonition arrested their hands; yet, when intending to surround the temple with a wall, and which they had raised to some height, it suddenly fell down in ruins. Thus, it is seen that not only now, but at several other times, the goddess has either secured her own habitation, her sacred fane; or has exacted heavy atonements from those who dared to violate it. Our injuries she cannot avenge; conscript fathers, it can alone be done by you.



To you, and to your honour, we fly, and, as suppliants, implore relief. For whether you suffer Locri to continue under the present lieutenant-general and garrison, or deliver our countrymen up to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to be punished as their anger may direct, it will be equally fatal to them. We do not require that you should, at once, give credit to us, and to charges made in the general's absence, or without allowing him to make his defence : let him come, let him hear them in person ; let him clear himself of them, if he can. In fine, if there be any act of iniquity which one man can commit against others, that he has not committed against us, we consent, if it be possible, again to endure our griefs, and that he shall be acquitted of all guilt towards both gods and men."

XIX. When the ambassadors had concluded their discourse, being asked by Quintus Fabius whether they had laid those complaints before Publius Scipio, they answered, that "an embassy had been sent to him ; but that he was taken up with the preparations for the war : and that, either before this time he had passed over into Africa, or would do so in a very few days. That they had experienced what great interest the lieutenant-general had with the commander ; when, after hearing the cause between him and the tribunes, he threw the tribunes into chains, and left the lieutenant-general, who was equally guilty, or rather more so, in possession of the same power as before." The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the principal senators inveighed severely not only against Pleminius, but against Scipio also ; but, above all, Quintus Fabius, who asserted, that "he was born for the corruption of military discipline ; that, through such conduct, he had lost, in Spain, nearly as many men by mutiny as in war ; that he both indulged the licentiousness of the soldiers, and let his own passions loose against them, in a manner customary only among foreigners and kings." To this speech he added a resolution equally harsh : that "they should pass a vote, that Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, be brought to Rome, and stand his trial in chains : and that, if the complaints of the Locrensians should appear to be well-founded, he should be put to death in prison, and his effects confiscated. That Publius Scipio, on account of his having gone out of his province without an order of the senate, should be recalled ; and that appli-

cation should be made to the tribunes of the commons, to take the sense of the people of the abrogating of his commission. That the Locrensians should be called in, and receive this answer from the senate : that, as to the injuries stated to have been done to them, neither the senate nor the people of Rome approved of their being done ; that they should be complimented with the appellations of worthy men, allies, and friends ; that their children, their wives, and whatever else had been taken from them by violence, should be restored ; that a search should be made for the entire money which had been carried off from the temple of Proserpine, and that double the sum should be replaced in the treasury. That a solemn expiation should be performed, the college of pontiffs being first consulted on this question : inasmuch as the sacred treasures had been removed and violated, what atonements, to what gods, and with what victims, should they be made ? That the soldiers who were at Locri should be all transported into Sicily ; and that four cohorts of allies, of the Latine confederacy, should be brought to Locri for a garrison." The collecting of the votes could not be finished that day, the zeal of the parties for and against Scipio rising to a great degree of warmth ; for, besides the crime of Pleminius, and the calamities of the Locrensians, the general's own manner of living was represented as so far from being Roman, that it was not even military ; that "he walked in the public place, having a cloak and slippers ; that he gave much of his time to books of entertainment, and the schools of exercise ; and that his whole corps of officers, with equal indolence and effeminacy, indulged in all the pleasures of Syracuse ; that Carthage was quite forgotten among them ; that the whole army, (debauched and licentious, like that at Sucro in Spain, or that now at Locri,) was more formidable to the allies than to the enemy."

XX. These representations were compounded of a mixture of truth and falsehood, yet carrying an appearance of the former. The opinion of Quintus Metellus, however, prevailed, who, concurring with Maximus in the other points, dissented from him in that concerning Scipio ; affirming, that "it would be the height of inconsistency, if the person whom when but a youth, the state had some time since made choice of as the only commander capable of recovering Spain ; whom, after he had actually

recovered it, they had elected consul for the purpose of putting an end to the Punic war, and whom they conceived able to draw away Hannibal from Italy, and even to subdue Africa:—that this man, as if he were Quintus Pleminius, should be in a manner condemned without a trial, and suddenly recalled from his province, he repeated, were highly inconsistent. The abominable facts which the Locrensiens complain of are not alleged to have been committed when Scipio was present: nor can any thing else be laid to his charge than the having been tender of the lieutenant-general, either through good nature or respect. That it was his opinion, that Marcus Pomponius, the prætor, to whose lot Sicily had fallen, should, within the next three days, repair to his province. That the consuls should choose out of the senate ten deputies, whom they should send along with the prætor, together with two tribunes of the people and an ædile: and that, with the assistance of this council, the prætor should make an inquiry into the affair. If it should be found that the oppressions of the Locrensiens arose from the orders or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that they should then command him to quit the province. If Publius Scipio should have already passed over into Africa, that in such case the tribunes of the commons and the ædile, with two of the deputies, whom the prætor should judge fittest, should immediately proceed thither: the tribunes and the ædile to bring back Scipio from thence; the deputies to command the forces until a new general should be appointed. But if Marcus Pomponius and the ten deputies should discover that those severities had not been committed, either by the order or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that then Scipio should remain with the army, and carry on the war as he had proposed." A decree of the senate having passed to this effect, application was made to the tribunes of the commons, to settle among themselves, or choose by lot, which two were to go with the prætor and deputies. The college of pontiffs was consulted about the expiations to be performed on account of the spoliation in the temple of Proserpine at Locri. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Marcus Cincius Alimentus, tribunes of the commons, accompanied the prætor and the ten deputies; with whom an ædile of the commons was also sent. The instructions were, that should Scipio (whether in Sicily or Africa)

refuse to obey the orders of the prætor, the tribunes were to give directions to the ædile to apprehend and bring him home, under the authority of their inviolable office. It was intended that they should proceed first to Locri, and then to Messana.

XXI. Concerning Pleminius, there are two different accounts: some say, that on hearing what had passed at Rome, he was going to Naples into exile, when he happened to meet Quintus Metellus, one of the deputies, and was by him forcibly carried back to Rhegium; others, that Scipio himself had sent a lieutenant-general, with thirty of the most distinguished among the cavalry, to throw Pleminius into chains, and also the principals in the mutiny. All these, however, either by the orders of Scipio before, or of the prætor now, were given in charge to the inhabitants of Rhegium, to be kept in custody. The prætor and deputies proceeding to Locri, applied their first care, as they had been directed, to the business respecting religion; and causing search to be made for all the sacred money, appropriated both by Pleminius and the soldiers, they replaced it in the treasury together with the sum which they had brought with them, performing a solemn expiation. This done, the prætor calling the soldiers together, ordered them to carry the standards out of the city, and to form a camp in the plain; denouncing, by proclamation, severe penalties against any one who should either stay behind, or carry out with him any thing that was not his own property; at the same time authorising the Locrensiens to seize whatever belonged to themselves, and to search for such of their effects as were concealed; above all insisting, that the freedom of their persons should be instantly admitted, with threats of heavy punishment against any one who should disobey this injunction. He then held an assembly of the Locrensiens, and told them, that "the Roman people, and the senate, restored to them their liberty and their laws. That if any one meant to bring a charge against Pleminius, or any other person, he must follow them to Rhegium: or if their state had to prefer a complaint against Publius Scipio, as being the author of those crimes which had been perpetrated at Locri against gods and men, that they should then send deputies to Rhegium also, and that he, with the council, would there hear their cause." The Locrensiens returned thanks to the prætor



to the deputies, and to the senate and people of Rome; declaring "that they would prosecute Pleminius. That, as to Scipio, although he had shown but little feeling for the injuries done them, yet he was such a man as they would much [rather have for their friend than their enemy. That they firmly believed, the many shocking cruelties which had been practised were neither by the orders or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, who had only given too much credit to Pleminius, too little to them: that some men's natural disposition was such, that they showed rather a dislike to the commission of faults, than sufficient resolution to punish them, when committed." This relieved the prætor and council from a heavy burthen, that of inquiring into the conduct of Scipio. They condemned Pleminius, with thirty-two others, whom they sent in chains to Rome; and then proceeded to Scipio, that, witnessing all matters, they might carry certain information to Rome as to the truth of those reports which had been propagated concerning his manner of living, inactivity, and total relaxation of military discipline.

XXII. While they were on their way to Syracuse, Scipio prepared, not words, but facts, to clear himself of any charges in the remission of duty. He ordered all the troops to assemble in that city, and the fleet to be got in readiness, as if, on that day, there was to be an engagement with the Carthaginians both on land and sea. On the arrival of the commissioners, he gave them a kind reception and entertainment, and next day showed them both the land and naval forces, not only marshalled in exact order, but the former performing their evolutions, and the fleet in the harbour exhibiting a representation of a naval combat. The prætor and deputies were then led round to take a view of the armories, granaries, and other warlike preparations: and with such admiration were they struck, of each in particular, and of the whole together, as to become thoroughly persuaded, that the Carthaginians would be vanquished by that general and that army, or by no other. They desired him to set out on his voyage, with the blessing of the gods; and to fulfil, as soon as possible, the hopes of the Roman people,—those hopes which they had conceived on that day, when all the centuries concurred in naming him first consul: saying this, they left the place, and with as much joy as if they were to carry to Rome the news of a victory, not of a

grand preparation for war. Pleminius, and those who were in the same circumstances with him, were, on their arrival at Rome, immediately thrown into prison. When first produced by the tribunes, the people found no room for mercy, prepossessed as they were by the calamities of the Locrensiens. However, after having been repeatedly brought forward, and the odium abating through length of time, the public resentment was softened; while the maimed condition of Pleminius, and the respect they had for Scipio, even in his absence, conciliated for them some degree of favour. Nevertheless, Pleminius died in confinement, and before his trial was finished. Clodius Licinius, in the third book of his Roman history, relates, indeed, that this Pleminius, during the votive games which Africanus in his second consulate, exhibited at Rome, made an attempt, by means of some persons whom he had bribed, to set fire to the city in several places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking the prison, and making his escape; and that on the discovery of his wicked design, he was committed to the dungeon by order of the senate. Concerning Scipio, there were no proceedings but in the senate, where the encomiums made by all the deputies and the tribunes on that general, his fleet, and army, induced them to vote, that he should pass over into Africa as soon as possible; with liberty to make his own choice, from out the forces then in Sicily, which to carry with him, and which to leave for the defence of the province.

XXIII. During these transactions at Rome, the Carthaginians, on their side, passed the winter in extreme anxiety. They fixed beacons on every promontory; kept scouts in incessant motion, every messenger filling them with terror. They had acquired, however, an advantage of no small moment towards the defence of Africa,—an alliance with king Syphax; an assistance, on which they supposed the Romans to have relied, and as being their great inducement to set foot on Africa. Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, was not only connected with the king in hospitality, (as has been mentioned above, when he and Scipio happened to come to him at the same time from Spain,) but mention had been also made of an affinity to be contracted between them, by the king marrying Hasdrubal's daughter. Hasdrubal had gone with a design of completing this business, and fixing a time for the nuptials, the damsel being

now marriageable; and finding him inflamed with desire, (for the Numidians are, beyond all other barbarians, inclined to amorous pleasures,) he sent for her from Carthage, and hastened the wedding. Among other instances of mutual regard and affection, and in order that their private connection might be cemented by a public one, an alliance between the king and the people of Carthage was ratified by oath, and their faith reciprocally pledged that they would have the same friends and enemies. But Hasdrubal remembered that the king had previously entered into a league with Scipio, and knowing how unsteady and changeable were the minds of the barbarians, he dreaded lest, if Scipio once came into Africa, that match might prove a slender tie; he therefore seized the opportunity while the warmth of the Numidian's new passion was at the highest, and calling to his aid the blandishments of his daughter, prevailed on him to send ambassadors into Sicily to Scipio, and by them to warn him, "not to be induced, by a reliance on his former promises, to pass over to Africa, for that he was now united to the people of Carthage, both by his marriage with a citizen of that state, daughter of Hasdrubal, whom he had seen entertained in his house, and also by a public treaty. He recommended it strongly to the Romans, to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, at a distance from Africa as they had hitherto done; lest he might be under a necessity of interfering in their disputes, and of joining one or the other, while he wished to decline taking part with either. If Scipio should enter Africa, and advance his army towards Carthage, he must then of necessity fight, as well in defence of the country wherein he himself was born, as in support of the native city of his spouse, her parent, and household gods."

XXIV. The ambassadors, charged with these despatches from the king to Scipio, had an interview with him at Syracuse. Scipio, though disappointed in a matter of the utmost consequence to the success of his affairs in Africa, and in the high expectations which he had entertained from that quarter, sent back the ambassadors speedily, before their business should become publicly known, and gave them a letter for the king, in which he conjured him, in the most forcible terms, not "to violate the laws of hospitality; nor the alliance which he had concluded with the Roman people; nor

justice, nor faith, (their right hands pledged,) nor act in any thing offensive to the gods, the witnesses and guarantees of compacts." The coming of the Numidians was generally known, for they had walked about the city, and had been frequently at the prætorium; so that it was feared, should the subject of their embassy transpire, that the troops might become alarmed at the prospect of being to fight against Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio judged it prudent, therefore, to divert their thoughts from the truth, by prepossessing them with false informations. Calling them to an assembly, he said, "that there was no room for longer delay: that the kings, their allies, pressed him to pass over to Africa immediately. That Masinissa had before come in person to Lælius, complaining of time being wasted in inactivity; and that Syphax now sent despatches to the like effect; requiring, that either the troops should at length be carried over to Africa, or if the plan was changed, that he should be made acquainted with it, in order that he might adopt such measures as would be convenient to himself and beneficial to his kingdom. Since, therefore, every preparation had been made, and as the business admitted no longer hesitation, it was his intention, after bringing over the fleet to Lilybæum, and assembling at that place all the forces of horse and foot, to pass into Africa, with the favour of the gods, the first day on which the ships could sail." He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius, to come to that port, in order that they might consult together as to what particular legions, and what number of men he should carry to Africa; with orders also to all the sea-coast, that the ships of burthen should be all seized, and brought thither. When the troops and vessels had assembled at Lilybæum, neither could the city contain the men, nor the harbour the ships; and such an ardent desire to pass into Africa possessed them all, that they appeared, not as if going to be employed in war, but in receiving the rewards of victory already secured; especially those of the army of Cannæ, for they expected, by exerting themselves on the present occasion, and under the then general, to put an end to their ignominious service. Scipio showed not the least inclination to reject soldiers of that description, knowing that the misfortune at Cannæ had not arisen from their want of spirit, and that, besides, there were none in the Roman army who had served so long, or who had



acquired so much experience, both in a variety of battles, and in attacking towns. The legions of Cannæ were the fifth and sixth. After giving notice that he would carry these to Africa, he reviewed them, man by man, and leaving behind such as he thought unfit for the service, he substituted in their places those whom he had brought from Italy, and filled up those legions in such a manner, that each contained six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; the horse and foot of the allies, of the Latine confederacy, he chose also out of the army of Cannæ.

XXV. Authors differ widely with regard to the number of men carried over to Africa. In one I find ten thousand foot, and two thousand two hundred horse; in another sixteen thousand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse; while others augment them more than half, and assert, that thirty-five thousand horse and foot were put on board the ships. Some have not stated the numbers; and among these, as the matter is uncertain, I choose to place myself. Coelius, indeed, avoids specifying the same; but he magnifies to an immense extent the idea that he gives of their multitude; he tells us, that birds fell to the ground, stunned by the shouts of the soldiers: and that it might have been well imagined, that there was not a man left behind either in Italy or in Sicily. Scipio took upon himself the charge of embarking the men in a regular manner. The seamen were kept in order on board the ships by Caius Lælius, who had the command of the fleet. The care of shipping the stores was allotted to Marcus Pomponius, the prætor. A quantity of food sufficient for forty-five days was put on board: as much of it ready dressed as would serve for fifteen days. When all were embarked, the general sent round boats to bring the pilots and masters, with two soldiers out of each ship, to the forum, to receive orders. Being there assembled, he first inquired whether they had put water on board for men and cattle, and for as many days as they had corn; they answered, that there was water on board for forty-five days. He then charged the soldiers, that, attentive to their duty, they should behave themselves quietly, so that the seamen might perform their business without interruption; informed them, that he and Lucius Scipio, with twenty ships of war, would protect the transports on the right division; and Caius Lælius commander of the fleet, and Marcus

Porcius Cato, the quæstor, with the same number, those on the left: that the ships of war would carry each a single light, the transports two; that the signal by night, on board the ship of the commander-in-chief, would consist of three lights. The pilots had orders to steer to Emporium, where the land is remarkably fertile; consequently the country abounds with plenty of all things. The inhabitants are unwarlike, as is generally the case where the soil is rich; and Scipio supposed that they might be overpowered before succour could arrive from Carthage. Having issued these orders, he commanded them to return to their ships, and on the signal being given next day, with the favour of the gods, to set sail.

XXVI. Many Roman fleets had sailed from Sicily, and from that same harbour; but never did any equipment afford so grand a spectacle, either in the present war, (which was not surprising, as most of these fleets had only gone in quest of plunder,) or even in any former one. And yet his force could not be fully estimated from a view of the present armament, for not only two consuls with their armies had passed from thence before, but there had been almost as many war-vessels in their fleets, as there were transports attending Scipio. These, it is true, were not less than four hundred, but of ships of battle he had only fifty. But the Romans had more alarming apprehensions from one war than from the other; from the second, than from the former; as well by reason of its being waged in Italy, as of the dreadful destruction of so many armies, together with their commanders. Scipio, however, had attracted an extraordinary degree of attention. He had acquired a high degree of renown, partly by his bravery, partly by the happy success which had attended it, and which gave room to expect from him the most glorious achievements. Besides, the very object proposed of passing into the enemy's country, which had not been attempted by any general during that war, strongly roused men's feelings; for he had on all occasions publicly declared that his intention was to draw Hannibal away from Italy, to transfer the war to Africa, and to finish it there. Not only the whole of the inhabitants of Lilybæum crowded together to the harbour to get a view of them, but also deputies from all parts of Sicily; who came for the purpose of showing that mark of respect, not only to Scipio, but to Marcus Pomponius prætor of the province.

The legions likewise, which were to be left on the island, quitted their quarters in compliance to their fellow-soldiers. In a word, the fleet exhibited a grand prospect to those on land, and the land to those on shipboard, it being covered all round with the admiring multitude.

XXVII. As soon as day appeared, a herald having commanded silence, Scipio, in the admiral's ship, spoke thus: "Ye gods and goddesses, who preside over the seas and lands, I pray and beseech you, that whatever affairs have been carried on, or shall hereafter be carried on, during my command, may all conduce to the happiness of myself, the state, and people of Rome; of the allies, and the Latine confederates, who follow my party, command, and auspices, and those of the Roman people on sea, on land, and on rivers. Lend your favourable aid to all those measures, and further them by happy advancements; bring us all home, unhurt and victorious, decorated with spoils, laden with booty, and exulting in triumph. Grant us the opportunity of taking vengeance on our foes; and whatever attempts the Carthaginian people have made to injure our state, grant to me, and to the Roman people, power to retaliate the same evils on the state of Carthage." After these prayers, he threw into the sea, according to custom, the raw entrails of a victim which had been slain; and gave by a trumpet the signal for sailing. The wind being favourable and blowing fresh, when they set sail, they were soon carried out of sight of land; but about noon a fog arose, which made it difficult to keep the ships from running foul of each other. As they advanced into the open sea, the wind abated: during the following night the haziness continued, but at the rising of the sun it was dispersed, and the wind freshened. The pilot soon after told Scipio, that "Africa was not above five miles distant; that he saw the promontory of Mercury; and that if he gave orders to steer thither, the whole fleet would be immediately in harbour." As soon as Scipio came within sight of land, he prayed to the gods that his seeing Africa might be happy for the state, and for himself: he then gave orders to make sail for another landing place. They proceeded with the same wind; but a fog arising, as on the day before, hid the land from their sight; and increasing as the night came on, involved every object in obscurity. They therefore cast anchor, lest the ships

should run foul of each other, or be driven on shore. At day-break, however, the wind sprung up, dispersed the fog, and discovered the coast of Africa. Scipio, inquiring the name of the nearest promontory, and being told that it was called Cape Fair, said, "the omen is pleasing; steer your ships thither." The fleet ran down accordingly, and all the forces were disembarked. I am inclined to follow the accounts of very many Greek and Latin authors; which are, that the voyage was prosperous, and without danger or confusion. Cœlius alone (except that he does not represent the ships as being lost,) gives a narration of every other dreadful occurrence, which could be occasioned by wind or waves; that, at last, the fleet was driven from Africa to the island Ægimurus; that, from thence, with difficulty, they recovered their course; and that the men had, without orders from the general, escaped to land in boats from the almost foundering vessels, just, in short, as from a shipwreck, without arms and in the utmost disorder.

XXVIII. The troops being landed, formed their camp on the nearest rising grounds. The sight of the fleet, with the bustle of landing, spread consternation and terror, not only through the parts adjoining the sea, but even among the cities. For not only crowds of women and children, mixing with the bands of men, filled up all the roads, but the country people also drove their cattle before them, so that it seemed as if they were all at once forsaking Africa. Those caused much greater terror in the cities than they had felt themselves, particularly at Carthage, where the tumult was almost as great as though the enemy were at its gates; for, since the consulate of Marcus Attilius Regulus, and Lucius Manlius, a space of nearly fifty years, they had seen no Roman army, except those predatory squadrons, from which some troops had made descents on the adjoining coast, seizing whatever chance threw in their way, but who had always made a hasty retreat to their ships, and before the peasantry had taken the alarm. For this reason, the consternation and panic was now the greater; and, in fact, they had neither a powerful army at home, nor a general whom they could oppose to the invaders. Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, was by far the first person in the city, not only in character and wealth, but also by reason of his affinity with the king. They considered, however, that he had been vanquished, and put to flight



in several battles, in Spain, by this same Scipio; and that, as a commander, he was no more to be equalled with the Roman general, than their tumultuary forces were with the Roman army. The people were therefore called to arms, as though Scipio were ready to attack the city; the gates were hastily shut, armed men placed on the walls, and watches and outposts fixed, together with a regular guard, during the following night. Next day, five hundred horsemen, who were despatched to gain intelligence, and to disturb the enemy on their landing, fell in with the advanced guards of the Romans: for Scipio, having sent his fleet to Utica, and proceeded to some distance from the coast, had seized on the next high grounds, placing outposts of cavalry in proper places, and sending others into the country to plunder.

XXIX. These, having met with the Carthaginian horsemen, slew a small number of them in fight, and the greater part of the remainder, as they pursued them flying; among whom was Hanno their commander, a young man of distinction. Scipio not only laid waste the country round, but captured also a very wealthy city which lay near him; in which, besides other things which were immediately put on board the transports and sent to Sicily, there were taken, of freemen and slaves, not less than eight thousand. But what gave the Romans the greatest joy on the commencement of their operations was, the arrival of Masinissa, who came, according to some, with no more than two hundred horsemen; but most authors say, with two thousand. Now, as he was by far the greatest of all the kings of that age, and performed the most important services to the Roman state, it appears worth while to digress a little, in order to relate the great vicissitudes of fortune which he experienced in the loss and recovery of his father's kingdom. While he was fighting on the side of the Carthaginians, in Spain, his father, whose name was Gala, died: the kingdom, according to the custom of the Numidians, came to the king's brother *Æsalces*, who was far advanced in years. In a short time after, *Æsalces* also dying, *Capusa*, the elder of his two sons, the other of whom was very young, got possession of his father's dominions: but his title being supported, more by the regard paid to the right of descent, than from any respect to his character, or any strength which he possessed, there stood forth a person called *Mezetulus*, related by blood in some de-

gree to the royal family. His progenitors, however, had always opposed their interests, and their issue had, with various success, disputed the throne with the branch then in possession. This man, having roused his countrymen to arms, among whom his influence was great, by reason of their dislike to the reigning dynasty, levied open war; so that the king was obliged to take the field, and fight for the crown. In that battle *Capusa* fell, together with a great number of the principal men of the kingdom; while the whole nation of the Massylians submitted to the dominion and government of *Mezetulus*. He did not, however, assume the regal title; but satisfied with the modest one of Protector, gave the name of king to the boy *Lacumaces*, the surviving son of him whom he had slain. In hopes of procuring an alliance with the Carthaginians, he took to wife a Carthaginian woman of distinction, daughter of Hannibal's sister, formerly married to king *Æsalces*; and sending ambassadors to Syphax, renewed with him an old connection of hospitality, endeavouring, by all these measures, to secure a support against *Masinissa*.

XXX. On the other hand, *Masinissa*, hearing that his uncle was dead, and afterwards that his cousin-german was slain, came over from Spain into Mauritania. The king of the Moors, at that time, was *Bocchar*: applying to him, as a suppliant, he obtained, by the humblest entreaties, four thousand Moors to escort him on his journey, not being able to prevail for any aid in the war. When he arrived with these on the frontiers of the kingdom, as he had before despatched messengers to his own and his father's friends, about five hundred Numidians assembled about him. He then sent back the Moors according to his engagement: and although the numbers that joined him were short of his expectations, and not such as might encourage him to undertake an affair of moment; yet, believing that by entering upon action, and making some effort, he should gather strength for a more important enterprise, he threw himself in the way of the young king *Lacumaces*, as he was going to Syphax at Thapsus. The attendants of *Lacumaces* flying back in consternation, *Masinissa* took the city at the first assault, received the submission of some of the king's party who surrendered, and slew others who attempted to resist; but the greatest part of them, with the boy himself, escaped during the tumult to Thapsus, whither they had at first

intended to go. The success of Masinissa in this small exploit, and on the first commencement of his operations, drew the regards of the Numidians towards him, while the old soldiers of Gala flocked from all parts of the country and the towns, inviting the young prince to proceed to the recovery of his father's kingdom. Mezetulus was superior in number of men : for, besides the army with which he had conquered Capusa, he was strengthened by some troops who had submitted after the king was slain; the boy Lacumaces having likewise brought succours from Syphax. Mezetulus had fifteen thousand foot, ten thousand horse, with whom Masinissa engaged in battle, though much inferior in number. The valour, however, of the veteran soldiers prevailed, aided by the skill of their leader, who had gained experience in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians. The young king, with his guardian and a small body of Massylians, escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Masinissa thus recovered his father's throne, yet, foreseeing that he should have a much more severe struggle to maintain against Syphax, he thought it best to come to a reconciliation with his cousin-german. Proper persons were accordingly sent to give Lacumaces hopes, that if he put himself under the protection of Masinissa, he should enjoy the same honourable provision which *Æsalces* had formerly known under Gala; and to assure Mezetulus not only of impunity, but of an entire restitution of all his property. As they both preferred a moderate share of fortune at home to exile, he brought them over to his side, notwithstanding the Carthaginians used every means to prevent it.

XXXI. During these transactions, Hasdrubal happened to be with Syphax : and when the Numidian seemed to think that it was of little consequence to him whether the government of the Massylians were in the hands of Lacumaces or of Masinissa, he told him, that "he would be greatly mistaken in supposing that Masinissa would be content with the acquisitions which had satisfied his father Gala, or his uncle *Æsalces*. That he was possessed of much greater spirit and understanding than had ever appeared in any of his race : that he had often in Spain exhibited, both to his allies and enemies, instances of such courage as is very rarely seen; that both Syphax and the Carthaginians, unless they smothered that rising flame, would

soon be enveloped in a general conflagration, when it would not be in their power to help themselves; that as yet his strength was infirm, and might be easily broken, while he was endeavouring to heal the divisions of his kingdom." By such kind of arguments Syphax was induced to lead an army to the frontiers of the Massylians, into a district about which there had often been not only verbal disputes, but battles fought, with Gala; and there to pitch his camp, as if it were his acknowledged property; alleging that, "if any opposition were made, which was what was most to be wished, he would have an opportunity of fighting; but if the district were abandoned through fear, he should then proceed into the heart of the kingdom: that the Massylians would either submit to his authority without a contest, or, at all events, would be unable to contend with him." Stimulated by such discourses, Syphax made war on Masinissa, and in the first encounter, routed and dispersed the Massylians. Masinissa fled from the field, attended only by a few horsemen, to a mountain which the natives call *Balbus*. A number of families with their tents and cattle, which is all their wealth, followed their king: the rest of the Massylians submitted to Syphax. The mountain of which the fugitive took possession, abounds with grass and water; and as it was thus well adapted to the grazing of cattle, it supplied abundance of food, to feed men living on flesh and milk. Excursions from hence were made through all the neighbouring parts; at first secretly, and by night; afterwards openly. The lands of the Carthaginians suffered most, because there was greater plenty of spoil there than among the Numidians, and it was carried off with less danger. At length they became so bold as to carry down their booty to the sea, and sell it to merchants, who brought their ships thither for the purpose; and on these occasions, greater numbers of the Carthaginians were slain and made prisoners than often happens in a regular engagement. On this subject, the Carthaginians made heavy complaints to Syphax, earnestly pressing him to crush this remnant of the foe. To this he was himself well inclined, but thought it rather beneath the dignity of a king to pursue a vagrant robber, as he styled him, through the mountains.

XXXII. Bocchar, a spirited and enterprising general, was chosen by the Numidian for that employment. Four thousand foot and



two thousand horse were given him ; with a promise of immense reward if he should bring back the head of Masinissa ; or rather if he should take him alive, for that the latter would be to him a matter of inexpressible joy. Falling unexpectedly on Masinissa's men, when they were scattered about, and off their guard, and who were in considerable numbers, he shut them out, together with their cattle, from the protection of those who were in arms, driving Masinissa himself, with his few followers, to the summit of the mountain. On this, considering the war as nearly finished, he sent to the king both the booty of cattle and the prisoners, and also a part of his forces, which were more numerous than the remainder of the business required. Then, with no more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse pursuing Masinissa, who had gone down from the top of the mountain, he shut him up in a narrow valley, securing the entrance at each end. Great slaughter was there made of the Massylians ; Masinissa, with not more than fifty horsemen, effected a retreat through the intricate passes of the mountain, with which the pursuers were unacquainted. Bocchar, however, closely followed his steps, and overtaking him in an open plain, near the city Clupea, surrounded him in such a manner, that he slew every one of his followers except four horsemen ; Masinissa, with these, and after receiving a wound, slipped out of his hands, as it were, during the tumult. Their flight was in full view, a body of horse being spread over the whole plain, some of whom pursued these five remaining enemies, while others, in order to meet them, pushed across their rout. A large river lay in the way of the fugitives, into which they plunged their horses without hesitation, being pressed by greater danger from behind. Hurried away by the current, they were carried down obliquely ; and two of them being swallowed by its violent rapidity in sight of the enemy, they believed that Masinissa himself had perished : but, with the two other horsemen, he landed among some bushes on the farther bank. This put an end to Bocchar's pursuit, for he durst not venture into the river ; and besides, he was persuaded that the object of it no longer existed ; he therefore returned to the king, with the ill grounded report of Masinissa's death. Messengers were despatched with the joyful news to Carthage ; though in its spread over Africa, men's minds were

variously affected by it. Masinissa, while healing his wounds by the application of herbs, and in a secret cave, lived for several days on what the two horsemen procured by pillage. As soon as it was cicatrised, and he thought himself able to bear the motion, he set out again with wonderful resolution, to make another effort for the recovery of his kingdom. He collected in his way not more than forty horsemen ; but, as soon as he arrived among the Massylians, and made himself known to them, they were so powerfully actuated both by their former affection and the unhopd for joy at seeing him in safety, whom they believed to have perished, that in a few days six thousand armed foot and four thousand horse repaired to his standard ; and he not only got possession of his father's kingdom, but laid waste the countries in alliance with the Carthaginians, and the frontiers of the Masæsylians, the dominion of Syphax. Having thus provoked the Numidian to war, he took post between Cirtha and Hippo, on the tops of mountains, in a situation convenient for all his purposes.

XXXIII. Syphax, thinking this an affair of too much importance to be intrusted to the management of his generals, sent a part of his army with his son Vermina, then a youth, with orders to march round in a circuit, and fall upon the enemy's rear when he himself should have attracted their attention to his side. Vermina set out by night, so as to be concealed until he should begin the attack ; but Syphax decamped in the day, and marched openly, as he was to engage in a regular pitched battle. When he thought that sufficient time had been allowed for those who had been sent round to have arrived at their station, he led his forces, by a gentle acclivity, directly up the mountain, for he relied both on his numbers, and the ambuscade which he had prepared on his enemy's rear. Masinissa, on the other side, drew up his men, depending chiefly on the advantage of the ground ; although, had it been much less in his favour, he would not have declined the fight. The battle was furious, and for a long time doubtful : Masinissa being favoured by his situation and the bravery of his men ; Syphax by his numbers, which were more than abundant. This great multitude being divided, one part pressed on in front, while the other part surrounded the rear ; which gave a decided victory to Syphax ; nor was there even room

for the enemy to escape, inclosed as they were on both sides: the rest, therefore, horse and foot, were either slain or taken. Masinissa collected round himself, in close order, about two hundred horsemen, whom he divided into three squadrons, with orders to break through the enemy, having appointed a place where they should re-assemble, after being separated in their flight. He himself made his way through the midst of their weapons, as he had proposed; the other two squadrons failed in the attempt; one surrendering through fear, the other, after a more obstinate resistance, being overwhelmed with darts, and cut to pieces. Vermina followed close on the steps of Masinissa, who baffled him by frequently turning out of one road into another; and whom he at length obliged, harassed with extreme fatigue, to desist from the pursuit, and arrived himself with sixty horsemen at the lesser Syrtis. There, with the honourable consciousness of having often attempted the recovery of his father's kingdom, he rested until the coming of Caius Lælius and the Roman fleet to Africa, between the Carthaginian Emporia and the nation of the Garamantians. From these circumstances, I am inclined to believe, that Masinissa came afterwards to Scipio, rather with a small body of forces than a large one: for the very great number which has been mentioned by some, suits the condition of a king on a throne; the smaller that of an exile.

XXXIV. The Carthaginians having lost a large party of horse, together with their commander, made up another body of cavalry, by a new levy, and gave the command of it to Hanno, son of Hamilcar. They sent frequently for Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, and at length by ambassadors. Hasdrubal was ordered to come to the aid of his native city, which was threatened with a siege; while Syphax was entreated to bring relief to Carthage, and to all Africa. Scipio was at that time near Utica, above five miles from the city; having removed from the sea-coast, where for a few days he had a camp adjoining the fleet. Hanno, having received the newly raised body of cavalry, (which, so far from being strong enough to make any attempt on the enemy, was not even sufficient to protect the country from devastation,) made it his first care to increase their number by pressing. Those of other nations were not rejected; but he collected mostly Numidians, who are by far

the best horsemen in Africa. Having got together four thousand horse, he took up his quarters in a city called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When this was told to Scipio, he said, with surprise, "What! cavalry lodging in houses during the summer! Let them be even more in number, while they have such a commander." The less they showed of activity, the less time he thought should be lost by himself; he therefore sent forward Masinissa with the cavalry, giving them directions to ride up to the gates, and entice the enemy out to battle. That when their multitudes should pour out, and become too powerful in the contest, he should give way by degrees; and that he would himself come up in time to support the fight. When the advanced party had, as he supposed, effected his purpose, he followed with the Roman horse, and proceeded, without being observed, under cover of some rising grounds which lay very conveniently round the windings of the road. Masinissa, according to the plan laid down, acted at one time as if threatening an assault, at another as if seized with fear; now riding up to the very gates, and now retreating with dissembled haste, which gave such boldness to the enemy, that they were at length tempted to come out of the town, and pursue him, with disorder, in his counterfeited flight. All, however, had not come forth; and with these remaining numbers the commander was not a little perplexed. Some, overpowered with wine and sleep, he had to compel to the taking of arms; others he had to stop who were running out by the gates without their standards, and in scattered parties, wholly regardless of order or ranks. Masinissa withstood them at first, while they rushed rashly to the charge; but soon after greater numbers pouring out, and their whole force of cavalry joining in the conflict, they could no longer be resisted. Yet Masinissa did not betake himself to a hasty flight; but retired leisurely, until he drew them on to the hills which concealed the Roman cavalry. These immediately rising up, their strength unimpaired, and their horses fresh, spread themselves round Hanno and the Africans, who were fatigued in the pursuit; and Masinissa, suddenly wheeling about, returned to the charge. About one thousand, who composed the first division, and who could not easily retreat, were, together with Hanno, the commander, surrounded and slain: the rest, terrified principally by the



death of their general, fled in confusion, and were pursued, for thirty miles, by the conquerors, who took or slew two thousand more of the cavalry. It appeared, that there were among these not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen; several of them of the richest and most distinguished families.

XXXV. It happened that the same day on which this battle was fought, the ships, which had carried the booty to Sicily, returned with stores, as if they had foreseen that they were to bear away another cargo as before. All writers do not mention two generals of the Carthaginians, of the same name, being slain in two battles of the cavalry; apprehending, I suppose, that there was a mistake, occasioned by the same fact being related twice. Nay, Cælius and Valerius even assert, that Hanno was taken prisoner. Scipio made presents to the officers and horsemen, according to the behaviour of each; and, above all, he paid extraordinary honours to Masinissa. Having placed a strong garrison in Salera, he set out with the rest of the army; and not only laid waste the country wherever he marched, but also took some cities and towns, and thereby widely diffused the terror of his arms. Scipio returned to the camp on the seventh day after he had left it, bringing with him a great number of men and cattle, and a vast quantity of plunder. He then dismissed the ships, heavily laden, a second time, with all kinds of spoil. From that time, laying aside small expeditions, and predatory excursions, he turned the whole force of the war to the siege of Utica; intending, if he should take it, to establish his headquarters there for the future, in order to the better execution of the rest of his designs. While the marine forces made their approaches on that side of the city which is washed by the sea, those of the land advanced from a rising ground hanging almost over the walls. Engines and machines had been sent from Sicily, with the stores; and many were made in the armory, where a number of artificers, skilled in such works, were retained for the purpose. The people of Utica, attacked on all sides by such a powerful force, had no hopes but from the Carthaginians; nor the Carthaginians any but from Hasdrubal, and from him only, as he should be able to influence Syphax. But all measures proceeded too slowly for their anxious desire of aid, of which they stood so much in need. Hasdrubal, though he had, by the most

diligent press, made up the number of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, yet durst not move towards the camp of the enemy before the arrival of Syphax. Syphax soon came, with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and immediately decamping from Carthage, sat down at a small distance from Utica, and the entrenchments of the Romans. Their approach produced at least this consequence, that Scipio, after having besieged Utica for near forty days, and tried every expedient for its reduction, in vain, was obliged to retire from it, as the winter was now at hand. He fortified his winter camp on a promontory, joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, and which stretches out to some length into the sea; and included the naval camp within the same entrenchment. The legions were stationed on the middle of the isthmus; the ships were hauled on shore, and the seamen occupied the coast which faces the north; the cavalry a valley on the south. Such were the transactions in Africa to the latter end of autumn.

XXXVI. Various stores were imported from Sicily and Italy; and besides the corn collected from all quarters of the adjacent country, Cneius Octavius, proprætor, brought a vast quantity out of Sardinia, from Tiberius Claudius, the prætor: in consequence of which, not only the granaries already built were filled, but new ones were erected. Clothing was wanted for the troops: that matter was given in charge to Octavius, with directions to apply to the prætor, and to try if any could be procured by him; a business which he carefully attended to, for in a short time twelve hundred gowns and twelve thousand jackets were sent. During the same summer in which these things passed in Africa, Publius Sempronius, consul, who had the province of Bruttium, on his march in the district of Croton, engaged Hannibal in a tumultuary battle, or rather a kind of skirmishing. The Romans were worsted; and one thousand two hundred of the consul's army slain. The rest returned in confusion to the camp, which, however, the enemy did not dare to assault. During the silence of the following night, Sempronius marched away; and, having sent directions to Publius Licinius, proconsul, to bring up his legions, he made a junction of their forces: thus two commanders and two armies returned upon Hannibal. Neither party declined an engagement: the consul deriving confidence from his forces being dou-

bled; the Carthaginian, from his late victory. Sempronius led up his own legions into the first line, those of Licinius were placed in reserve. In the beginning of the battle the consul vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia, if he should defeat the enemy on that day; and the object of his vow was accomplished. The Carthaginians were routed, and put to flight: above four thousand fell, somewhat less than three hundred were made prisoners, with whom were taken forty horses, and eleven military standards. Hannibal, dismayed by this overthrow, drew off his army to Croton. At the same time Marcus Cornelius, consul, not so much by force of his arms as by the terror of his judicial proceedings, kept Etruria in obedience; though it was almost entirely devoted to Mago, and to the hope of obtaining, by his means, a change of government. The inquisitions, directed by the senate, he executed with the utmost impartiality; and many of the Tuscan nobles, who had either gone themselves, or sent deputies to Mago, about the revolt of their states, stood trial, and were found guilty. Others, from a consciousness of guilt, went into voluntary exile; and by thus withdrawing, though condemned in their absence, could suffer only in a confiscation of their effects.

XXXVII. While the consuls were thus employed in different parts, the censors at Rome, (Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius,) called over the list of the senate. Quintus Fabius Maximus was again chosen principal; seven were disgraced; not one, however, of those who had sat in the curule chair. The orders for repairing public buildings were enforced with the greatest strictness. A road was contracted for, to be made from the ox market to the temple of Venus, with public seats; and a temple to be built, for the Great Mother, on the Palatine hill. A new tax, from the sale of salt, was established. This article had been sold at the sixth part of an *ass*, both at Rome, and in all parts of Italy: and it was now directed to be supplied at the same rate at Rome, at a higher in the country towns and markets, and at various prices in different places. People were firmly persuaded, that Livius had contrived this tax in resentment, and on account of a sentence having been formerly passed on him, which he had considered as unjust; and that, in fixing the price of salt, the greatest burthen had been laid on those tribes by whose influence he had been con-

demned: hence the surname of Salinator was given to him. The lustrum was closed later than usual; because the censors sent persons through all the provinces, to bring them a return of the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, there were rated, in the survey, two hundred and fourteen thousand men. Caius Claudius Nero had the honour of closing the lustrum. The senate then received a survey of twelve colonies, presented by the censors of those colonies, which had never been done before, in order that records might appear in the public archives of their proportion of strength both in men and money. The review of the knights then began; and it so happened that both the censors had a horse at the public expense. When they came to the Pollian tribe, in which was enrolled the name of Marcus Livius, and whom the herald hesitated to cite, Nero called to him, "Cite Marcus Livius;" and being actuated either by some remains of their old enmity, or by an unseasonable affectation of strictness, he ordered Livius to sell his horse, because he had been condemned by a sentence of the people. In like manner Marcus Livius, when they came to the Narnian tribe, in which the name of his colleague appeared, he ordered him to dispose of his horse, for two reasons: one, that he had given false evidence; the other, that he had not been sincere in his reconciliation with him. Thus they became engaged in a scandalous contest, each aspersing the character of the other, though at the same time he injured his own. On going out of their office of censor, when Caius Claudius had taken the oath respecting the observance of the laws, and had gone up to the treasury, among the names of those whom he left disfranchised in the treasury list, he gave in the name of his associate. Marcus Livius also came thither, and except the Metian tribe, which had neither concurred in his condemnation, nor in appointing him consul or censor, he left the whole Roman people, thirty-four tribes, disfranchised in the treasury list; and this (he said) he did, because they had not only condemned him when innocent, but had elected him, while under the said sentence, both consul and censor; so that they could not deny that they had been guilty, either of one great fault in giving their sentence, or of two in the elections. He added, that Caius Claudius would be included in the list among the thirty-four tribes; but that if there had been



any precedent of inserting any person twice in the treasury list, he would have inserted his name particularly. The contest between the censors, thus mutually reproaching each other, was shameful; while the rebuke given to the giddiness of the people was highly becoming a censor, and the strict principles of that age. The censors having fallen into disrepute, Cneius Bæbius, tribune of the people, thinking that their situation afforded him an opportunity of gaining notice, summoned them both to a trial before the people; but the senate interfered, and stopped any farther proceedings, lest the office of censor should, in future, be subjected to the humour of the populace.

XXXVIII. During the same summer the consul took Clampetia in Bruttium, by storm. Consentia and Pandosia, with other towns of small consequence, surrendered voluntarily; and, as the time of the elections drew near, it was thought more expedient to call home Cornelius from Etruria, where there was no employment for his arms. He elected Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Servilius Geminus. The election of the prætors was then

held: there were chosen Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quintilius Varus, Publius Ælius Pætus, and Publius Villius Tappulus; although the two latter were ædiles of the commons. The consul, as soon as the elections were over, returned into Etruria to his army. The priests who died that year, and those who were substituted in the places of others, were Tiberius Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, elected and inaugurated in the room of Marcus Æmilius Regillus, deceased the year before. In the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir, were elected, as decemvir, Marcus Aurelius Cotta; as augur, Tiberius Sempromnius Gracchus, who was then very young; an instance in those times extremely rare in the disposal of a priest's office. Golden chariots, with four horses, were that year placed in the capitol by the curule ædiles, Caius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. The Roman games were repeatedly exhibited for two days. In like manner the plebeian, for two days, by the ædiles, Publius Ælius and Publius Villius. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXX.

Scipio, aided by Masinissa, defeats the Carthaginians, Syphax, and Hasdrubal, in several battles. Syphax taken by Lælius and Masinissa. Masinissa espouses Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, Hasdrubal's daughter ; being reproved by Scipio, he sends her poison, with which she puts an end to her life. The Carthaginians, reduced to great extremity by Scipio's repeated victories, call Hannibal home from Italy : he holds a conference with Scipio on the subject of peace, and is again defeated by him in battle. The Carthaginians sue for peace, which is granted them. Masinissa reinstated in his kingdom. Scipio returns to Rome ; his splendid triumph ; is surnamed Africanus.

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I. CNEIUS SERVILIUS CÆPIO and Caius Servilius Geminus, in the sixteenth year of the Punic war, [Y. R. 549. B. C. 203.] consulted the senate on the state of public affairs, the war, and the provinces. The senate decreed, that the consuls should settle between themselves, or determine by lot, which of them should hold the province of Bruttium, and act against Hannibal ; and which that of Etruria and Liguria. That he to whose lot Bruttium fell, should receive the army from Publius Sempronius, late consul. That Publius Sempronius, to whom the command was continued, as proconsul, for a year, should succeed Publius Licinius, who was to come home to Rome. This commander had now acquired a high reputation for military skill, in addition to his other excellent qualifications, of which no citizen, at that time, possessed such an abundance ; nature and fortune conspiring to confer on him every thing valuable in man. He was of a noble race, and possessed great wealth ; he excelled in personal beauty and strength of body ; he was esteemed the most eloquent of his time, whether he pleaded in the courts of justice, or enforced or opposed any measure, either in the senate, or before the people ; and was, besides,

remarkably skilled in the pontifical law. In addition to all these, the consulship enabled him to acquire fame in the field. The same method of proceeding, which the senate had decreed in regard to the province of Bruttium, was ordered to be followed in respect of Etruria and Liguria. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to deliver the army to the new consul ; and, his command being continued, to hold the province of Gaul, with those legions which Lucius Scribonius, prætor, had commanded the year before. The consuls then cast lots for the provinces : Bruttium fell to Cæpio, Etruria to Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the prætors were next put to the lot : Pætus Ælius obtained the city jurisdiction ; Cneius Lentulus, Sardinia ; Publius Villius, Sicily ; Quintilius Varus, Ariminum, with two legions, which had been under Lucretius Spurius. Lucretius remained on his station, in order that he might rebuild the city of Genoa, which had been demolished by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio's command was continued, not for a period limited by time, but by the business, until an end should be put to the war in Africa ; and it was decreed, that a supplication should be performed, to obtain from the



gods, that his having passed into Africa might prove happy to the people, to the general himself, and to the army.

II. Three thousand men were raised for Sicily; and because whatever strength it had possessed was carried over to Carthage, it was resolved that the coast of that island should be guarded by forty ships, lest any fleet should come thither from Africa. Villius carried with him to Sicily thirteen new ships, the rest were old ones repaired there. Marcus Pomponius, prætor of the former year, (his command of this fleet being continued,) took on board the new soldiers. An equal number of ships were decreed by the senate to Cneius Octavius, prætor likewise of the former year, with the same right of command, in order to protect the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus, prætor, was ordered to supply the fleet with two thousand soldiers. The defence of the coast of Italy was intrusted to Marcus Marcius, prætor of the former year, with the same number of ships; because it was uncertain to what place the Carthaginians might direct their attack, which would probably be against whatever part was destitute of forces for its defence. For that fleet, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, the consuls enlisted three thousand men, and also two city legions, for the exigencies of the war. Spain, with the armies there, and the command, was decreed to the former generals, Lucius Lentulus, and Lucius Manlius Acidinius. The Romans employed in their service, for that year, in all, twenty legions, and a hundred and sixty ships of war. The prætors were directed to repair to their provinces; and orders were given to the consuls, that, before their departure from the city, they should celebrate the great games, which Titus Manlius Torquatus, in his dictatorship, had vowed to be exhibited in the fifth year, if the condition of the state remained unaltered. Religious apprehensions were raised in men's minds, by relations of prodigies brought from several places. It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the capitol, but had even eaten it. At Antium, mice gnawed a golden crown. A vast quantity of locusts filled all the country round Capua, though it could not be discovered from whence they came. At Reate, a foal was produced with five feet. At Anagnia, there appeared in the sky, at first scattered fire, and afterwards a prodigious blaze. At Frusino, a circle encompassed the sun with a narrow

line; then the orb of the sun, increasing in size, extended its circumference beyond the circle. At Arpinum, in a level plain, the earth sunk into a vast gulf. When one of the consuls sacrificed the first victims, the head of the liver was wanting. These prodigies were expiated by the greater victims, the college of pontiffs directing to what gods the sacrifices should be made.

III. As soon as this business was finished, the consuls and prætors set out for their respective provinces. They directed their chief attention to Africa, as if it were allotted to them, either because they saw that the grand interests of their country, and of the war, depended on the proceedings there, or from a desire to gratify Scipio, who was then the object of universal favour among all the members of the state. Therefore, thither were sent not only from Sardinia, as was mentioned before, but from Sicily also, and Spain, clothing, corn, and arms, with every other kind of stores: while Scipio relaxed not his diligence during any part of the winter in the operations of war, for which he found abundant occasion on every side. He was engaged in the siege of Utica; Hasdrubal's camp was within sight; the Carthaginians had launched their ships, and kept their fleet equipped, and in readiness to intercept his convoys. Amidst so many objects which required his attention, he did not neglect endeavouring to recover the friendship of Syphax; hoping that he might now perhaps be cloyed with love in the full enjoyment of his bride. The answers of Syphax contained, chiefly, proposals for an accommodation with the Carthaginians, on the terms of the Romans retiring from Africa, and the Carthaginians from Italy; but afforded scarcely any hopes that he would relinquish his present engagements. I am more inclined to believe that this business was transacted by messengers, as most authors affirm, than that Syphax came in person to the Roman camp to a conference, as Antius Valerius writes. At first, the Roman general hardly permitted those terms to be mentioned by his people; but afterwards, in order that they might have a plausible pretext, for going frequently into the enemy's camp, he softened his refusals, even seemingly inclining to a negotiation. The winter huts of the Carthaginians were composed almost entirely of timber, which they had hastily collected from the fields: those of the Numidians were formed of reeds

interwoven, and most of them covered with mats, and dispersed up and down without any regularity, some of them even on the outside of the trench and rampart, for they were left to choose their own ground. These circumstances being related to Scipio, gave him hopes that he might find an opportunity of burning the enemy's camp.

IV. In the retinue of the embassy to Syphax, he sent, instead of the common attendants, centurions of the first rank, of approved courage and prudence, dressed as servants; who, while the ambassadors were engaged in conference, might ramble through the camp, and observe all the approaches and outlets; the situation and form, both of the whole, and of the several parts of it; where the Carthaginians lay, where the Numidians; what distance there was between Hasdrubal's station and the king's; and, at the same time, discover their method of fixing outposts and watches, and whether they were more open to surprise by night or by day. Many conferences being held, care was taken to send different persons at different times, in order that the greater number might be acquainted with every circumstance. These frequent conversations had led Syphax, and through him the Carthaginians, to entertain daily more confident expectations of a peace, when the Roman ambassadors told him, that "they were ordered not to return to the general without a definitive answer: therefore, if his own determination was fixed, he should declare it; or if Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians were to be consulted, he should do it without delay. It was time that either the terms of peace should be adjusted, or the war carried on with vigour." While Syphax was consulting Hasdrubal, and Hasdrubal the Carthaginians, the spies had time to take a view of every thing, and Scipio also to make the preparations necessary to his design. From the mention of accommodation, and their expectation of it, the Carthaginians and Numidians took not the necessary precautions against any attempt which the enemy might make. At length an answer was returned, in which, as the Romans appeared exceedingly anxious for peace, the Carthaginians took the opportunity of adding some unreasonable conditions, which afforded a plausible pretence to Scipio, who now wished to break the truce. Accordingly, telling the king's messenger, that "he would take the opinion of his council on the

affair," he answered him next day, that "he alone had laboured to put an end to the war, none of the other parties, in fact, showing any disposition towards it: that Syphax must entertain no hopes of entering into any treaty with the Romans, unless he renounced the party of the Carthaginians." Thus he dissolved the truce, in plans. Launching his ships, (for it was now the beginning of spring,) he put on board engines and machines, as if an attack on Utica were intended by sea; at the same time sending two thousand men to take possession of the hill which commanded that place, and which he had formerly occupied; with a view, at once to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and to prevent any sally being made from the city, while he should be employed at a distance against Syphax and Hasdrubal. He likewise feared an attack, should his camp be left with only a small force to defend it.

V. Having taken these preparatory steps, he summoned a council, ordering the spies to give an account of the discoveries which they had made; at the same time requesting Masinissa, who was as well acquainted with every circumstance of the enemy, to deliver his opinion; and, lastly, he informed them of a plan, which he intended to execute on the following night. He gave orders to the tribunes, that, as soon as the trumpets had sounded on the breaking up of the meeting at the prætorium, they should march the legions out of the camp. In pursuance of these orders, the troops began to move a little before sunset: about the first watch, they formed their line of march; and about midnight, (for the way was seven miles,) proceeding in a moderate pace, they arrived at the enemy's camp. He there gave Lælius the command of a part of the forces, to whom were joined Masinissa and the Numidians, with orders to fall upon the camp of Syphax, and set it on fire. Then, taking Lælius and Masinissa apart, he entreated each separately, that "as the night would be apt to impede the best concerted measures, they should make up for the difficulties by their diligence and care;" telling them, also, that "he meant to attack Hasdrubal and the Carthaginian camp; but would not begin his operations until he should see the fire in that of the king." The business was not long delayed; and as the huts all stood contiguously, the flames spread rapidly through every part of the camp. The alarm was great,



by reason of its being night, and from the widely extended blaze ; but the king's troops thinking it an accidental calamity, rushed out unarmed, in order to extinguish the flames, and met the enemy in arms, particularly the Numidians, whom Masinissa, being well acquainted with the king's station, had posted at the openings of the passes. Many perished in their beds while half asleep ; while many in their precipitate flight, crowding upon one another, were trodden to death in the narrow passages of the gates.

VI. When the Carthaginian centinels, awakened by the tumult of the night, beheld the fire, they also supposed it to be accidental ; while the shout, raised amidst the slaughter and wounds, was so confused, (the alarm, too, being in the dark,) that they were unable to discover the cause or extent of the evil which assailed them. Running out, therefore, in the utmost hurry, by all the gates, without arms, as not suspecting an enemy to be near, and carrying nothing with them but what might serve to extinguish the flames, they rushed against the body of Romans. All of these were slain, not merely to gratify hostile animosity, but in order to prevent any one escaping with intelligence as to the truth of the affair. Scipio, immediately after, attacked the gates, which were neglected, as may be supposed, during such confusion, and set fire to the nearest huts ; which soon communicating to the others, the whole was enveloped in one general conflagration. Half burned men, and cattle, stopped up the passages, first by the hurry of their flight, and afterwards with their carcases. Those who had escaped the flames, were cut off by the sword, and the two camps were, by one fatal blow, involved in utter ruin. However, the two commanders, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, half armed, and a great part wounded or scorched, got away. There were destroyed by fire or sword forty thousand men ; taken, above five thousand ; many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators ; military standards an hundred and seventy-four ; Numidian horses above two thousand seven hundred ; six elephants were taken, and eight destroyed. A great quantity of arms was taken, all which the general dedicated to Vulcan, and committed to the flames.

VII. Hasdrubal, with a small number of Africans, had directed his flight to the nearest city ; and thither, all who survived, following

the steps of their general, had assembled ; but, dreading lest he should be delivered into the hands of Scipio, he soon after quitted it. The Romans, who were, immediately after, received there, committed no act of hostility, because the surrender was voluntary. Two other cities were taken and plundered ; and the booty found in them, together with what had been saved when the camps were burned, was given up to the soldiers. Syphax halted, in a fortified post, at about eight miles distance. Hasdrubal, lest any timorous measures should be adopted through the violent apprehensions occasioned by the late disaster, proceeded to Carthage, where such consternation had seized the people, that they made no doubt but Scipio would leave Utica, and instantly lay siege to Carthage. The senate was therefore assembled by the suffetes, who are invested with the same authority as our consuls. Three different opinions were offered on the occasion : one proposed sending ambassadors to Scipio, with proposals of peace ; another, the recalling of Hannibal, to defend his country ; the third showed Roman firmness in adversity, recommending to recruit the army, and to entreat Syphax not to abandon the war. This latter opinion prevailed, because Hasdrubal, who was present, and all of the Barcine faction, were disposed to fight to the last. On this they began to levy troops in the city and the country, and sent ambassadors to Syphax, who was himself most vigorously employed in making preparations for the renewal of hostilities. His queen had prevailed, not on this occasion as formerly, by her allurements, which were sufficiently powerful over the mind of her lover, but by prayers and appeals to his compassion ; with tears having beseeched him, not to forsake her father and her country, nor suffer Carthage to be burned as the camps had been. Add to this, some new ground of hope, which offered itself very seasonably, the ambassadors acquainting him, that they had met, near the city called Abba, four thousand Celtiberians, able young men, who had been enlisted by their recruiting parties in Spain ; and that Hasdrubal would speedily arrive with a body of troops far from contemptible. Syphax not only gave a favourable answer to the Carthaginians, but showed them a multitude of Numidian peasants, to whom he had, within a few days, given arms and horses ; and assured them also, that he would call out all the youth in his kingdom, ob-

serving that "their loss had been occasioned by fire, not by battle, and that he only who was defeated by arms, ought to be deemed inferior to his enemy." Such was his reply; and, a few days after, he and Hasdrubal again joined their forces; when their whole army amounted to about thirty thousand fighting men.

VIII. While Scipio gave his whole attention to the siege of Utica, as if no farther hostilities were to be apprehended from Syphax and the Carthaginians, and was employed in bringing up his machines to the walls, he was called away by the news of the war being revived. Leaving, therefore, only a small number of men on sea and land, to keep up the appearance of a siege, he set out himself with the main body of the army to meet the enemy. At first, he took post on a hill, distant about four miles from the king's camp. On the day following, descending into the great plains, as they are called, which lie under that hill, with a body of cavalry, he spent the day in advancing frequently to the enemy's posts, and provoking them by slight skirmishes. For the two succeeding days, however, though irregular excursions were made by both parties in turn, nothing worth notice was performed. On the fourth day, both armies came out to battle. The Romans placed their first-rank men behind the front battalions, consisting of the spearmen, and the veterans in reserve; posting the Italian cavalry on the right wing, the Numidians and Masinissa on the left. Syphax and Hasdrubal, having placed their Numidians opposite to the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians opposite to Masinissa, drew the Celtiberians into the centre of the line, facing the battalions of the legions: in this order they began the engagement. On the first encounter, both wings (Numidians and Carthaginians) were forced to give way. For neither could the Numidians, most of whom were undisciplined peasants, withstand the Roman cavalry; nor the Carthaginians, who were also raw soldiers, withstand Masinissa, who, besides other circumstances, was rendered terrible by his late victory. The line of Celtiberians, (although having lost the cover of the wings, they were exposed on both flanks,) yet resolutely kept their ground; for neither could they see any safety in flight, being unacquainted with the country, nor had they any hope of pardon from Scipio, having come into Africa to fight against him for the sake of hire, notwithstanding the

favours which he had conferred on them and their nation. Surrounded, therefore, on all sides, they died with determined obstinacy, falling in heaps one over another; and, while the attention of all was turned on them, Syphax and Hasdrubal availed themselves of this opportunity, and gained a considerable space of time to effect their escape. Night came upon the conquerors, who were fatigued more with killing, than from the length of the contest.

IX. Next day Scipio sent Lælius and Masinissa, with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and the light infantry, in pursuit of Syphax and Hasdrubal. He himself, with the main body of the army, reduced all the cities in that part of the country which belonged to the Carthaginians, some by offering them hopes, others by threats, others by force. At Carthage, the consternation was excessive; they expected nothing less than that Scipio, who was extending his operations on every side, should quickly subdue all the neighbouring places, and then immediately invest their city. They therefore repaired the walls, and strengthened them with outworks; every one exerting himself, in bringing in from the country such things as were requisite for sustaining a long and powerful siege. Little mention was made of peace; very many advised that a deputation should be sent to recall Hannibal: but the greater number were earnest for despatching the fleet, (which had been equipped for the purpose of intercepting the convoys,) to surprise the ships stationed at Utica, where no attack was expected; alleging the probability, that they might, at the same time, make themselves masters of the naval camp, which had been left with a slight guard. This latter scheme met general approbation; but, at the same time, they determined to call Hannibal home, because, should the fleet meet with all possible success, Utica would, indeed, be relieved from some part of the pressure of the siege; but, for the defence of Carthage itself, there was now no general remaining but Hannibal, and no army but his. The ships were therefore launched on the following day; at the same time the deputies set out for Italy, and, the juncture being critical, every measure was executed with the utmost despatch; each man thinking, that if he were in any degree remiss, he was so far a betrayer of the public safety. Scipio led on his forces by slow marches, as they were heavily loaded with the spoils



of many cities. After sending the prisoners, and other booty, to his old camp at Utica, directing his views to Carthage, he seized on Tunes, which was defenceless, the garrison having fled. This city was very strong both by nature and art; it may be seen from Carthage, from which it is distant about fifteen miles, and at the same time affords a prospect of that city, and the adjacent sea.

X. The Romans, while busily employed in raising a rampart at Tunes, descried the fleet which was steering to Utica. On this the work was instantly dropped, and orders to march were issued. The troops set out with the utmost speed, lest the Roman fleet should be surprised, while attentive only to the siege, and in no condition for a naval fight. For how could any resistance have been made to a fleet of active ships, furnished with every kind of arms, by vessels loaded with engines and machines; and which were either converted to the purpose of transports, or pushed so close to the walls, that they served instead of mounds and bridges for the men to mount by? Scipio therefore, contrary to the usual practice in sea-engagements, drawing back the ships of war, which might be a protection to the others, into the rear, near the land, opposed to the enemy a line of transports consisting of four in depth, to serve as a wall; and lest this line should be broken during the confusion of the fight, he fastened the vessels together by means of masts and yards, passed from one to another, with strong ropes, in such a manner as to form, as it might be called, one entire tier. Over these he laid planks, which formed a passage from ship to ship through the whole line; and under those bridges of communication he left openings, through which the scout boats might run out towards the enemy, and retreat with safety. Having completed these sea-works, as well as the time allowed, he put on board the transports about a thousand chosen men to defend them; with a vast quantity of weapons, chiefly missive, sufficient to serve for a battle of any continuance. Thus prepared, they waited attentively the coming of the enemy. Had the Carthaginians been expeditious, they might at the first onset have overpowered the Romans, every thing being in hurry and confusion; but dispirited by their losses on land, and losing thereby their confidence at sea also, where their strength, however, was superior, they spent the whole day in approaching slowly, and about sun-

set put into a harbour, which the Africans call Ruscino. On the following day, about sunrise, they formed their ships in a line towards the open sea, as if for a regular sea-fight, and as if the Romans were to come out to meet them. When they had stood thus for a long time, and saw that no motion was made by the enemy, they attacked the transports. The affair bore no resemblance to a naval engagement: it was more like an attack made by ships against walls. The transports had some advantage in their height; for the Carthaginians, being obliged to throw their weapons upward, discharged most of them to no purpose against the higher places; whereas those from the transports fell with greater force, at the same time gaining additional power from their own weight. The scouts and lighter Roman vessels, which pushed out through the openings under the bridges of communication between their ships, were at first run down by the weight and bulk of the Carthaginian ships of war; and afterwards they became an obstruction to those who defended the line, because, as they were mixed among the enemy's ships, they often obliged them to stop the discharge of their weapons, lest, missing their aim, they should hit their friends. At length the Carthaginians threw among the Romans, beams furnished at the ends with iron hooks, which the soldiers call harpoons. They could neither cut the beams nor the chains by which they were raised in order to be thrown, so that as soon as any of the ships of war, hauling back, dragged a transport entangled by the hook, the fastenings of these vessels broke, and in some places several were dragged away together. By this means chiefly were all the bridges torn asunder, and scarcely had the defenders time to make their escape into the second row of ships. About six were towed away to Carthage; where the joy of the people was greater than the occasion merited. But they were the more sensibly affected, because this gleam of good fortune, however small, had unexpectedly shone on them, in the midst of a continued course of losses and lamentations. It appeared that the Roman fleet would hardly have escaped destruction, had not their own commanders been dilatory, so that Scipio had time to bring in relief.

XI. Lælius and Masinissa having, about the fifteenth day, arrived in Numidia, Massylia, Masinissa's hereditary kingdom, submitted to him with joy, as to a prince whom they had

long and earnestly wished to hail. Syphax, seeing all his commanders and garrisons expelled from thence, retired within his own original dominions, but in no disposition to remain quiet. In his ambitious views, he was spurred on by his queen and father-in-law; and indeed he possessed such abundance of men and horses, that a mind less barbarous and violent than his might well assume confidence; and when reflecting on the great strength of a kingdom, which had enjoyed prosperity for a long course of years. Wherefore, collecting together all who were able to bear arms, he distributed among them horses and weapons: he divided the horsemen into troops, and the footmen into cohorts, as he had formerly learned from the Roman centurions; and thus, with an army not less numerous than that which he had before, but composed almost entirely of raw undisciplined men, he advanced towards the enemy, and pitched his camp at a small distance from theirs. At first a few horsemen advanced from the outposts, to make observations; these, being attacked with javelins, retreated to their friends. Skirmishing parties then came forth from both sides; and whichever of these were repulsed, their fellows, being inflamed with indignation, came up in greater numbers to their support. This is generally the prelude to engagements between the cavalry; hope encouraging the party which prevails, and rage exasperating that which is worsted. Thus, on the present occasion, the fight having commenced between small divisions, the eagerness of the dispute drew out at length the whole force of cavalry on both sides. While the contest lay entirely between these, the Masæsylians, whom Syphax sent out in immense bodies, could hardly be withstood. Afterwards the Roman infantry rushing in suddenly between their own cavalry, who opened passages for them, gave firmness to their line, and terrified the enemy, who were advancing furiously to the charge. The barbarians at first pushed on their horses with less briskness; then halted, disconcerted somewhat by this new manner of fighting; at last, they not only gave way to the infantry, but did not dare to withstand even the horse, emboldened as they were by the support of the foot. And now, the battalions also of the legions approached, when the Masæsylians, so far from daring to meet their first attack, could not support even the sight of their ensigns and arms; so strongly were they affected, either by

the recollection of their former calamities, or by the present danger. At this juncture Syphax, galloping up to try if, either by shame, or by the danger to which he was exposed, he could stop the flight of his men, being thrown from his horse, which was grievously wounded, was overpowered and taken, and dragged alive to Lælius;—a sight grateful to Masinissa, above all others. To Cirtha, the capital of Syphax's kingdom, a vast multitude fled. The number of slain in that battle was less than in proportion to the greatness of the victory, because the cavalry only had been engaged. Not more than five thousand were killed; less than half that number taken, in an attack on their camp, to which the multitude had retired in dismay at the loss of their king.

XII. Masinissa declared, that “nothing could be more highly gratifying to him, now that he was victorious, after so long a struggle, than to revisit his paternal kingdom: but that the present happy situation of his affairs required activity, as much as his former misfortunes. If Lælius would permit him to go on, before him, to Cirtha, with the cavalry, and Syphax as his prisoner, he would strike such terror, while the enemy were in confusion and dismay, as would crush all opposition; and that Lælius might follow, with the infantry, by easy marches.” Lælius assenting, he went forward to Cirtha, and ordered the principal inhabitants to be invited to a conference. But, as they were ignorant of their king's misfortune, neither his relation of what had passed, nor his threats, nor persuasions, wrought any effect, until Syphax was produced to their view in chains. This shocking sight excited a general lamentation; some, in a panic, deserted the walls, others hastily agreed to endeavour to gain the favour of the conqueror, and opened the gates: whereupon Masinissa, having despatched guards to these and other parts of the fortifications, to prevent any person going out of the town, galloped on in full speed to take possession of the palace. As he entered the porch, Sophonisba, Syphax's queen, daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him at the door; where, seeing Masinissa in the midst of a band of armed men, distinguished by his arms and apparel, and judging rightly that he was the king, she fell at his knees, and thus addressed him: “The favour of the gods, added to your own valour and good fortune, has given you absolute power to dispose of us. But if, in



the presence of the sovereign disposer of her life and death, a captive may be allowed to utter the words of a suppliant, to touch his knees, or victorious right hand, I entreat and beseech you, by the majesty of a king, of which we also were just now possessed; by the name of the Numidian race, which is common to you and Syphax; by the guardian gods of this palace, who, I hope, will receive you with better omens than they sent Syphax hence, grant so much favour to your suppliant, as that you will, yourself, determine whatever you may think proper concerning your captive, and not suffer me to fall under the haughty and cruel disposal of any Roman. Were I nothing more than the wife of Syphax, I had much rather trust to the honour of a Numidian, one born in the same country with me, than to a foreigner, and from a distant part of the world: but what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Hasdrubal, has reason to dread from a Roman, is manifest to you. If you cannot by any other means, I implore and beseech you, that you will, by my death, secure me from the power of the Romans." She was remarkably beautiful, and in the full bloom of youth: so that, while she pressed his right hand, and implored his protection only so far, as that she should not be delivered up to any Roman, her discourse was more like caresses than entreaty; and the conqueror's mind was not only subdued to pity, but, as all the Numidians are extremely amorous, the victorious king became the slave of his captive:<sup>1</sup> and giving his right hand, as a pledge for the performance of what she had requested, he went into the palace. Immediately he began to consider within himself by what means he might fulfil his engagement; and not being able to devise any, he adopted a rash and shameful resolution, suggested by his love. He gave orders that every thing should be instantly prepared for a marriage on that same day, in order that he might leave no room for Lælius, or Scipio himself, to proceed against her as a captive, since she would then be his wife. After the marriage was concluded, Lælius arrived; and so far was he from dissembling his disapprobation of the proceeding, that at first he

even resolved to drag her from the nuptial bed, and send her with Syphax to Scipio: but he was afterwards prevailed on by the entreaties of Masinissa, who besought him to leave it to the Romans to determine, which of the two kings should have Sophonisba a sharer of his fortune. Sending away, therefore, Syphax and the other prisoners, he reduced, with the assistance of Masinissa, all the cities of Numidia, which were held by the king's garrisons.

XIII. When it was announced, that the detachment was bringing Syphax to the camp, the whole multitude poured out, as if to the sight of a triumph. He preceded the rest in chains, and was followed by a number of noble Numidians. On this occasion, every one spoke in the most exalted terms of the greatness of Syphax, and the fame of his nation; thus exaggerating the renown of their victory. "That was the king," they said, "to whose dignity the two most powerful states in the world, the Roman and Carthaginian, had paid such deference; that for the sake of procuring his friendship, their own general, Scipio, leaving his province and his army, sailed with only two quinqueremes to Africa; and the Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, not only visited his kingdom, but also gave him his daughter in marriage. That the Roman and Carthaginian generals had been within his grasp at one and the same time. That as both parties had, by the offer of sacrifices, solicited the favour of the immortal gods, so his friendship had been equally sought for by both. That he lately possessed power so great as to enable him to expel Masinissa from his kingdom; and to reduce him to such a state, that his life was preserved by a report of his death, and by lurking in concealment, while he was obliged, like a wild beast, to live in the woods on prey." Such were the discourses of the throng, through which the king was led to the general's quarters. Scipio was moved on comparing the former situation of the man with the present; and also by the recollection of their connection in hospitality, of their right hands pledged, and the treaty concluded between themselves and their states. These circumstances gave Syphax courage in addressing his conqueror. For, when Scipio asked him, "what had been his views in not only renouncing his alliance with the Romans, but even making war on them?" he answered that "he had indeed erred, or

<sup>1</sup> Sophonisba had been formerly betrothed to Masinissa, and being afterwards given to Syphax, was one reason of his quarrelling with the Carthaginians, and joining the Romans. Another was, that in the contest between him and Mezutulus for the throne his rival had been aided by the Carthaginians.

rather acted under an impulse of insanity; but not at that time, principally, when he took up arms against the Romans: that was the consequence of his madness, not the actual beginning of it. That he was indeed mad, when he banished from his thoughts all the ties of private friendship and public leagues; and when he received a Carthaginian wife into his house. By those nuptial torches, his palace had been set in flames; that mischievous fury had, by every kind of allurements, perverted his judgment, and led it astray; nor ever desisted, until with her own hands she clad him in detestable arms against his guest and his friend. Yet, ruined and hopeless as he was, he felt some comfort in his misfortunes, from seeing that pestilent woman removed into the house and family of his bitterest enemy. Adding, that Masinissa possessed neither more prudence nor firmness than himself. His youth, indeed, had made him incautious; but there was evidently more folly and rashness in the latter marriage than in his."

XIV. These words, dictated not merely by animosity towards his enemy, but by anguish on seeing the woman whom he had loved in the possession of his rival, impressed the mind of Scipio with no small degree of solicitude. He was, however, the more induced to listen to Syphax, from the marriage having been hurried forward, in the midst of arms, without either consulting or waiting for Lælius; and from Masinissa's haste, for on the very day in which he had seen Sophonisba made prisoner, he had contracted matrimony with her, and performed the nuptial sacrifice, in presence of the household gods of his enemy. These proceedings appeared to Scipio the more heinous, because he himself, when in Spain, and when a very young man, had not allowed himself to be moved by the beauty of any captive whatever. While he was revolving these circumstances in his mind, Lælius and Masinissa arrived, to both of whom he gave the same kind reception; and afterwards made known their conduct, with the highest praises, in a full assembly. Then retiring with Masinissa to a private place, he thus addressed him: "I suppose, Masinissa, that in first coming to Spain for the purpose of contracting a friendship with me; and afterwards in Africa, submitting yourself, and all your concerns, to my protection; you must have been influenced by some good qualities which I was said to possess.

Now, of those virtues which made you think my favour worth soliciting, there is not one on which I value myself so much, as temperance and the government of my passions. I wish, Masinissa, that to your other excellent qualifications, you had added this one also. There is not so much danger, believe me there is not, to persons of our time of life, from armed foes, as from the pleasures which every where surround us. He who has curbed and reduced his passions to subjection, has really acquired to himself much greater glory, and a far more honourable victory, than that which we now enjoy in our conquest of Syphax. The instances of courage and conduct, which you displayed while I was not present, I have mentioned with pleasure, and I retain a proper sense of them. As to other matters, I rather wish that you would review them in your own mind, than that you should blush at my recital of them. Syphax has been subdued and taken under the auspices of the Roman people: therefore he, his wife, his kingdom, his territories, his towns, and the inhabitants of them; in short, whatever was the property of Syphax, is now the prize of that people. Both the king and his wife, even though she were not a citizen of Carthage, and we had not seen her father heading the enemy's army, ought to have been sent to Rome, where the Roman state should have had the power of judging and determining, concerning her—a woman who is said to have seduced a king in alliance with us, and to have precipitated him into the war. Restrain your feelings. Beware, lest by one vice you disparage a number of good qualities, and destroy the credit of so many meritorious deeds by a fault, too great to be palliated, even by the occasion of it."

XV. On hearing this discourse, not only Masinissa's countenance was suffused with blushes, but he even burst into tears; and after declaring, that "in future he would be directed entirely by Scipio," and entreating him, "as far as the affair would permit, to consider the obligation into which he had rashly entered, not to give the queen into the power of any one," he retired in confusion from the general's tent to his own. There, dismissing his attendants, he spent some time in sighs and moans, which could be heard distinctly by those who stood without. At last, having uttered a deep groan, he called one of his servants, in whom he confided, and who had the charge of the poison,



which, according to the custom of kings, is kept against the uncertainties of fortune, and ordered him to mix some in a cup; to carry it to Sophonisba; and to tell her at the same time that "Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the first obligation which he owed her,—that due from a husband to his wife: but that, since those, who had the power, had not left that in his option, he now performed his second engagement, that she should not come alive into the hands of the Romans. He, therefore, requested her to remember her father, the general, her country, and the two kings to whom she had been married; and to take such steps as she should judge proper." When the servant, carrying this message and the poison, came to Sophonisba,—“I receive,” said she, “this nuptial present, by no means an unacceptable one, if my husband has not the power to perform more for his wife. Tell him, however, that I should have died better, had I not married in the very moment of my funeral.” The firmness with which she spoke, was not greater than the resolution with which she received, and drank off, the contents of the cup. When Scipio was informed of this event, dreading, lest the young man, whose passions were violent, might, in the present disorder of his mind, take some desperate measure, he sent for him instantly; and at one time consoled, at another gently chid him, for having atoned one act of rashness by another, and for having rendered the affair more horrid than was necessary. Next day, in order to divert his thoughts from the object which, at the present, distressed him, he mounted his tribunal, and ordered an assembly to be summoned. There, after he had first honoured Masinissa with the title of king, and passed high encomiums on his merit, he presented to him a golden crown, a golden goblet, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered robe, and a vest striped with purple; enhancing the honour by saying, that “among the Romans there was nothing more magnificent than a triumph, and that those, who were so distinguished, had not a more splendid dress than that of which Masinissa alone, of all foreigners, was esteemed worthy by the Roman people.” Lælius also he highly commended, and presented with a golden crown; and on others of the military he conferred gifts suitable to the services which they had performed. By these honours conferred on him, the king’s mind was soothed, and encouraged to hope that

he should soon be in possession of the whole extent of Numidia, now that Syphax was removed out of his way.

XVI. Scipio, sending Caius Lælius, with Syphax and the other prisoners, to Rome, with whom went also ambassadors from Masinissa, led back his troops to Tunes, and completed the fortifications which he had begun some time before. The Carthaginians, who had been filled with a short-lived joy, on account of their success in the attack on the Roman fleet, (and which in their then circumstances they had considered as important,) on hearing of the capture of Syphax, in whom they had placed more of their hopes than in Hasdrubal and their own army, were struck with dismay, and would listen no longer to any who advised to continue the war; but sent, as their agents to sue for peace, thirty of the principal elders. These compose the assembly of the highest dignity among them, having the principal control over the senate itself. Arriving at the general’s tent, they prostrated themselves, like those who humbly fawn on kings, having learned that mode, I suppose, from the country whence they derived their origin. Their discourse was suitable to such servile adulation, not attempting to apologise for their conduct, but transferring the blame on Hannibal, and the favourers of his violent measures. They implored pardon for their state, which had been twice ruined by the rashness of its citizens, and would a second time be indebted for its restoration to the generosity of an enemy: they observed, that “the Roman people sought dominion over the conquered, not their destruction; and declared themselves ready to pay implicit obedience to any commands which their subjugators should be pleased to impose.” Scipio told them, that “he had come into Africa with the expectation, which had been farther encouraged by the happy fortune of his army, of carrying home conquest, not peace. That, however, although he had conquest within his reach, yet he did not reject peace; that all nations might know, that the Roman people were guided by the principles of justice, both in undertaking and concluding wars. That these were the terms of peace which he prescribed:—That they should give up the prisoners, deserters, and fugitives; withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; renounce all pretensions to Spain; retire from all the islands which lie between Italy and Africa, deliver up all their ships of war, except

twenty, and furnish five hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley." What sum of money he demanded, authors are not agreed. In some, I find five thousand talents;<sup>1</sup> in others, five thousand pounds weight of silver; while it is also said, that double pay of the troops was imposed. "Three days," said he, "shall be allowed you to consider whether you approve of peace on these conditions. If you do approve of it, then make a truce with me, and send ambassadors to Rome to the senate." The Carthaginians, thus dismissed, thought it advisable to submit to any terms, as the only object they had in view was to gain time, until Hannibal should come over to Africa; and therefore they sent ambassadors to Scipio, to conclude a truce, and others to Rome to solicit peace. These carried with them a few prisoners, deserters, and fugitives, to make a show of obedience, and that they might attain their object with the less difficulty.

XVII. Lælius, with Syphax and the principal Numidian prisoners, arrived at Rome several days before them, and related, in order, to the senate the several transactions which had passed in Africa. Great was the rejoicing, on account of the present state of affairs, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained with respect to the future. The senate then, on the business being proposed, ordered that the king should be sent prisoner to Alba, and that Lælius should be detained until the arrival of the Carthaginian ambassadors. A supplication for four days was decreed. Publius Ælius, prætor, when the senate broke up, called an assembly of the people, and ascended the rostrum, with Caius Lælius. There, on hearing that the Carthaginian armies had been routed; so renowned a monarch as Syphax vanquished and made prisoner; and conquest extended, with extraordinary success, over every part of Numidia, the people could not contain their joy, but by shouts, and other methods usually practised by the multitude, expressed immoderate transports. The prætor, therefore, immediately issued orders, that the keepers should open the temples in every part of the city; and that all should be allowed, during the whole day, to go round them, and pay their worship and thanks to the gods. On the day following, he introduced Masinissa's ambassadors, who

first congratulated the senate on the success of Publius Scipio in Africa: then gave thanks for his having "not only honoured Masinissa with the title of king, but made him one, by reinstating him on the throne of his father; where (now that Syphax was removed) he had, if it so pleased the senate, a prospect of reigning without contest or apprehension; they likewise made their acknowledgments for praises he had bestowed on him in the assembly, and for the very magnificent presents with which he had loaded him." They added, "that Masinissa had exerted his best endeavours to appear not unworthy of those favours, and would continue so to do. They then requested the senate, to confirm by their decree the title of king, and the other distinguished marks conferred on him by Scipio; telling them that their monarch further entreated, that, if it so pleased them, the Numidian prisoners then at Rome might be sent home,—a circumstance which would do him high honour among his countrymen." The senate made answer, "that congratulations on the successes in Africa ought in the confederates to be mutual; that Scipio appeared to have acted properly and regularly, in giving to their Numidian ally the title of king; and that whatever else he should do grateful to Masinissa, the senate ratified and approved it." They then ordered the prætor to prepare the following presents for the king:—two purple robes with a golden clasp and vests, with broad purple borders; two horses with trappings; two suits of horseman's armour, with coats of mail; with tents and camp furniture, such as is customary to provide for a consul. Donatives were also voted for the ambassadors, not less than five thousand *asses*<sup>2</sup> to each; for their attendants a thousand *asses*<sup>3</sup>; two suits of apparel to each of the ambassadors, one to each of their attendants, and the same to the Numidians, who were to be freed from imprisonment, and sent back to the king. Besides which, they ordered entire suites of apartments and entertainment for the embassy.

XVIII. In the course of the summer, during which those transactions passed in Africa, and these decrees at Rome, Publius Quintilius Varus, prætor, and Marcus Cornelius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian, in the country of the Insubrian Gauls. The prætor's legions were in the first line;



Cornelius kept his in reserve, placing himself in the front. The prætor and proconsul exhorted the soldiers to make the attack with the utmost vigour. Finding that they made no impression on the Carthaginian line, Quintilius said to Cornelius, "The battle flags, as you may perceive; and the enemy, finding themselves able to make resistance beyond what they had hoped, are hardened against fear, and it is well if they do not assume boldness; we must bear down with the cavalry, if we expect to disorder or drive them from their ground. Do you, therefore, support the battle in front, and I will bring up the horse; or I will take care of matters here, while you charge with the cavalry of the four legions." The proconsul offering to undertake either part of the business, as the prætor should direct, Quintilius the prætor, with his son Marcus, a youth of a high and ardent spirit, took the command of the cavalry, and having ordered them to mount their horses, led them on instantly to the charge. The confusion occasioned by these was increased by the shouts of the legions; nor would the Carthaginian line have stood their ground, had not Mago immediately brought up the elephants to the fight, having kept them in readiness against the first motion which the horse should make. By the snorting and sight of these animals, the horses were frightened to such a degree, as rendered the aid of the cavalry of no effect. As the Roman horseman had the advantage in point of strength, when in close fight, and when he could use his javelin and sword hand to band; so the Numidian had the better in darting javelins at him from a distance, and when his horse's fright would not suffer him to advance. Among the infantry, the twelfth legion having lost the greater part of their number, kept their ground, rather through shame, than that they had strength to maintain it. They must soon, however, have fallen back, had not the thirteenth legion, led up from the reserve to the front, supported the doubtful conflict. Mago, at the same time, brought up to oppose this fresh legion, the Gauls, drawn also from his reserve. These being routed without much difficulty, the spearmen of the eleventh legion formed themselves into a circular body, and attacked the elephants, which were now throwing the line of the infantry into confusion; and by discharging their spears at them, hardly any of which were thrown in vain, as the beasts were close together, they turned them all upon the

line of their own party. Four of them, overpowered with wounds, fell. On this, the first line of the enemy began to give way; when all the infantry, seeing the elephants turning about, rushed on in order to increase the terror and confusion. As long, however, as Mago stood at the head of the troops, the ranks, retreating leisurely, kept up the spirit of the battle; but when they saw him fall on receiving a wound through his thigh, and carried lifeless out of the field, instantly all betook themselves to flight. There were five thousand Carthaginians slain on that day, and twenty-two military ensigns taken. Nor was the victory bloodless on the side of the Romans: two thousand three hundred men of the prætor's army were lost, by far the greater part of whom were of the twelfth legion; of which legion also fell two military tribunes, Marcus Gosconius and Marcus Mænius. Of the thirteenth legion, likewise, which had shared the latter part of the engagement, Cneius Helvius, military tribune, was slain while employed in restoring the fight. There perished, besides, thirty-two horsemen of some distinction, who were trodden down by the elephants, together with some centurions. Probably the contest would not have been so soon ended, had not the wound of their general made the enemy retire from the field.

XIX. Mago, setting out during the silence of the next night, and making as long journeys as his wound allowed him to bear, arrived at the sea-coast, in the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. There the deputies from Carthage, who had a few days before arrived with the ships in the Gallic bay, waited on him, and delivered orders to him, to pass over to Africa as soon as possible; informing him that his brother Hannibal, to whom messengers had been also sent, would do the same, for the affairs of the Carthaginians were not in a condition to hold possession of Gaul and Italy by arms. Mago was not only moved by the commands of the senate, and the danger that threatened his country, but dreaded lest, if he delayed, he might be hard pressed by the victorious enemy; and also, lest the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were about to relinquish Italy, might revolt to those under whose power they must speedily fall. He at the same time entertained hopes, that his wound might be less irritated on board a ship than on land, and that he might there be

able to attend to the cure of it with more convenience. Embarking, therefore, his troops, he set sail, and had scarcely passed Sardinia when he died; on the coast of which island, several Carthaginian ships, which had been dispersed, were taken by the Roman fleet. Such were the occurrences by land and sea, on that side of Italy nearest to the Alps. The consul, Cneius Servilius, performed nothing memorable in Etruria, or in Gaul (for he had advanced into that country), except that he rescued from slavery, which they had endured for sixteen years, his father, Caius Servilius, and his uncle Caius Lutatius, who had been taken by the Boians at the village of Tanetum. He returned to Rome accompanied by these on each side of him, distinguished rather by family-badges than public services. It was proposed to the people, that "Cneius Servilius should not be subject to penalty, for having, contrary to the laws, during the life of his father (a circumstance of which he was at that time ignorant), and who sat in the curule chair, accepted the offices of tribune of the commons, and plebeian ædile;" this being admitted, he returned to his province. *Consentia*, *Ufugum*, *Vergæ*, *Besidiæ*, *Hetriculum*, *Sypheum*, *Argentatum*, *Clampetia*, and many other small states, perceiving that the Carthaginians grew languid in their operations, came over to Cneius Servilius, the consul, then in Bruttium; and who had fought a battle with Hannibal in the district of Croton, of which we have no clear account. *Valerius Antias* says, that five thousand of the enemy were slain. This is a circumstance of such importance, that either it must be an impudent fiction, or they were guilty of great negligence who omitted mentioning it. It is certain, that Hannibal made no farther efforts in Italy, for deputies came to him from Carthage, recalling him to Africa, nearly at the same time with Mago.

XX. Hannibal is said to have been thrown into the most violent agitation, and scarcely to have refrained from shedding tears, on hearing the words of the deputies. When they had delivered the orders, which they had in charge, he said,—“Now indeed, they recall me, not in ambiguous terms, but openly, who have, for a long time past, been dragging me home, by refusing me supplies both of men and money. It is not the Roman people, so often discomfited, and routed, that has conquered Hannibal, but the Carthaginian senate, through the mali-

cious suggestions of envy; nor will Scipio exult, and pride himself, so much in this my disgraceful retreat, as will Hanno; who, unable to do it by any other means, has crushed our family under the ruins of Carthage.” As he had, for some time, foreseen this event, he had ships already prepared: dismissing, therefore, a useless crowd of soldiers, under the appearance of garrisons, into the towns of Bruttium, a few of which adhered to him rather through fear than affection, he carried over to Africa such of the troops as were fit for service. A great number of natives of Italy, refusing to follow him to Africa, and flying to the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia, which, till that day, had never been violated, were barbarously put to death within the walls of the temple. We are told, that hardly any person ever showed more grief on leaving his native soil, to go into exile, than Hannibal on his departure from the country of his enemy; that he often looked back on the coasts of Italy, inveighing against gods and men, uttering curses on his own head, for not having led his men to Rome, yet reeking with blood from the slaughter at Cannæ: reflecting, with the bitterest vexation, that Scipio, who since his appointment to the consulship, had not looked in the face of the Carthaginian enemy in Italy, had yet spirit to go and attack Carthage; while he, who had slain a hundred thousand fighting men at Thrasimenus and Cannæ, had suffered his strength to moulder away about Casilinum, Cumæ, and Nola. In the midst of such self-reproaches and complaints, he was forced away from Italy, in which he had so long maintained a divided power with the Romans.

XXI. News was brought to Rome at the same time, that both Mago and Hannibal had departed for Africa. But the exultation of the people was diminished by the reflection, that the Roman commanders had shown a want either of spirit or of strength, in not preventing such departure, though they had received orders to that purpose from the senate. They had also much anxiety concerning the final issue of affairs, now that the whole weight of the war fell upon one general and his army. About the same time, ambassadors arrived from Saguntum, bringing with them some Carthaginians who had come over to Spain to hire auxiliaries, and whom they had seized, together with their money. They laid down in the porch of the senate-



house, two hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold and eighty of silver. The agents were thrown into prison; the gold and silver were returned, and thanks given to the Saguntines; presents were made to them besides, and ships provided to convey them home to Spain. Some of the older senators then observed, that "Men had less lively sensations of good than of evil. Did they remember what terror and consternation Hannibal's coming into Italy had excited? What losses they had sustained, and what lamentations had followed? When the Carthaginian camp was seen from the walls of the city, what vows were then offered up by each particular person and by the whole body of the people! How often, in their assemblies, were their hands stretched out towards heaven, and exclamations heard—O! will that day ever arrive, when we shall see Italy cleared of the enemy, and blessed once more with the enjoyment of peace? That now, at length, in the sixteenth year, the gods had granted their wish, and yet not the slightest proposal had been made of returning thanks to the gods. So deficient are men in gratitude, even at the time when a favour is received; and much less are they apt to retain a proper sense of it afterwards." Immediately, a general exclamation broke forth from every part of the senate-house, that Publius Ælius, the prætor, should take the sense of the senate on the subject; and a decree passed, that a supplication should be solemnized in all the temples for five days, and a hundred and twenty of the greater victims offered in sacrifice.

XXII. After Lælius and Masinissa's ambassadors were dismissed, accounts were brought, that the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were coming to treat of peace, had been seen at Puteoli, and would proceed from thence by land; on which the senate resolved, that Caius Lælius should be recalled, in order that he might be present at the proceedings. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, a lieutenant-general under Scipio, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome, but they were forbidden to enter the city. Apartments were provided for them in the Villa Publica, and an audience of the senate was granted them in the temple of Bellona. Their discourse was nearly the same with that which they had made to Scipio, throwing off all the blame of the war from the community, and laying it on Hannibal. They affirmed, that "he had acted

contrary to the orders of the senate, not only in passing the Alps, but even in crossing the Iberus; and that he had, without any authority from them, made war not only upon the Romans, but, before that, on the Saguntines; that, if the facts were duly considered, the senate and people of Carthage had, to that day, inviolably observed the treaty with the Romans. Therefore they had nothing farther in charge, than to request, that they might be allowed to abide by the terms of the peace which had been lately concluded with the consul Lutatius." The prætor, according to the established custom, giving permission to the senators to make such inquiries of the ambassadors as any of them thought proper; the older members, who had been present at the concluding of the treaties, asked various questions relative to them. The Carthaginians replied, that they were not of an age to remember particulars (for almost all of them were young): on which, the house resounded with exclamations, that Punic faith was evident, in appointing such men as these to solicit the renewal of a former peace, with the terms of which they were themselves unacquainted.

XXIII. The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the senators proceeded to give their opinions. Marcus Livius recommended, that "Cneius Servilius, the consul who was the nearest home, should be sent for, to be present at the proceedings; for as no subject of greater importance than the present could ever come under their consideration, so he did not think it consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, that an affair of such magnitude should be transacted in the absence of both the consuls." Quintus Metellus, who three years before had been consul, and had also been dictator, proposed, that "whereas Publius Scipio, by destroying the armies of the enemy, and wasting their country, had reduced them to such necessity, that they sued for peace. No person whatever could be a more competent judge of their intention in making the application, and therefore they should be wholly directed by the advice of that general, who was carrying on the war under the walls of Carthage." Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, charged those men with being come as spies, and not as ambassadors; and advised, that "they should be ordered to depart from Italy; that guards should be sent with them to

their ships; and that orders should be sent to Scipio, not to intermit his operations." Lælius and Fulvius added, that "Scipio had grounded his hopes of success on Hannibal and Mago not being recalled from Italy. That the Carthaginians would feign a compliance with any measures, while they waited for the arrival of those generals and their armies; and would afterwards, forgetting all gods and all treaties, however recent, pursue the war." This observation made them more readily concur in the opinion of Lævinus. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed, and almost without an answer.

XXIV. About the same time, the consul, Cneius Servilius, not doubting but that he should enjoy the glory of having restored peace to Italy, passed over into Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, (as if he himself had compelled him to retreat,) intending to proceed from thence to Africa. As soon as this became known at Rome, the senate at first voted, that the prætor should write to the consul, that they required him to return to Italy. Afterwards, on the prætor's assuring them, that Servilius would pay no regard to his letter, Publius Sulpicius, being created dictator for the purpose, recalled the consul, by virtue of his superior authority; and then, with Marcus Servilius, master of the horse, he spent the remainder of the year in going round to the cities which had forfeited their allegiance during the war, and examining into the conduct of each. During the continuance of the truce, a hundred transports, with stores, under the convoy of twenty ships of war, sent from Sardinia by Lentulus, the prætor, arrived safe in Africa, without meeting any obstruction, either from the enemy or bad weather. Cneius Octavius, who sailed from Sicily with two hundred transports, and thirty ships of war, had not the same good fortune. His voyage was prosperous, until he came almost within sight of Africa, when the wind at first subsided into a calm; then springing up heavily from the southwest, his ships were dispersed on all sides. He himself, with the ships of war, struggling through the opposing waves, with excessive toil to the rowers, made the promontory of Apollo: the transports were most of them driven to Ægimurus, an island stretching across the mouth of the bay on which Carthage stands, distant from the city about thirty miles; the rest towards that part of it, where the hot baths are found. All this happened

within view of Carthage, and occasioned a concourse of people from all parts, in the forum. The magistrates assembled the senate; the multitude in the porch of the senate-house expressed aloud their uneasiness, lest so great a booty should be allowed to escape out of their hands. Although some objected, that their faith was pledged in having sued for peace, others in their having agreed to a truce, and which had not yet expired, yet the assembly, being composed of nearly an equal number of the populace as of senators, came to a resolution, that Hasdrubal should go to Ægimurus with a fleet of fifty sail, and proceed from thence to pick up the scattered ships of the Romans, in the several harbours, and along the coasts. First, the transports from Ægimurus, abandoned by the mariners, who effected their escape, were towed to Carthage, afterwards those from the baths.

XXV. The ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, nor was it known what were the sentiments of the Roman senate concerning war or peace; neither was the term of the truce expired. Scipio, on this account, more highly resented the injury offered by those who had petitioned for peace, and the truce; and, considering it as breaking off the negotiations, and an infraction of the truce, he instantly sent Marcus Bæbius, Lucius Sergius, and Lucius Fabius, ambassadors to Carthage. These, having narrowly escaped suffering violence from the populace, and still apprehending themselves exposed to danger, applied to the magistrates, who had protected them from ill-treatment, for a guard of ships on their return. Two triremes were assigned them; which, as soon as they came to the river Bragada, from whence there was a view of the Roman camp, returned to Carthage. There was a Carthaginian fleet stationed at Utica, from which two quadriremes were sent, either in consequence of private orders from Carthage, or Hasdrubal, who commanded that fleet, (for the infraction was unauthorised by the public,) and which suddenly attacked the Roman quinquereme, as it came round the promontory. The Carthaginian vessels attempted to strike the Roman with their prows, but which they could not effect by reason of its activity, nor could the fighting men leap from those lower ships into the higher ones. The quinquereme was gallantly defended, as long as weapons lasted. These, however, spent, there was nothing that



could save them but the land being near, and the multitude which poured out from the camp to the coast. They therefore pressed forward, using their utmost efforts with their oars; and running on shore, the men escaped, but the ship was entirely lost. After the truce had been thus broken, by outrage after outrage, Lælius and Fulvius arrived from Rome, with the Carthaginian ambassadors. To these Scipio declared, that "although the Carthaginians had violated not only their faith pledged in the truce, but also the laws of nations respecting ambassadors, yet they should meet no treatment from him unbecoming the maxims of the Roman people, and his own principles;" and thus dismissing them, he prepared for war. Hannibal now drew nigh the land, when one of the sailors was ordered to climb the mast, and discover what part of the country they were arrived at; and on his saying, that their course pointed to a ruined sepulchre, the Carthaginian, struck with the ill omen, ordered the pilot to steer past that place, put in his fleet at Leptis, and there disembarked his forces.

XXVI. These were the transactions in Africa during that year; those which follow belong to the period in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who was then master of the horse, and Tiberius Claudius Nero, were consuls. However, towards the end of the former year deputies arrived from the allied cities of Greece. They complained, that their lands were ravaged by Philip's garrisons; and that their ambassadors, who had gone into Macedonia to solicit reparation of their injuries, had not been admitted to the presence of the king. At the same time, they gave information, that four thousand soldiers, under the command of Sopater, had gone over to Africa, and were marching to the assistance of the Carthaginians; and that some money also had been sent with them; whereupon the senate ordered, that an embassy should be sent to the king, to acquaint him, that the senate considered those proceedings as contrary to the treaty subsisting between them. Caius Terentius Varro, Caius Mamilius, and Marcus Aurelius, were despatched on this business, with an escort of three quinqueremes. That year was remarkable for a great fire, by which the buildings on the Publician hill were burned to the ground; and also for an uncommon overflowing of the rivers: but provisions were plentiful, because, in consequence of peace, all parts of Italy were

open for importation; and besides, a great quantity of corn, which had been sent from Spain, was delivered out to the inhabitants, at the easy rate of four *asses* a bushel, by the curule ædiles, Marcus Valerius Falto, and Marcus Fabius Buteo. In the same year died Quintus Fabius Maximus, in extreme old age, if it be true, as some writers affirm, that he had been augur for sixty-two years. He was certainly a man worthy of the great surname which he bore, even if he were the first to whom it was applied. He surpassed his father, and was equal to his grandfather, in the honourable posts which he filled. His grandfather, Rullus, was distinguished by a greater number of victories, and greater battles: but the actions of Fabius, having such an antagonist as Hannibal, may be considered as equivalent to them all. He was deemed to possess more caution than spirit: but though it may be doubted, whether the dilatoriness of his conduct arose from his natural disposition, or from a conviction that it was best suited to the war in which he was engaged; yet nothing is more certain, than that this man alone, as the poet Ennius says, by his delays retrieved our affairs. Quintus Fabius Maximus, his son, was consecrated augur in his place, and Servius Sulpicius Galba pontiff, in his place also; for he held two offices in the college of priests. The Roman games were repeated for one day; the plebeian thrice repeated entire, by the curule ædiles, Marcus Sextius Sabinus, and Caius Tremellius Flaccus. Both these were elected prætors, and, with them, Caius Livius Salinator, and Caius Aurelius Cotta. The different accounts given by writers render it uncertain whether Caius Servilius, consul, presided at the elections that year, or Publius Sulpicius, nominated dictator by him, because he himself was detained in Etruria, being employed, pursuant to a decree of the senate, in holding inquiries relative to the conspiracies of the principal inhabitants.

XXVII. In the beginning of the following year, [Y. R. 550. B. C. 202.] Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius, summoning the senate to the capitol, consulted them concerning the provinces. Both were desirous of obtaining Africa; they therefore wished that Italy and Africa should be disposed of by lot: but this was opposed, though by Quintus Metellus chiefly. The consuls were ordered to apply to the tribunes, to take the sense of the people, as to who should conduct the war in Africa.

All the tribes concurred in appointing Publius Scipio. Nevertheless the consuls put the province of Africa to the lot, for so the senate had decreed, and it fell to Tiberius Claudius, who was to carry to Africa a fleet of fifty ships, all quinqueremes, with authority equal to that of Scipio. Marcus Servilius obtained Etruria; and in the same province the command was continued to Caius Servilius, if the senate thought proper that the consul should remain in the city. Of the prætors, Marcus Sextius obtained Gaul, where Publius Quintilius Varus was to deliver to him two legions with the province; Caius Livius, Bruttium, with the two legions which Publius Sempronius, proconsul, had commanded the year before; Cneius Tremellius, Sicily, with directions to receive from Publius Villius Tappulus, prætor of the former year, the province and two legions; Villius, as proprætor, was appointed to protect the coast of Sicily with twenty ships of war and one thousand troops; Marcus Pomponius to convey from thence to Rome, with the remaining twenty ships, one thousand five hundred soldiers. The city jurisdiction fell to Caius Aurelius Cotta: the rest were continued in their provinces, and with the armies to which they were first appointed. Not more than sixteen legions were employed that year in the service of the empire. In order to conciliate the favour of the gods to all their undertakings and proceedings, it was ordered that the consuls should, before they set out to the campaign, celebrate those games, and with the greater victims, which Titus Manlius, dictator, in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quintius, had vowed, provided the commonwealth should for the next five years continue in the same state. The games were exhibited in the circus during four days, and the victims sacrificed to the gods to whom they had been vowed.

XXVIII. Meanwhile, both hope and anxiety daily increased in equal proportion; nor could people judge with certainty, whether it was a proper subject of rejoicing, that Hannibal had, at the end of sixteen years, departed from Italy, and thereby left the possession of it open to the Roman people, or whether they had not rather cause of fear, in his having carried his army safe into Africa. They considered, that although the place was "changed, the danger was still the same. That Quintus Fabius, lately deceased, who foretold the vio-

lence of this struggle, had grounds for what he further presaged, namely, that Hannibal would prove a more formidable enemy in his own country than he had been in a foreign one. Scipio, he said, would not have to deal with Syphax, a king of undisciplined barbarians, whose army had been sometimes commanded by Statorius, a man but little elevated above the condition of a slave; nor with such a dastardly general as his father-in-law Hasdrubal; nor with tumultuary armies, hastily collected out of a crowd of armed rustics; but with Hannibal, a general of the greatest bravery; brought up from his infancy in the midst of arms; in his childhood a soldier; when scarcely arrived at the age of youth, a general: who had advanced to an old age, through a course of victories; had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his mighty achievements; who was at the head of an army equally experienced in service with himself, hardened by having gone through every kind of difficulty, even beyond what men could be supposed to endure; which had been stained, numberless times, with Roman blood, and had carried with them the spoils, not only of Roman soldiers, but of Roman commanders. That many would meet Scipio in battle, who with their own hands had slain prætors, generals, and consuls; who, in fine, were decorated with the highest military honours, accustomed as they were to ravage camps, and the cities of Italy; and that the magistrates of the Roman people were not in possession of such a number of fasces, as Hannibal could have carried before him, of those which had been taken from the generals who had fallen by his arms." While their thoughts were employed in these discouraging considerations, their anxiety and fears were farther aggravated by other circumstances: for after being accustomed during several years to wage war in different parts of Italy, without any sanguine hopes or prospect of its speedy conclusion; Scipio and Hannibal, champions matched as it were for the final decision, had now raised their eagerest attention. Even those who had the greatest confidence in Scipio, and the strongest hopes of victory, the nearer they saw the completion of their wishes, the more was their solicitude heightened. In a similar manner were the minds of the Carthaginians affected; who, when they turned their eyes on Hannibal, and the greatness of his exploits, repented that they



had sued for peace. Then recollecting that they had been twice vanquished in battle ; that Syphax had been made prisoner ; that they had been expelled from Spain ; and finally, that they had been obliged to quit Italy for the defence of their own shores ; and that all this had been effected by the valour and conduct of Scipio alone, they looked on him with terror, as a leader whose birth the fates had ordained for their destruction.

XXIX. Hannibal, in the meantime, arrived at Hadrumetum, and spent a few days there in refreshing his soldiers after the fatigues of the voyage ; when, roused by the alarming accounts, that all the country round Carthage was possessed by the enemy's troops, he advanced by long marches to Zama, which lies at the distance of five days' journey from that city. Some spies whom he sent out, being intercepted by the Roman guards, and brought to Scipio, he gave them in charge to the military tribunes, with orders to conduct them through the camp, wherever they chose ; he encouraged them to lay aside fear, and view every thing ; and then, inquiring whether they had taken a satisfactory view of every particular, he gave them an escort back to Hannibal. Hannibal received no pleasure from any of their accounts. They informed him that Masinissa happened to arrive that very day with six thousand foot, and four thousand horse ; and he was particularly struck by the confidence of the enemy, which, he well knew, was not conceived without reason. Wherefore, although he was himself the cause of the war, and had, by his coming, occasioned the violation of the truce, and the breaking off the negotiations ; yet, thinking that he might obtain more reasonable terms, by suing for peace while his strength was entire, than after being discomfited, he sent a message to Scipio, requesting a conference. Whether he took this step on his own judgment or by the order of the government, I cannot take upon me to affirm. Valerius Antias says, that after he had been defeated by Scipio in the first engagement, in which twelve thousand fighting men were slain, and one thousand seven hundred taken, he came as ambassador, with ten others, into the camp to Scipio. Scipio did not decline the conference ; and the two generals, by concert, moved forward their camps, in order that they might the more conveniently meet. Scipio sat down at a small distance from the city Nedagara, in a spot every way commodious,

besides having water within a javelin's cast : Hannibal took possession of a hill, four miles distant ; safe and convenient in all respects, except that there was no water near. In the space between them a spot was chosen open to view on all sides, that there might be no room for treachery.

XXX. Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance on both sides, here met (each attended by a single interpreter) the two greatest generals, not only of the age they lived in, but of all who have been recorded in any former time, and equal to any of the kings or commanders of any nations whatever. On sight of each other they both stood, for some time, silent, struck dumb as it were by mutual admiration. At length Hannibal began thus : " Since it has been so ordered by fate, that I, who first commenced hostilities against the Roman people, and have so often been on the point of making a conquest of them, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I am glad that it is to you, rather than to any other person, that I am to apply. On your part, too, among the many illustrious events of your life, it ought not to be reckoned the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman generals, has yielded to you ; and that you put an end to this war, which was first rendered remarkable by the calamities of your country, before it was so by those of ours. Here also we may observe the sport of fortune in the disposal of events, that, in the consulate of your father, I took up arms. He was the first Roman general, with whom I engaged in battle, and to his son I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed above all things to be wished, that the gods had so disposed the minds of our fathers, that your countrymen had been contented with the dominion of Italy, and ours with that of Africa ; for, even on your side, Sicily and Sardinia are not an adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many excellent generals. But what is past, however it may be blamed, cannot be retrieved. Our attempts on the possessions of others have ended in our being necessitated to fight in defence of our own. Thus we not only brought war home to you in Italy, but to ourselves in Africa. You beheld the arms and ensigns of an enemy almost within your gates and on your walls ; and we now, from the ramparts of Carthage, hear the din of a Roman

camp. The event, therefore, for which we ought most earnestly to pray, and you to wish, above all things, now comes in view: you are negotiating a peace in the midst of a successful career. We who negotiate are the persons most interested in its establishment, and whose stipulations, whatever they may be, will certainly be ratified by our respective states. We want nothing but a disposition not averse from pacific counsels. For my part, so much instruction have I received from age, returning now an old man to my country, which I left a boy, and also both from prosperity and adversity, that I wish to follow reason rather than fortune. But your early time of life and uninterrupted flow of prosperity, both apt to inspire a degree of warmth ill-suited to peaceful plans, excite in my mind very serious apprehensions. He whom fortune has never deceived, rarely considers the uncertainty of future events. What I was at Thrasimene and at Cannæ, that you are at present. Appointed to a command at an age scarcely fit for service, though your enterprises were of the boldest nature, you were ever successful. By avenging the death of your father and uncle, you acquired a distinguished character of uncommon bravery and filial duty. You recovered Spain which had been lost, and drove out of it four Carthaginian armies. On being elected consul, when others wanted spirit sufficient to defend Italy, you passed into Africa; and, by there destroying two armies, by taking and burning two camps in one hour, by making a captive of Syphax, a most powerful king, and by seizing on so many of his cities, and so many of ours, you compelled me to relinquish the possession of Italy, which I had continued to hold for sixteen years. Perhaps your wishes tend rather to conquest, than to peace. I know the spirit of you Romans, that it ever aims at grand rather than useful objects. Fortune once shone on me with the same benign countenance. But if, along with prosperity, the gods would grant us a sound judgment, we should consider not only what had already happened, but what may possibly happen hereafter. Although you should forget all other instances, I am a sufficient example of every kind of fortune. Me, whom you formerly saw pitching my camp between the Anio and your city, and on the point of scaling the walls of Rome, you now behold here, under the walls of my native city, which is threatened with a siege; deprived of my two brothers, generals of consummate

skill and valour; deprecating, in behalf of my own city, those calamities, by which formerly I struck terror into yours. The most exalted state of fortune is ever the least to be relied on. A peace concluded at a juncture wherein your affairs flourish, and ours are distressed, reflects splendour and dignity on you who grant it: to us, who request it, it is rather necessary than honourable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in expectation: the former is in your own disposal, the latter in that of the gods. Risk not, on the chance of one hour, the happy successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, recollect, at the same time, the chances of war. Arms there will be on both sides; but, on both sides, the bodies that contend will be but human. Events less correspond to men's expectations in war, than in any other case whatever. Even supposing that you should gain the victory in battle, the proportion of glory which you would thereby acquire, in addition to what you may now securely enjoy on granting peace, would be, by no means commensurate to that which you must lose, should any misfortune happen to you. The chance of but a single hour may destroy, at once, both the honours which you have attained, and those for which you hope. In the adjusting of matters, every thing, Publius Scipio, will be in your own power; in the other case, you must abide by the pleasure of the gods. Formerly, Marcus Atilius, in this same land, would have been celebrated among the few most extraordinary examples of bravery and success, had he, when possessed of victory, granted peace to the request of our fathers; but by setting no bounds to his ambition, by laying no restraint on his passions; in proportion to the height of glory to which he had attained, was his fall dishonourable. Certainly it is his right who grants peace, not his who sues for it, to prescribe the terms; yet, perhaps, we might not be deemed altogether inadequate to the estimation of what degree of punishment should be inflicted on us. We are ready to give up to you the possession of all those places, on account of which the war was begun: Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands that lie in any part of the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us, Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you (since such is the will of the gods) extending your sovereignty, both by land and sea, over foreign realms. I am far from denying that



you have some reason to distrust the faith of the Carthaginians, on account of the insincerity which they showed in their solicitations, and in not waiting the issue of the negotiation. Scipio, the security of a peace being observed depends much on the character of those who sue for it. Your senate, I hear, refused to grant it, partly from the consideration that the persons employed in the embassy were not sufficiently respectable. Hannibal sues for peace, who would not sue for it unless he thought it expedient; and who on account of the same expediency which induces him to sue for it, will also maintain it. And as because the war was begun by me, I took effectual care, until the gods themselves declared against me, that my countrymen should have no reason to complain of it, so will I exert my utmost endeavours to make them satisfied with a peace procured by any means."

XXXI. The Roman general answered to this effect: "Hannibal, it was not unknown to me that their expectation of your arrival was what urged the Carthaginians to violate the truce subsisting, and to break off the treaty of peace. Nor do you dissemble it; as you deduct, from the former conditions, every particular, except those which are, for some time past, in our own power. But as you are solicitous that your countrymen should understand how great a burden they are relieved from by your means, so it is my business to endeavour that they shall not now retract the concessions which they then agreed to make, and enjoy what they then ceded, as a reward of their perfidy. Unworthy of being allowed the same terms, you require additional advantages in consequence of your treachery. Neither were our fathers the aggressors in the war of Sicily, nor we in that of Spain. In the former case the danger of their allies the Mamertines; in the latter, the destruction of Saguntum, armed us in the cause of justice and of duty. That you were the aggressors, you yourself acknowledge; and the gods bear witness to it, who directed the issue of the former war according to equity, and who are now directing, and will bring the present to the same issue. As to myself, I am sensible of the instability of human affairs; I am mindful of the power of fortune, and I know that all our undertakings are subject to a thousand casualties. But as on the one hand, if you were retiring from Italy of your own accord, and, after embarking your troops,

were come to solicit peace; if in that case I refused to listen to you, I should acknowledge that I behaved with pride and arrogance: so, on the other hand, now that I have dragged you into Africa, in spite of every effort which you used to prevent it, I am not bound to show you any particular respect. If therefore, in addition to the terms on which it was then intended to conclude a peace (and with which you are acquainted), a full compensation be proposed for having seized our ships and stores, during the subsistence of a truce, and for the insult offered to my ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if this also seem severe, prepare for war, since you must be insincere in proposing peace." Thus, without coming to any accommodation, they retired to their respective armies, and informed them that words had been tried to no purpose, that the business must be decided by arms, and they must abide the fortune which the gods should allot them.

XXXII. Arrived at their camps, both gave orders to their soldiers to "get ready their arms, and call forth their courage, for a decisive contest; in which, if success attended them, they would secure a superiority, not for a day, but for ever. That it would be seen before to-morrow night, whether Rome or Carthage was to give laws to all nations: for not Africa, nor Italy, but the world, was to be the prize of victory: while the calamities to those who should be overcome, were proportionate to the prize;" for as, on the one hand, the Romans had no chance of escaping, in a foreign, and to them unknown, country; so, on the other, Carthage, having exhausted her last resources, seemed to be threatened with immediate ruin. Next day, advanced two by far the most illustrious generals, and two most puissant armies, of the two most powerful states, to complete the splendid fabric of glory which they had erected, and which each was desirous of securing to himself. The minds of all were anxiously suspended between hope and fear; and, whilst they viewed, at one time, their own, at another, the enemy's army, estimating their powers either by the eye or judgment, they met with objects both of encouragement and of dread. Such as did not occur to their own thoughts, were suggested by the generals in their admonitions and exhortations. The Carthaginian recounted the exploits of sixteen years in the heart of Italy; so many Roman generals, so many armies

utterly destroyed; and when he came to any soldier, who had been distinguished for his behaviour in a former battle, he reminded him of the honours which he had received. Scipio called to his men's recollection Spain, the late engagements in Africa, and the acknowledgment of the enemy, that they had been compelled by their fears to sue for peace; which, yet, the natural perfidy of their disposition would not allow them to establish. He related also his conference with Hannibal; which, as it had passed in secret, he might have misrepresented at his pleasure. He mentioned, as an encouraging omen, that, as they were coming out to battle, the gods had shown them the same portents, under the auspices of which their fathers had fought at the islands *Ægates*. "The end of the war, and of all their toils," he said, "was now at hand; they had, within their reach, the plunder of Carthage; and might speedily return home to their country, to their parents, their children, their wives, and their household gods." These words he uttered in an erect attitude, and with a countenance so animated with joy, that he seemed as if he had already obtained the victory.

XXXIII. He then drew up the spearmen in the van, behind them the first-rank men, and closed the rear with the veterans. He did not, as usual, form the cohorts in close order each before their own colours, but placed the companies at some distance from each other, that there might be room to admit the elephants of the enemy, without disturbing the ranks. *Lælius*, who formerly served under him as lieutenant-general, but that year as *quæstor*, by particular appointment, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, he posted with the Italian cavalry on the left wing; *Masinissa* and the Numidians on the right. The openings between the companies of the cohorts he filled up with light-armed troops, and gave them directions, on the attack of the elephants, either to retire to the rear of the files, or, opening to right and left, to form along with the cohorts, so as to leave a passage for those beasts, through which they might advance, exposed on both sides to their weapons. Hannibal, in order to strike terror, placed his elephants in the front; of these there were eighty (a number greater than he had ever before brought into the field;) next to them, the auxiliary Ligurians and Gauls, with the *Balæarians* and Moors intermixed. In the second line, he placed the Carthaginians, Africans, and

the legion of Macedonians; and then, (leaving a moderate interval,) he formed the line of reserve, consisting of Italian soldiers, chiefly Bruttians, a greater number of whom followed him on his departure from Italy, by compulsion and through necessity, rather than from inclination. He also covered the flanks with cavalry, the Carthaginians being posted on the right, the Numidians on the left. Various were the methods of encouragement made use of among such a number of men, differing from each other in language, in manners, in laws, in arms, in garb, in temper, and in their motives for engaging in the service. To the auxiliaries was held out present gain; and that to be greatly increased by future plunder. The Gauls were inflamed by rousing their peculiar and natural hatred to the Romans. To the Ligurians, who had been brought down from craggy mountains, the fertile plains of Italy were pointed out as the reward of success. The Moors and Numidians, he terrified with the prospect of cruel tyranny under *Masinissa*. Different objects of hope and fear were proposed to each; but to the Carthaginians, nothing but extremes, either on the side of hope or of fear, was presented to view; the walls of their native city, their household gods, the sepulchres of their ancestors, their children, parents, and wives distracted with terror; in a word, utter ruin and abject slavery, or the empire of the world. While the general was thus employed among the Carthaginians, and the commanders of the several nations among their respective countrymen, (many of them speaking by interpreters, being intermixed with foreigners,) the trumpets and cornets sounded on the side of the Romans; and such a shout was raised, that the elephants, particularly in the left wing, turned about against their own men, the Moors and Numidians. *Masinissa*, charging them while in disorder, easily drove them in, and stripped their line on that flank of the cover of the cavalry. However, a few of these beasts, unaffrighted, being driven forward on the Romans, made great slaughter among the light troops, but not without receiving many wounds; for springing back to the companies, and, to avoid being trodden under foot, opening a passage for the elephants, they discharged their spears at them from both sides, being entirely exposed as they passed through; nor did the javelins from the first line of troops cease, until, being driven away from the Roman line by the weapons showered on them,



they put to flight even the Carthaginian cavalry, in their own right wing. Lælius, seeing the enemy in this confusion, charged their disordered troops, and put them to flight.

XXXIV. The Carthaginian line was exposed on both flanks, not having cavalry to cover them, when the infantry began to engage; but no longer on an equality with the Roman, either in hope or in strength. There was another circumstance, which, though trifling in appearance, is yet of great consequence in action. The shout on the side of the Romans was composed of the same sounds uttered by every one; consequently it was the stronger, and more terrible: on the other side, the sounds were dissonant, uttered in the discordant languages of many different nations. Besides, the Roman manner of fighting was steady, being accustomed to press against the enemy with their own weight, and that of their arms. That of the Carthaginian was more loose, with greater agility than strength. Immediately, therefore, at the first onset, the Romans made the line of the enemy give way; and then, thrusting against them with their elbows and the bosses of their shields, and stepping forward into the place from which they had pushed them, they rapidly gained ground. The rear ranks also, on perceiving the enemy's line shrink, pushed forward those who were before them, which greatly increased their force in repelling the enemy. On the other side, the Africans and Carthaginians, so far from supporting the auxiliaries, who were giving way, drew back; fearing lest, if that first line made an obstinate resistance, the enemy in cutting through those, might close with them. The auxiliaries, therefore, quickly turned their backs, and facing about to their own party, some of them retreated into the second line; others, who were not received there, made use of their arms against them, enraged at not having been supported before, and at being now excluded. So that there were, in a manner, two battles carried on together; the Carthaginians being obliged to engage in fight, and at the same time, both with their mercenaries and with the Romans. They did not, however, admit those craven soldiers into their line, which was still firm and fresh; but, closing the ranks, drove them off to the wings, and to the open plains round the field of battle. The place where the auxiliaries had lately stood, was filled up with such a number of slain, and such a quantity of

arms, that it was rather more difficult to make way through them, than it had been through the body of troops; the spearmen, however, who were in the van, pursuing the enemy, as each could find a passage through the heaps of carcasses and weapons and streams of blood, disordered both their battalions and ranks. The battalions of the first rank men also, seeing the line before them in confusion, began to waver; which, as soon as Scipio observed, he instantly ordered a retreat to be sounded for the spearmen, and carrying off the wounded to the rear, brought up the first rank men and veterans to the wings, in order that the line of the spearmen, in the centre, might be the more secure and firm. Thus was a new battle begun, for they had now come up to their real antagonists, who were upon an equality with them, both in respect to the kind of arms which they used, of their experience in war, the fame of their exploits, and the greatness both of their hopes and dangers. But the Romans had the advantage in number, and also in spirit, as having already routed the cavalry and the elephants, and, after having defeated the first line, engaging now with the second.

XXXV. Lælius and Masinissa, who had pursued the flying cavalry to some distance, returning at this critical juncture, fell upon the rear of the enemy; and by this charge effectually routed them. Many were surrounded in the field and slain; many, being dispersed in flight through the open country adjoining, where the cavalry were entirely masters, perished in various places. Of the Carthaginians and their allies there were slain, on that day, above twenty thousand; about the same number were taken, with a hundred and thirty-three military standards, and eleven elephants. Of the conquerors there fell two thousand. Hannibal, escaping during the confusion with a few horsemen, fled to Hadrumetum, having left no effort untried to rally his troops before he left the field. Scipio himself, and all who were skilled in the military art, allowed him the merit of having made the disposition of his forces with singular judgment; placing the elephants in the front, in order that their ungoverned onset and insupportable violence might put it out of the power of the Romans to follow their ensigns, and preserve their ranks, in which they placed their chief confidence; then the auxiliaries, before the line of Carthaginians, in order that these men, made up of the refuse of all nations, who

were retained in their duty, not by any sense of honour, but by gain, should have no prospect of safety in flight, and at the same time should stand the first brunt and fury of the foe; that, if they did no other service, they might at least be as shields to blunt their swords: next, the Carthaginian and African soldiers, in whom lay all his hopes, in order that they, being equal in all respects with the Romans, might have the advantage of engaging fresh, against men fatigued and wounded; separating the Italians at some distance from the rest, and placing them in the rear, as he knew not with certainty, whether they were friends or foes. Hannibal, after exerting this last effort of bravery, having fled to Hadrumetum, on receiving a summons, returned to Carthage, in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it, and when a boy. He acknowledged, in the senate-house, that he was vanquished not only in the recent battle but in the whole of the war; and that there was no other hope of avoiding ruin, but in obtaining peace.

XXXVI. Immediately after the battle, Scipio having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, returned with immense booty to the sea-coast, to his fleet, having received an account that Publius Lentulus was arrived at Utica with fifty ships of war, a hundred transports, and store of all kinds. With a view, therefore, of increasing the consternation at Carthage, by showing them objects of terror on every side, after despatching Lælius to Rome with news of the victory, he ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the legions to that city by land; and, joining the fleet of Lentulus, lately arrived, with his own which he had before, he himself, setting sail from Utica, steered for the harbour of Carthage. When he had arrived within a small distance, he was met by a Carthaginian ship, dressed with fillets and branches of olive, on board of which were ten ambassadors, the chief men of the state, sent, by the advice of Hannibal, to sue for peace. These coming under the stern of the general's ship, holding out the badges of supplicants, besought and implored the favour and compassion of Scipio: but they received no other answer, than that they should come to Tunes, to which place he intended to remove his camp. Then, after taking a view of the situation of Carthage, not so much for the sake of any present use which he intended to make of his knowledge of it, as of dispiriting the enemy, he returned to Utica, and at the

same time recalled Octavius thither. As they advanced towards Tunes, an account was brought that Vermina, son of Syphax, with a greater number of horse than of foot, was coming to the aid of the Carthaginians. A detachment of the army, with all the cavalry, attacking this body of Numidians on their march, on the first day of the Saturnalia, routed them without much difficulty; and every possibility of flight being cut off by the surrounding cavalry, fifteen thousand men were slain, one thousand two hundred taken, together with fifteen hundred horses, and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself, with very few attendants, made his escape during the tumult. The camp was then pitched near Tunes, in the same place as before, whither thirty ambassadors came from Carthage to Scipio, and the behaviour of these was much more calculated to excite compassion than that of the former, as their distress was still increasing. But, from the recollection of their late perfidy, they were heard with the less pity. In the council, though all were stimulated by just resentment to pursue Carthage to destruction, yet, when they considered how great an undertaking it was, and what a length of time the siege of a city, so strong and so well fortified, would require, (Scipio himself also being uneasy, under the apprehension of a successor being appointed in his place, who might claim the glory of having terminated the war, though it had been actually brought to an issue by the labours and dangers of another,) they all became inclined to peace.

XXXVII. The next day, the ambassadors being again called, and, with severe rebukes for their perfidy, admonished, that, instructed by so many calamities, they should at length be convinced of the regard due to the gods, and to an oath, these terms of peace were prescribed to them:—"That they should live free under their own laws, should enjoy the possession of whatever cities, whatever territories, and, whatever boundaries, they possessed before the war; and that the Roman general would, on that day, put an end to the devastation of their country. That they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, fugitives, and prisoners; and should surrender their ships of war, except ten, together with all their trained elephants, and should not train any more. That they should wage no war, either in, or out of, Africa, without the permission of the Roman people; should make restitution to Masinissa,



and conclude a treaty with him ; should supply corn and pay to the auxiliaries, until their ambassadors should return from Rome. That they should pay, within fifty years, ten thousand talents of silver, by equal payments, according to a mode laid down in writing, and should give an hundred hostages to be approved of by Scipio, none younger than fourteen years or older than thirty. That he would grant them a truce on this condition : that the transports which had been captured during the former truce, together with their cargoes, be restored ; if this were not complied with, they were not to expect either truce or peace."

When the ambassadors, who were sent home with these conditions, reported them in an assembly of the people, Gisgo having stood forth to dissuade them from accepting the terms, and being listened to by the multitude, who were as impatient of quiet, as unfit for war, Hannibal, filled with indignation on finding objections made, and listened to, at such a juncture, laid hold of Gisgo with his hand, and pulled him down from the place on which he stood. When this sight, unusual in a free state, raised a murmur among the citizens, he being accustomed to military manners, and disconcerted by their reception of him, said to them : " At nine years of age I left this city, at the end of the thirty-sixth I have returned. The rules of war, I think, I perfectly understand, having, from my childhood, been continually supplied with opportunities of learning them, at some times by the state of my own affairs, at others by that of the public. The privileges, laws, and manners of the city and of the forum you ought to teach me." Having thus apologized for his imprudence, he spoke at large concerning the peace, showing how necessary it was, and that the terms were not unreasonable. The greatest difficulty of all was that of the fleet, which had been captured during the truce ; nothing was to be found but the ships themselves, nor was it easy to collect the effects, those who were charged with having them in their possession, making opposition to all that was proposed. It was at length resolved, that the ships should be restored, that the men at all events should be collected, and that the other matters which could not be produced, should be left to the valuation of Scipio, according to which the

Carthaginians should make compensation in money. Some say, that Hannibal, having gone from the field to the sea-coast, sailed immediately in a ship which had been prepared, and went to king Antiochus ; and that when Scipio made it a principal demand, that Hannibal should be given up to him, he was told that Hannibal had quitted Africa.

XXXVIII. On the return of the ambassadors to Scipio, the quæstors were ordered to give in a return, extracted from the public accounts, of the public property which had been on board the ships ; and the owners to make a return of the private property. For the amount of the value, twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver were required to be immediately paid, and a truce for three months was granted to the Carthaginians. A clause was added, that, during the truce, they should not send ambassadors to any other place than to Rome ; and that if any such should come to Carthage, they should not dismiss them until the Roman general was made acquainted with their business. With the Carthaginian ambassadors were sent to Rome, Lucius Veturius Philo, Marcius Ralla, and Lucius Scipio, the general's brother. From that time, the great supplies from Sicily and Sardinia caused such cheapness of provisions, that the merchant often furnished corn to the mariners for the freight. At Rome there had been some uneasiness on the first account of the Carthaginians having recommenced hostilities, and Tiberius Claudius had been ordered to conduct the fleet to Sicily with all expedition, and to pass over from thence to Carthage ; and the other consul, Marcus Servilius to remain in the city, until the state of affairs in Africa should be known. Tiberius Claudius proceeded slowly in every step towards the equipment and sailing of the fleet, being offended at the senate having voted, that Scipio, in preference to the consul, should have the honour of prescribing the terms of peace. Accounts of prodigies also, arriving a little before the news of the revival of hostilities, had raised people's apprehensions. At Cumæ, the orb of the sun seemed to be diminished, and a shower of stones fell ; and in the district of Veliturnum, the earth sunk in great chasms, in which trees were swallowed. At Aricia, the forum, and shops round it ; at Frusino, several parts of the wall, and a gate, were struck by lightning. On the Palatine hill,

too, a shower of stones fell. This prodigy, according to the method handed down by tradition, was expiated by a nine days' solemnity; the others by the greater victims. Among the rest, an unusual overflowing of the rivers was also considered as a prodigy; for there was such an inundation of the Tiber, that, the circus being filled with water, preparations for the games of Apollo were made on the outside of the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. But on the very day of the games, the weather suddenly clearing up, the procession, which had begun to advance toward the Colline gate, was recalled, and conducted to the circus, on its being known that the water had retired from thence. Its own proper place being thus restored to this solemn exhibition gave much joy to the people, and added considerably to the splendour of the games.

XXXIX. The consul Claudius, having at last set out from the city, was overtaken by a violent storm between the ports of Cosa and Laureta, and brought into imminent danger; however, having got as far as Populoni, where he continued until a change of weather, he proceeded to the island Ilva; from Ilva to Corsica, and from thence to Sardinia. There, as he was sailing by the Mad Mountains, a still more furious tempest surprised him, and dispersed his fleet. Many ships were damaged, and lost their rigging, and several were wrecked. In this harassed and shattered condition, the fleet arrived at Carales, where the winter came upon them, while they were employed in docking and repairing the ships. Meanwhile the year coming to a conclusion, and it not being proposed to continue him in command, Tiberius Claudius, after he had ceased to hold any public office, brought home the fleet. Marcus Servilius, having nominated Caius Servilius Geminus dictator, lest he might be recalled on account of the elections, set out for his province. The dictator named Publius Ælius Pætus master of the horse. The elections, though many days were appointed for the purpose, were still prevented by storms; so that the magistrates of the former year going out of office, on the day preceding the ides of March, and no successors being appointed, the state was without curule magistrates. Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a pontiff, died that year; in his place was substituted Caius Sulpicius Galba. The Roman games were thrice repeated, entire, by the curule

ædiles, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius. Some of the inferior officers belonging to the ædiles, being convicted, on the testimony of a discoverer, of having secretly conveyed money out of the treasury, were condemned, not without reflecting dishonour on the ædile Lucullus. Publius Ælius Tubero and Lucius Lætorius, plebeian ædiles, on some irregularity being discovered in their election, abdicated their office, after they had celebrated the games, and, on occasion thereof, a feast to Jupiter; having also erected in the capitol three images, formed of silver raised by fines. The dictator and master of the horse, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, celebrated the games of Ceres.

XL. When the Roman deputies, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors, were come to Rome from Africa, the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. Lucius Veturius Philo acquainted them (to the great joy of the fathers), that a battle had been fought with Hannibal, in which the Carthaginians were finally overpowered, and an end put at last to that disastrous war; he added, as a small accession to that great and happy event, that Vermina, son of Syphax, had also been vanquished. He was then ordered to go out to the general assembly, and to communicate the joyful news to the people. On this, after mutual congratulations, a public thanksgiving being ordered, all the temples in the city were thrown open, and a supplication for three days decreed. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, and of king Philip, for they also had arrived, requesting an audience of the senate, the dictator answered, by order of the fathers, that the new consuls would procure them an audience. The elections were then held. [Y. R. 551. B. C. 201.] The consuls elected were, Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Pætus; the prætors, Marcus Junius Pennus, to whom the city jurisdiction fell; Marcus Valerius Falto acquired, by lot, Brutium; Marcus Fabius Buteo, Sardinia; Publius Ælius Tubero, Sicily. With respect to the provinces of the consuls, it was determined that nothing should be done until the ambassadors of king Philip and the Carthaginians were heard; for it was plainly foreseen, that the conclusion of the one war would be quickly followed by the commencement of another. The consul Cneius Lentulus was inflamed with a strong desire of obtaining the province of Africa;



having in view either an easy conquest, or, if it were now to be concluded, the glory of terminating so great a war in his consulate. He declared, therefore, that he would not suffer any business to be done until Africa were decreed to him; for his colleague declined putting in his claim for it, being a moderate, prudent man, who perceived, that a contest with Scipio for that honour, besides being unjust, would be also unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the people, said, that "Cneius Cornelius was endeavouring to carry a point which had been attempted in vain, the year before, by the consul Tiberius Claudius: that, by the direction of the senate, the question had been proposed to the people respecting the command in Africa, and that the thirty-five tribes unanimously decreed that command to Publius Scipio." The affair, after being canvassed with much heat both in the senate and in the assembly of the people, was at last brought to this conclusion,—that it should be left to the determination of the former. The fathers, therefore, on oath, for so it had been agreed, voted that the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for their provinces, which of them should have Italy, and which a fleet of fifty ships. That he to whose lot it fell to command the fleet, should sail to Sicily; and if peace could not be concluded with the Carthaginians, should pass over from thence to Africa, where he the said consul should command at sea, and Scipio on land, with the same extent of authority as heretofore. If the terms of peace should be agitated, that then the tribunes should take the opinion of the people, whether they would order the consul or Publius Scipio to settle those terms, and if the victorious army was to be conducted home, whom they would order to do it. If they should order the peace to be granted by Publius Scipio, and the army also to be brought home by him, that then the consul should not cross over from Sicily to Africa. That the other consul, to whose lot Italy fell, should receive two legions from Marcus Sextius, prætor.

XLII. Publius Scipio's command in the province of Africa was prolonged, with the armies which he then had. To Marcus Valerius Falto, prætor, were decreed the two legions in Bruttium, which Caius Livius had commanded the preceding year. Publius Ælius, prætor, was to receive two legions in Sicily from Cnei-

us Tremellius. One legion, which had been under Publius Lentulus, proprætor, was decreed to Marcus Fabius, for Sardinia. The command in Etruria was continued to Marcus Servilius, consul of the former year, with his own two legions. With regard to Spain, the senate ordered, that whereas Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, had now remained in that country for several years, the consuls should therefore make application to the tribunes, that, if they thought proper, they should ask the people, whom they would order to have charge in Spain; and that the person so ordered should collect such a number of Romans out of the two armies, as would make up one legion, and as many of the allies of the Latine confederacy as would form fifteen cohorts; with which he should conduct the business of the province; and that Lucius Cornelius and Lucius Manlius shall lead home the veteran soldiers to Italy. To the consul Cornelius was decreed a squadron of fifty ships out of the two fleets, one of which was under Cneius Octavius in Africa, the other under Publius Vellius, guarding the coast of Sicily; with liberty to take such of those vessels as he might please. It was also decreed, that Publius Scipio should keep the fifty ships of war on his station as before; and that if Cneius Octavius chose to continue in the command of these as heretofore, he should have it for that year as proprætor: that if Lælius should be set at the head of the fleet, then Octavius should return to Rome, and bring home such ships as the proconsul had not occasion for. Ten ships of war were also decreed to Marcus Fabius for Sardinia; and the consuls were ordered to enlist two legions for the city, so that the state should have in its service, for that year, fourteen legions, and one hundred and ten ships of war.

XLII. The next business attended to, was that of the envoys of Philip and the Carthaginians. It was thought proper that the Macedonians should be first introduced. Their discourse comprehended a variety of subjects: they first endeavoured to clear themselves of those matters, of which the ambassadors sent from Rome to the king had complained, relative to the depredations committed on the allies. Then, on their part, they remonstrated on the conduct of the allies of the Romans, and particularly on that of Marcus Aurelius, who, they said,

being one of the three ambassadors sent to them, had staid behind the rest, levied soldiers, committed hostilities against them, and fought several pitched battles with their commanders. They afterwards demanded, that the Macedonians, and their captain, Sopater, who had served for pay under Hannibal, and having been made prisoners were still detained, might be restored to them. In opposition to this, Marcus Furius, who had been sent from Macedonia to Aurelius for the purpose, asserted, that "Aurelius had been directed to take care, lest the allies, wearied out by insults and depredations, should go over to the king: that he had not gone beyond the boundaries of the confederated states, but had endeavoured to prevent devastations being committed with impunity within their territories: that Sopater was one of the king's particular favourites, one of those distinguished with the purple; and that he had been lately sent with four thousand men and a sum of money into Africa, to the assistance of Hannibal and the Carthaginians." The Macedonians being interrogated on these points, and not giving any clear answers, the senate, without farther discussion, told them that "the king was seeking war; and, if he persisted, would quickly find it. That the treaty had been doubly violated by him: first, in offering injury to the allies of the Roman people, assaulting them in open hostilities; secondly, in assisting their enemies with troops and money. That Publius Scipio had acted and was acting properly and regularly, in treating as foes, and throwing into confinement, those who were taken in arms against the Roman people; and that Marcus Aurelius did his duty to the state, and in a manner agreeable to the senate, in protecting the allies of the Roman people by arms, since he could not do it by the authority of the treaty." The Macedonians being dismissed with this severe answer, the Carthaginian ambassadors were called; on sight of whose ages and dignities, every one was ready to observe, that they were now in earnest in their application for peace, for that these were by far the most respectable persons of their nation. Hasdrubal (by his countrymen surnamed Hædus) was distinguished above the rest, having always recommended peace, and opposed the Barcine faction. On that account, great attention was paid to him, when he transferred the blame of the war from the state on the ambition of a few. After discoursing on

various heads, at one time refuting charges which had been made against them; at another, acknowledging some, lest, by denying what was manifestly true, he might render forgiveness more difficult; and then going so far as to admonish the conscript fathers to show mildness and moderation in prosperity, he added, that "if the Carthaginians had listened to him and Hanno, and made a proper use of occurrences as they happened, they would have been in a condition of prescribing terms, instead of begging a peace, as they now did: but men were seldom blessed with good fortune and a good understanding at the same time. That the Roman people were therefore invincible, because, when successful, they never lost sight of the maxims of wisdom and prudence; and indeed, it would have been surprising had they acted otherwise: while those who are unaccustomed to success, unable to restrain their transports, run into extravagance. To the Roman people the joy of victory was now habitual, and almost a matter of course; and they had enlarged their empire more by their lenity to the vanquished, than by their victories." The discourse of the others was more calculated to excite compassion; they represented, "to what a low state, from an exalted height, the affairs of the Carthaginians had fallen. That they who had lately extended the power of their arms over almost the whole world, had now little left them except the walls of Carthage. Shut up within these, they could see nothing, either on land or sea, that they could call their own. Even of the city itself, and of their habitations, they had no other tenure, than the Romans not choosing to wreak their vengeance on those also, when no other object for it now remained." When it appeared that the fathers were moved by compassion, one of the senators, it is said, incensed at the perfidy of the Carthaginians, called out to them, and asked, "What gods they would now invoke as witnesses in the pending treaty, having broken faith with those in whose name the former one was concluded." "The same," said Hasdrubal, "who now show such resentment against the violators of treaties."

XLIII. The minds of all inclining to peace, Cneius Lentulus, consul, whose province was the fleet, protested against the senate passing a decree. On which the tribunes, Manius Acilius and Quintus Manucius, put the question to the people, "Whether they



would choose and order the senate to decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians ; whom they would order to grant peace, and whom to conduct the armies home from Africa?" All the tribes unanimously passed the question as it was put, and ordered Publius Scipio to grant the peace, and also to conduct the armies home. In consequence of this order of the people, the senate decreed, that Publius Scipio, in consort with the ten ambassadors, should conclude a peace with the people of Carthage, on such terms as he should judge proper. The Carthaginians then, after returning thanks to the senate, requested that they might be permitted to enter the city, and to converse with their countrymen, who, having been made prisoners, were still kept so : among whom some of them had relations and friends, men of distinction, and to others they had messages from their relations. After a meeting with their friends, on making a second request, that liberty might be allowed them to ransom such of them as they chose, they were ordered to give in a list of their names ; and when they had given in about two hundred, a decree of the senate was passed, that "the Roman ambassadors should carry two hundred of the prisoners, such as the Carthaginians should select, into Africa, to Publius Cornelius Scipio, and give him directions, that if peace were concluded, he should restore them without ransom to the Carthaginians." The heralds being ordered to go to Africa to ratify the treaty, at their desire the senate passed a decree in these words : that "they should carry with them flint stones of their own, and vervain of their own : that the Roman commander should give them the order to strike the treaty, and that they should call on him for the herbs." This was a kind of herb brought from the capitol, and given to the heralds on such occasions. The deputies being dismissed from Rome in this manner, as soon as they came to Scipio in Africa, concluded a peace on the terms before mentioned. The Carthaginians delivered up the ships of war, elephants, deserters, fugitives, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator. The ships Scipio ordered to be carried out into the deep, and burned. Some say that they amounted to five hundred, of all sorts, which were worked with oars ; and that the sudden sight of these in flames was as great a shock to the Carthaginians, as if Carthage itself had been

set on fire. The deserters were treated with more severity than the fugitives ; those who were of the Latine confederacy were beheaded, the Romans were crucified.

XLIV. The last peace with the Carthaginians had been made forty years before this, in the consulate of Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The late war began twenty-three years after, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and ended in the seventeenth year, when Cneius Cornelius and Publius Ælius Pætus were consuls. We are told that Scipio often said afterwards, that the ambition, first of Tiberius Claudius, and then of Cneius Cornelius, was what prevented that war from ending in the utter destruction of Carthage. The Carthaginians having been exhausted by the long continuance of the late struggles, found it difficult to raise the first contribution-money, so that the senate-house was filled with grief and lamentations ; on which occasion, it is said, that Hannibal was observed to laugh ; and that being reproved by Hasdrubal Hædus, for laughing in a moment of public sorrowing, and when he himself was the cause of their tears, he said,—“ If the inward thoughts could be perceived in the same manner as the look of the countenance is perceived by the eye, you would be immediately convinced that the laughter which you blame proceeds not from a heart elated with joy, but from one driven almost to madness by misfortunes ; and yet it is not, by any means, so unseasonable as those absurd and inconsistent tears of yours. Then ought you to have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, and we ourselves forbidden to engage in foreign wars : that was the wound by which we fell. And do not imagine that the measures taken against you by the Romans were dictated merely by animosity. No great state can remain long at rest. If it has no enemies abroad, it finds them at home ; as overgrown bodies seem safe from external injuries, but suffer grievous inconveniences from their own strength. We feel, it seems, for the public misfortunes, only in proportion as our private affairs are affected by them ; and none of them stings more deeply than the loss of money. Thus, when the spoils were stripped off from vanquished Carthage, and you saw her left naked among so many armed states of Africa, not one of you uttered a groan ; now, because a contribution must be made to the tribute out of your private proper-

ties, you lament as if the existence of the state were terminated. Much I dread lest you quickly feel that the subject of your tears this day is the lightest of your misfortunes." Such were Hannibal's sentiments which he delivered to the Carthaginians. Scipio having called an assembly, bestowed on Masinissa, in addition to his paternal kingdom, the city of Cirtha, and the other cities and lands belonging to the territories of Syphax, which had fallen into the hands of the Roman people. He ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily, and deliver it to the consul Cneius Cornelius; and the ambassadors of the Carthaginians to go to Rome, in order that the terms stipulated for by him might be ratified by the authority of the senate and the order of the people.

XLV. Peace being established by sea and land, he embarked his army, and carried it over to Lilybæum in Sicily; and from thence, sending a great part of his troops round by sea, he himself landed in Italy. As he proceeded through the country, he found it no less delighted at finding there was an end to the war, than at the success in it; not only the inhabitants of the cities pouring out to show their respect to him, but crowds of the country-people also filling up the roads: and thus he arrived at Rome, where he entered the city in the most splendid triumph which had ever been beheld. He carried into the treasury an hun-

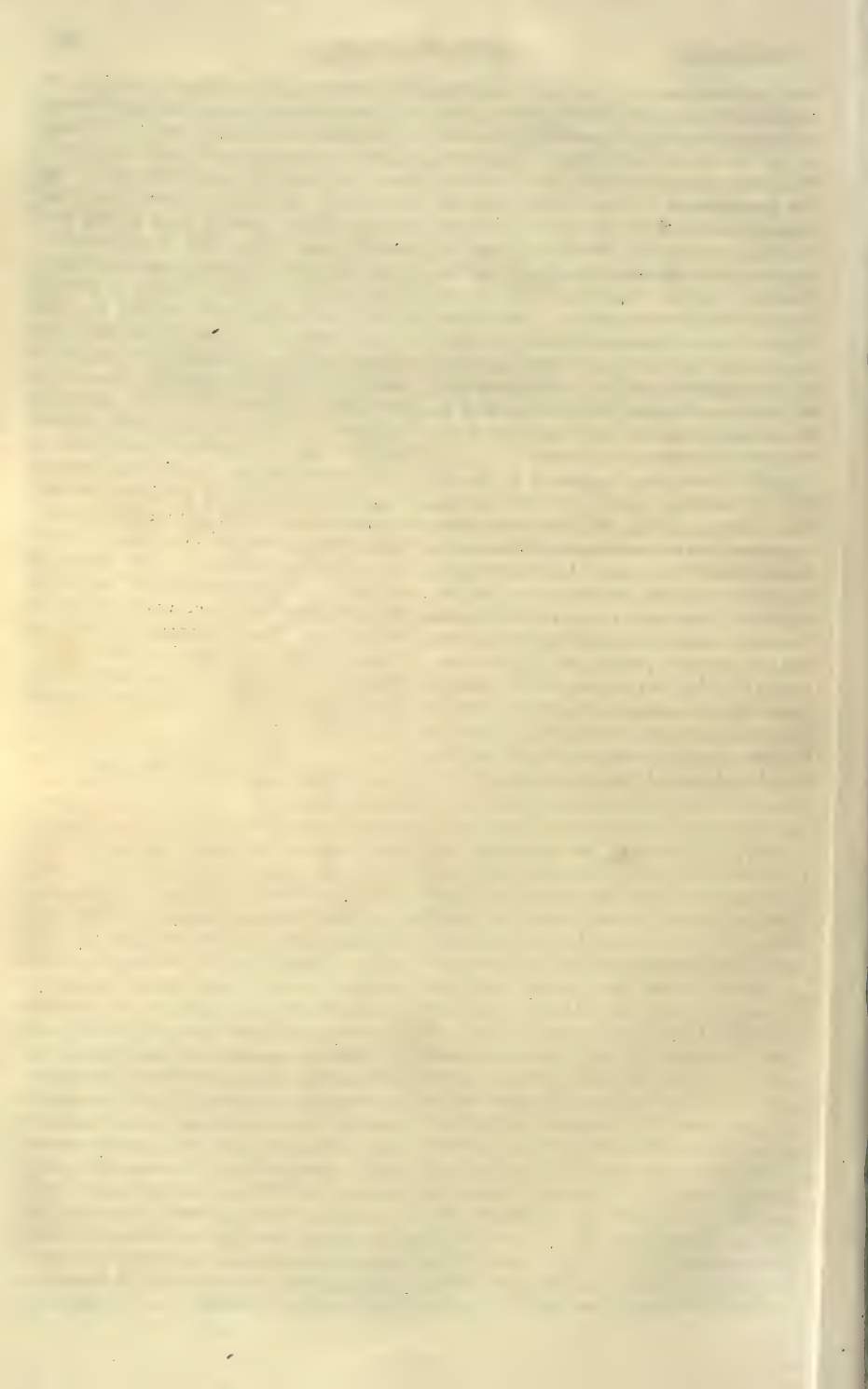
dred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver, and out of the spoil distributed to each of his soldiers four hundred *asses*.<sup>1</sup> The death of Syphax caused some diminution in the splendour of the show, but none in the glory of the general who triumphed. He died a short time before at Tibur, to which place he had been removed from Alba. His death, however, made some noise, for he was honoured with a public funeral. Polybius, a writer of no contemptible authority, asserts, that this king was led in triumph. Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his triumph, with a cap on his head;<sup>2</sup> and through his whole life after, as became him, he respected him as the author of his liberty. I have not been able to discover whether it was the affection of the soldiers, or the attachment of the people, which honoured Scipio with the surname of Africanus; nor whether it was first brought into use by the flattery of his friends, as that of Felix given to Sylla, and of Magnus to Pompey, in the memory of our fathers. He was certainly the first general distinguished by the title of a nation which he had subdued. Others, afterwards following his example, though far inferior in the greatness of their achievements, assumed pompous inscriptions for their statues, and splendid surnames for their families.

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1 1*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

2 The symbol of liberty.





THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXXI.

Renewal of the war with Philip, king of Macedon. Successes of Publius Sulpicius, consul, who had the conduct of that war. The Abydenians, besieged by Philip, put themselves to death, together with their wives and children. Lucius Furius, prætor, defeats the Insubrian Gauls who had revolted; and Hamilcar, who stirred up the insurrection, is slain, with thirty-five thousand men. Further operations of Sulpicius, Attalus, and the Rhodians, against Philip.

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I. I FEEL a degree of pleasure in having come to the end of the Punic war, as if myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. For though it ill becomes a person, who has ventured to promise an entire history of all the Roman affairs, to be fatigued by any particular parts of so extensible a work; yet when I reflect that sixty-three years, (for so many there are from the first Punic war to the end of the second,) have filled up as many volumes for me, as the four hundred and eighty-seven years, from the building of the city to the consulates of Appius Claudius, who first made war on the Carthaginians, I plainly perceive that, like those who are tempted by the shallows near the shore, to walk into the sea, the farther I advance, I am carried into the greater depth and abyss, as it were: and that my work rather increases on my hands than diminishes, as I expected it would, by the first parts being completed. The peace with Carthage was quickly followed by a war with Macedonia: a war, not to be compared to the former, indeed, either in danger, or in the abilities of the commander, or the valour of the soldiers; but rather more remarkable with regard to the renown of their former kings, the ancient fame of that nation, and the vast extent of their

empire, which formerly comprehended a large part of Europe, and the greater part of Asia. The contest with Philip, which had begun about ten years before, had been intermitted for the three last years; the Ætolians having been the occasion both of the commencement and of the cessation of hostilities. The Romans being now disengaged from all employment, and being incensed against Philip, on account both of his infringing the peace with regard to the Ætolians, and the other allies in those parts, and also on account of his having lately sent aid of men and money into Africa to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, were excited to a renewal of the war by the entreaties of the Athenians, whose country he had ravaged, and shut up the inhabitants within the walls of the city.

II. About the same time, ambassadors arrived both from king Attalus, and from the Rhodians, with information that the Macedonian was tampering with the states of Asia. To these embassies an answer was given, that the senate would give attention to the affairs of Asia. The determination with regard to the making war on him, was left open to the consuls, who were then in their provinces. In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, namely, Caius Claudius



Nero, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to announce their conquest of Hannibal and the Carthaginians; to give thanks to the king for his faithful adherence to his engagements in the time of their distress, when even the nearest allies of the Romans abandoned them; and to request, that, if they should be compelled by ill treatment to break with Philip, he would preserve the same disposition towards the Roman people. In Gaul, about this time, the consul, Publius Ælius, having heard, that, before his arrival, the Boians had made inroads on the territories of the allies, levied two occasional legions on account of this disturbance; and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, ordered Caius Oppius, the præfect, to march with this tumultuary band through Umbria (which is called the Sappinian district), and to invade the territories of the Boians; leading his own troops thither openly, over the mountains which lay in the way. Oppius, on entering the same, for some time committed depredations with good success and safety. But afterwards, having pitched on a place near a fort called Mutillum, convenient enough for cutting down the corn which was now ripe, and setting out, without having acquired a knowledge of the country, and without establishing armed posts of sufficient strength to protect those who were unarmed and intent on their work, he was suddenly surrounded, together with his foragers, and attacked by the Gauls. On this, even those who were furnished with weapons, struck with dismay, betook themselves to flight. Seven thousand men, dispersed through the corn fields, were put to the sword, among whom was the commander himself, Caius Oppius. The rest were driven in confusion into the camp; from whence, in consequence of a resolution there formed, they set out on the following night, without any particular commander; and, leaving behind a great part of their baggage, made their way through woods almost impassable, to the consul, who returned to Rome without having performed any thing in his province worth notice, except that he ravaged the lands of the Boians, and made a treaty with the Ingaunian Ligurians.

III. The first time he assembled the senate, it was unanimously ordered that he should propose no other business before that which related to Philip, and the complaints of the allies; it was of course immediately taken into

consideration, and in full meeting decreed, that Publius Ælius, consul, should send such person as he might think proper, vested with command, to receive the fleet which Cneius Octavius was bringing home from Sicily, and pass over to Macedonia. Accordingly, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, prætor, was sent; and, receiving thirty-eight ships from Cneius Octavius, near Vibo, he sailed to Macedonia, where, being met by Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and informed what numerous forces and what large fleets the king had prepared, and how busily he was employed in prevailing on divers states to join him, applying to some in person, to others by agents, not only through all the cities of the continent, but even in the islands. Lævinus was convinced from this, that the war required vigorous exertions on the side of the Romans; for, should they be dilatory, Philip might be encouraged to attempt an enterprise like to that which had been formerly undertaken by Pyrrhus, who possessed not such large dominions. He therefore desired Aurelius to convey this intelligence, by letter, to the consuls and to the senate.

IV. Towards the end of this year the senate, taking into consideration the lands to be given to the veteran soldiers, who under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, had finished the war in Africa, decreed, that Marcus Tullius, prætor of the city, should, if he thought proper, appoint ten commissioners to survey, and distribute among them, that part of the Samnite and Apulian lands which was the property of the Roman people. For this purpose were appointed, Publius Servilius, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Caius and Marcus Servilius, both surnamed Geminus, Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tapulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Ælius Pætus, and Quintus Flaminius. At the same time, Publius Ælius presiding at the election of consuls, Publius Sulpicius Galba, and Caius Aurelius Cotta, were elected. Then were chosen prætors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Cneius Sergius Plancus. The Roman stage-games were exhibited, in a sumptuous and elegant manner, by the curule ædiles, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Lucius Quintus Flaminius, and repeated for two days; and a vast quantity of corn, which Scipio had sent from Africa, was distributed by them to the people, with strict impartiality and general

satisfaction, at the rate of four *asses* a peck. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire by the plebeian *ædiles*, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter of whom was, from the *ædileship*, elected *prætor*. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

V. In the year five hundred and fifty-two from the building of the city, [Y. R. 552. B. C. 200.] Publius Sulpicius Galba, and Caius Aurelius, being consuls, within a few months after the conclusion of the peace with the Carthaginians, war began against king Philip. This was the first business introduced by the consul, Publius Sulpicius, on the ides of March, the day on which, in those times, the consuls entered into office; and the senate decreed, that the consuls should perform sacrifices with the greater victims, to such gods as they should judge proper, with prayers to this purpose,—that “the business which the senate and people of Rome had then under deliberation, concerning the state, and the entering on a new war, might be attended with success and prosperity to the Roman people, the allies, and the Latine confederacy;” and that, after the sacrifices and prayers, they should consult the senate on the state of public affairs, and the provinces. At this time, very opportunely for promoting a war, the letters were brought from Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and Marcus Valerius Lævinus, *proprætor*. An embassy, likewise, arrived from the Athenians, to acquaint them that the king was approaching their frontiers, and that in a short time, not only their lands, but their city also, must fall into his hands, unless they received aid from the Romans. When the consuls had made their report, that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and that the gods had accepted their prayers; that the *auspices* had declared that the entrails showed good omens, and that enlargement of territory, victory, and triumph were portended; the letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read, and audience given to the ambassadors of the Athenians. After which, a decree of the senate was passed, that thanks should be given to their allies, because, though long solicited, they had not been prevailed upon, even by dread of a siege, to depart from their engagements. With regard to sending assistance to them, they resolved, that an answer should be given as soon as the consuls should have cast lots for the provinces; and when the consul to whose lot

Macedonia fell should have proposed to the people, to declare war against Philip, king of the Macedonians.

VI. The province of Macedonia fell by lot to Publius Sulpicius; and he proposed to the people to declare, “that they chose and ordered, that on account of the injuries and hostilities committed against the allies of the Roman people, war should be proclaimed against king Philip, and the Macedonians under his government.” The province of Italy fell to the lot of the other consul, Aurelius. The *prætors* then cast lots: to Cneius Sergius Plancus fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Sicily; to Quintus Minucius Rufus, *Bruttium*; and to Lucius Furius Purpureo, Gaul. At the first meeting of the people, the proposal concerning the Macedonian war was rejected by almost all the tribes. This was occasioned partly by the people's own inclinations, who, wearied by the length and severity of the late war, longed to be freed from toils and dangers; and partly by Quintus Bæbius, *tribune* of the people, who, pursuing the old practice of criminalizing the patricians, charged them with multiplying wars one after another, so that the people could never enjoy peace. This proceeding gave great offence to the patricians, and the *tribune* was severely reprimanded in the senate; where all earnestly recommended it to the consul to call a new assembly, for passing the proposal; to rebuke the backwardness of the people; and to prove to them how highly detrimental and dishonourable it would be to decline engaging in that war.

VII. The consul having assembled the people in the field of Mars, before he called upon the centuries to give their votes, required their attention, and addressed them thus: “Citizens, you seem to me not to understand that the question before you is not whether you choose to have peace or war: for Philip, having already commenced hostilities with a formidable force, both on land and sea, allows you not that option. The question is, Whether you choose to transport your legions to Macedonia, or to suffer the enemy to come into Italy? How important the difference is between these two cases, if you knew it not before, you have sufficiently learned in the late Punic war. For who entertains a doubt, but if, when the Saguntines were besieged, and implored our protection, we had assisted them with vigour, as our fathers did



the Mamertines, we should have averted the whole weight of the war upon Spain; which, by our dilatory proceedings, we suffered to our extreme loss to fall upon Italy? Nor does it admit a doubt, that what confined this same Philip in Macedonia, (after he had entered into an engagement with Hannibal, by ambassadors and letters, to cross over into Italy,) was, our sending Lævinus with a fleet to carry the war home to him. And what we did at that time, when we had Hannibal to contend with in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, after Hannibal has been expelled Italy, and the Carthaginians subdued? Suppose for an instant that we allow the king to experience the same inactivity on our part, while he is taking Athens, as Hannibal found while he was taking Saguntum: it will not be in the fifth month, as the Carthaginian came from Saguntum, but on the fifth day after the Macedonian sets sail from Corinth, that he will arrive in Italy. Perhaps you may not consider Philip as equal to Hannibal; or the Macedonians to the Carthaginians: certainly, however, you will allow him equal to Pyrrhus. Equal, do I say? what a vast superiority has the one man over the other; the one nation over the other! Epirus ever was, and is at this day, deemed but an inconsiderable accession to the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip has the entire Peloponnesus under his dominion; even Argos itself, not more celebrated for its ancient glory, than for the death of Pyrrhus. Now compare our situation. How much more flourishing was Italy when Pyrrhus attacked it! How much greater its strength, possessing so many commanders, so many armies, which the Punic war afterwards consumed! Yet was he able to give it a violent shock, and advanced victorious almost to the gates of Rome: and not the Tarentines only, and the inhabitants of that tract of Italy which they call the greater Greece, whom you may suppose to have been led by the similarity of language and name, but the Lucanian, the Bruttian, and the Samnite revolted from us. Do you believe that these would continue quiet and faithful, if Philip should come over to Italy, because they continued faithful afterwards, and during the Punic war? Be assured those states will never fail to revolt from us, except when there is no one to whom they can go over. If you had disapproved of a Roman army passing into Africa, you would this day have had Hannibal and the Carthaginians to contend with in Italy. Let

Macedonia, rather than Italy, be the seat of war. Let the cities and lands of the enemy be wasted with fire and sword. We have already found by experience, that our arms are more powerful and more successful abroad than at home. Go, and give your voices with the blessing of the gods; and what the senate have voted, do you ratify by your order. This resolution is recommended to you, not only by your consul, but even by the immortal gods themselves; who, when I offered sacrifice, and prayed that the issue of this war might be happy and prosperous to me and to the senate, to you and the allies and Latine confederates, granted every omen of success and happiness."

VIII. After this speech of Sulpicius, being sent to give their votes, they declared for the war as he had proposed. On which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a supplication for three days was proclaimed by the consuls; and prayers were offered to the gods at all the shrines, that the war which the people had ordered against Philip might be attended with success and prosperity. The consul Sulpicius, inquiring of the heralds, whether they would direct the declaration of the war against king Philip to be made to himself in person, or whether it would be sufficient to publish it in the nearest garrison, within the frontiers of his kingdom, they answered, that either would do. The consul received authority from the senate to send any person whom he thought proper, not being a senator, as ambassador, to denounce war against the king. They then proceeded to arrange the armies for the consuls and prætors. The consuls were ordered to levy two legions, and to disband the veteran troops. Sulpicius, to whom the management of this new and highly important war had been decreed, was allowed permission to carry with him as many volunteers as he could procure out of the army which Publius Scipio had brought home from Africa; but he was not empowered to compel any veteran soldier to attend him. They ordered that the consul should give to the prætors, Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Quintus Minucius Rufus, five thousand of the allies of the Latine confederacy; with which forces they should hold, one, the province of Gaul, the other, Brutium. Quintus Fulvius Gillo was ordered, in like manner, to select out of the army which Publius Ælius, late consul, had commanded, such as had been the shortest time in the service, until he also made up five

thousand of the allies and Latine confederates, for guarding his province of Sicily. To Marcus Valerius Falto, who, during the former year, had held the province of Campania, as prætor, the command was continued for a year; in order that he might go over in quality of proprætor, to Sardinia, and choose out of the army there five thousand of the allies of the Latine confederacy, who also had been the shortest time in the service. The consuls were at the same time ordered to levy two legions for the city, which might be sent wherever occasion should require; as there were many states in Italy infected with an attachment to the Carthaginians, which they had formed during the war, and, in consequence, swelling with resentment. The state was to employ during that year six Roman legions.

IX. In the midst of the preparations for war, ambassadors came from king Ptolemy, with the following message: that "the Athenians had petitioned the king for aid against Philip; but that although they were their common allies, yet the king would not, without the direction of the Roman people, send either fleet or army into Greece, for the purpose of defending or attacking any person. That he would remain quiet in his kingdom, if the Romans were at leisure to protect their allies; or, if more agreeable to them to be at rest, would himself send such aid as should effectually secure Athens against Philip." Thanks were returned to the king by the senate, and this answer: that "it was the intention of the Roman people to protect their allies; that if they should have occasion for any assistance towards carrying on the war, they would acquaint the king; and that they were fully sensible, that, in the power of his kingdom, their state had a sure and faithful resource." Presents were then, by order of the senate, sent to the ambassadors, of five thousand *asses*<sup>1</sup> to each. While the consuls were employed in levying troops, and making other necessary preparations, the people, prone to religious observances, especially at the beginning of new wars, after supplications had been already performed, and prayers offered up at all the shrines, lest any thing should be omitted that had ever been practised, ordered, that the consul who was to have the province of Macedonia, should vow games, and a present to Jove.

Licinius, the chief pontiff, occasioned some delay in the performance of it, alleging, that "he could not properly frame the vow, unless the money to discharge it were specified. For as the sum to be named could not be applied to the uses of the war, it should be immediately set apart, and not to be intermixed with other money; and that, unless this were done, the vow could not be fulfilled." Although the objection, and the person who proposed it, were both of weight, yet the consul was ordered to consult the college of pontiffs, whether a vow could not be undertaken without specifying the amount to discharge it? The pontiffs determined, that it could; and that it would be even more in order, to do it in that way. The consul, therefore, repeating after the chief pontiff, made the vow in the same words in which those made for five years of safety used to be expressed; only that he engaged to perform the games, and make the offerings, at such expense as the senate should direct by their vote, at the time when the vow was to be put in act. Before this, the great games, so often vowed, were constantly rated at a certain expense: this was the first time that the sum was not specified.

X. While every one's attention was turned to the Macedonian war, and at a time when people apprehended nothing less, a sudden account was brought of an inroad made by the Gauls. The Insubrians, Cænomanians, and Boians, having been joined by the Salyans, Ilvations, and other Ligurian states, and putting themselves under the command of Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who, having been in the army of Hasdrubal, had remained in those parts, had fallen upon Placentia; and, after plundering the city, and, in their rage, burning a great part of it, leaving scarcely two thousand men among the flames and ruins, passed the Po, and advanced to plunder Cremona. The news of the calamity, which had fallen on a city in their neighbourhood, having reached thither, the inhabitants had time to shut their gates, and place guards on the walls, that they might, at least, try the event of a siege, and send messengers to the Roman prætor. Lucius Furius Purpureo, who had then the command of the province, had, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, disbanded the army, excepting five thousand of the allies and Latine confederates; and had halted, with these troops, in the nearest district of the province about Ari-

<sup>1</sup> 16*l.* 2*æ*. 1*æ*.



minum. He immediately informed the senate, by letter, of the subsisting tumult. That, "of the two colonies which had escaped the general wreck in the dreadful storm of the Punic war, one was taken and sacked by the present enemy, and the other besieged. Nor was his army capable of affording sufficient protection to the distressed colonists, unless he chose to expose five thousand allies to be slaughtered by forty thousand invaders (for so many there were in arms); and by such a loss, on his side, to augment their courage, already elated on having destroyed one Roman colony."

XI. On reading this letter it was decreed, that the consul Aurelius should order the army which he had appointed to assemble on a certain day in Etruria, to attend him on the same day at Ariminum; and should either go in person, if the public business would permit, to suppress the tumult of the Gauls, or write to the prætor Lucius Furius, that, as soon as the legions from Etruria came to him, he should send five thousand of the allies to guard that place in the meantime, and should himself proceed to relieve the colony from the siege. It was also decreed, that ambassadors should be sent to Carthage, and also into Numidia to Masinissa: to Carthage, to tell that people that "their countryman, Hamilcar, having been left in Gaul, (either with a part of the army formerly commanded by Hasdrubal, or with that of Mago—they did not with certainty know which,) was waging war, contrary to the treaty. That he had raised forces from among the Gauls and Ligurians, and persuaded them to take arms against Rome. That, if they chose a continuance of peace, they must recall him, and give him up to the Roman people." They were ordered at the same time to tell them, that "all the deserters had not been produced; that a great part of them were said to appear openly in Carthage, who ought to be sought after, and surrendered according to the treaty." This was the message they were to deliver to the Carthaginians. To Masinissa, they were charged with congratulations, on his "having not only recovered the kingdom of his father, but enlarged it by the acquisition of the most flourishing parts of Syphax's territories." They were ordered also to acquaint him, that "the Romans had entered into a war against Philip, because he had given aid to the Carthaginians, while, by the injuries which he offered to the

allies of the Roman people, he had obliged them to send fleets and armies into Greece, at a time when the flames of war spread over all Italy; and that by thus making them separate their forces, had been the principal cause of their being so late in passing over to Africa; and to request him to send some Numidian horsemen to assist in that war." Ample presents were given them to be carried to the king; vases of gold and silver, a purple robe, and a tunic adorned with palms of purple, an ivory sceptre, and a robe of state, with a curule chair. They were also directed to assure him, that if he deemed any thing farther requisite to confirm and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people, in return for his good services, would exert their utmost zeal to effect it. At this time too, the senate was addressed by ambassadors from Vermina, son of Syphax, apologizing for his mistaken conduct, on account of his youth and want of judgment, and throwing all the blame on the deceitful policy of the Carthaginians: adding, that as Masinissa had from an enemy become a friend to the Romans, so Vermina would also use his best endeavours that he should not be outdone in offices of friendship to the Roman people, either by Masinissa, or by any other; and requesting that he might receive from the senate, the title of king, friend, and ally." The answer given to these ambassadors was, that "not only his father Syphax, from a friend and ally, had on a sudden, without any reason, become an enemy to the Roman people, but that he himself had made his first essay of manhood in bearing arms against them. He must, therefore, sue to the Roman people for peace, before he could expect to be acknowledged king, ally, and friend; that it was the practice of that people to bestow the honour of such title, in return for great services performed by kings towards them; that the Roman ambassadors would soon be in Africa, to whom the senate would give instructions to regulate conditions of peace with Vermina, as he should submit the terms entirely to the will of the Roman people; and that, if he wished that any thing should be added, left out, or altered, he must make a second application to the senate." The ambassadors sent to Africa on those affairs, were Caius Terentius Varro, Publius Lucretius, and Cneius Octavius, each of whom had a quinquere assigned him.

XII. A letter was then read in the senate, from Quintus Minucius, the prætor, who held

the province of Bruttium, that "the money had been privately carried off by night out of the treasury of Proserpine at Locri; and that there were no traces which could direct to the discovery of the guilty persons." The senate was highly incensed at finding that the practice of sacrilege continued, and that even the fate of Pleminius, an example so recent and so conspicuous both of the guilt and of the punishment, did not deter from it. They ordered the consul, Cneius Aurelius, to signify to the prætor in Bruttium, that "it was the pleasure of the senate, that an inquiry be made concerning the robbery of the treasury, according to the method used by Marcus Pomponius, prætor, three years before; that the money which could be discovered should be restored, and any deficiency be made up; and that, if he thought proper, atonements should be made for the purpose of expiating the violation of the temple, in the manner formerly prescribed by the pontiffs." At the same time, also, accounts were brought of many prodigies happening in several places. It was said, that in Lucania the sky had been seen in a blaze; that at Privernum, in clear weather, the sun had been of a red colour during a whole day; that at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a very loud bustling noise had been heard in the night. Besides, monstrous births of animals were related to have occurred in many places: in the country of the Sabines, an infant was born whose sex could not be distinguished; and another was found sixteen years old, whose sex also was doubtful. At Frusino a lamb was born with a swine's head; at Sinuessa, a pig with a human head; and in Lucania, in the land belonging to the state, a foal with five feet. All these were considered as horrid and abominable, and as if nature were straying from her course in confounding the different species. Above all, the people were particularly shocked at the hermaphrodites, which were ordered to be immediately thrown into the sea, as had been lately done with a production of the same monstrous kind, in the consulate of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius. Not satisfied with this, they ordered the decemvirs to inspect the books in regard of that prodigy; and the decemvirs, from the books, directed the same religious ceremonies which had been performed on an occasion of the same kind. They ordered, besides a hymn to be sung through the city by thrice nine virgins, and

an offering to be made to imperial Juno. The consul, Caius Aurelius, took care that all these matters were performed according to the direction of the decemvirs. The hymn was composed by Publius Licinius Tegula, as a similar one had been, in the memory of their fathers, by Livius.

XIII. All religious scruples were fully removed by expiations; at Locri, too, the affair of the sacrilege had been thoroughly investigated by Quintus Minucius, and the money replaced in the treasury out of the effects of the guilty. When the consuls wished to set out to their provinces, a number of private persons, to whom the third payment became due that year, of the money which they had lent to the public in the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius, applied to the senate. The consuls, however, having declared that the treasury being scarcely sufficient for the exigencies of a new war, in which a great fleet and great armies must be employed, there were no means of paying them at present. The senate could not avoid being affected by their complaints, in which they alleged, that "if the state intended to use, for the purpose of the Macedonian war, the money which had been lent for the Punic war, as one war constantly arose after another, what would be the issue, but that, in return for their kind assistance to the public, their property would be confiscated as if they had been guilty of some crime?" The demands of the private creditors being equitable, and the state being in no capacity of discharging the debt, they determined to pursue a middle course between equity and convenience; and accordingly they decreed, that "whereas many of them mentioned that lands were frequently exposed to sale, and that they themselves wished to become purchasers: they should, therefore, have liberty to purchase any belonging to the public, and which lay within fifty miles of the city. That the consuls should make a valuation of these, and impose on each acre a quit-rent of one *as*, as an acknowledgment that the land was the property of the public, in order that when the people should become able to pay, if any one chose rather to have the money than the land, he might restore it." The private creditors accepted the terms with joy; and that land was called *Trientius* and *Tabulius*, because it was given in lieu of the third part of their money.

XIV. Publius Sulpicius, after making his



vows in the capitol, set out from the city in his robes of war, attended by his lictors, and arrived at Brundisium; where, having formed into legions the veteran soldiers of the African army who were willing to follow him, and chosen his number of ships out of the fleet of the late consul, Cornelius, he set sail, and next day arrived in Macedonia. There he was met by ambassadors from the Athenians, entreating him to relieve their city from the siege. Immediately, Caius Claudius Centho was despatched to Athens, with twenty ships of war, and a small body of land forces. For it was not the king himself who carried on the siege of Athens; he was at that time intently occupied in besieging Abydos, after having tried his strength at sea against Attalus, and against the Rhodians, without meeting success in either engagement. But, besides the natural presumptuousness of his temper, he acquired confidence from a treaty which he had formed with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which they had divided the wealth of Egypt between them; an object which, on hearing of the death of Ptolemy, they were both eager to secure. As to the Athenians, they had entangled themselves in a war with Philip on too trifling an occasion, and at a time when they retained nothing of their ancient dignity but pride. During the celebration of the mysteries, two young men of Acarnania, who were not initiated, unapprised of its being an offence against religion, entered the temple of Ceres along with the rest of the crowd: their discourse quickly betrayed them, by their asking questions which discovered their ignorance; whereupon, being carried before the presidents of the temple, although it was evident that they went in through mistake, yet they were put to death, as if for a heinous crime. The Acarnanian nation made complaint to Philip of this barbarous and hostile act, and prevailed on him to grant them some aid of Macedonian soldiers, and to allow them to make war on the Athenians. At first this army, after ravaging the lands of Attica with fire and sword, retired to Acarnania with booty of all kinds. This was the first provocation to hostilities. The Athenians afterwards, on their side, entered into a regular war, and proclaimed it by order of the state. For king Attalus and the Rhodians, having come to Ægina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, the king crossed over to Piræus, for the purpose of renewing and strengthening

the alliance between him and the Athenians. On entering the city, he was received by the whole inhabitants, who poured forth with their wives and children to meet him; by the priests, with their emblems of religion; and in a manner by the gods themselves, called forth from their abodes.

XV. Immediately the people were summoned to an assembly, that the king might treat with them in person on such subjects as he chose; but afterwards it was judged more suitable to his dignity to explain his sentiments in writing, than, being present, to be forced to blush, either at the recital of his extraordinary favours to the state, or at the immoderate applause of the multitude, which would overwhelm his modesty with acclamations, and other signs of approbation. In the letter which he sent, and which was read to the assembly, was contained, first, a recapitulation of the several acts of kindness which he had shown to the Athenian state, as his ally; then, of the actions which he had performed against Philip; and lastly, an exhortation to "enter immediately on the war; while they had him (Attalus,) the Rhodians, and the Romans also to assist them;" not omitting to warn them, that "if they were backward now, they would hereafter wish, in vain, for the opportunity which they neglected." They then gave audience to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, to whom they were under a recent obligation for having retaken, and sent home, four of their ships of war, which had been lately seized by the Macedonians. War was determined upon against Philip with universal consent. Unbounded honours were conferred on king Attalus, and then on the Rhodians. At that time, mention was made of adding a tribe, which they were to call Attalis, to the ten ancient tribes; the Rhodian state was presented with a golden crown, as an acknowledgment of its bravery, and the inhabitants with the freedom of Athens, in like manner as Rhodes had formerly honoured that people. After this, king Attalus returned to Ægina, where his fleet lay. From Ægina, the Rhodians sailed to Cia, and thence to Rhodes, steering their course among the islands, all of which they brought to join in the alliance, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus, having sent messengers to Ætolia, and expecting ambassadors from thence, was detained at Ægina, for some time, in a state of inaction;

failing also in his endeavours to excite the Ætolians to arms, for they were rejoiced at having made peace with Macedon on any terms. Had Attalus and the Rhodians pressed Philip vigorously, they might have acquired the illustrious title of the deliverers of Greece, but by suffering him to pass over again into Hellespontus, and to strengthen himself by seizing the advantageous posts in Greece, they increased the difficulties of the war, and yielded up to the Romans the glory of having conducted and finished it.

XVI. Philip acted with a spirit more becoming a king; for, though he had found himself unequal to the forces of Attalus and the Rhodians, yet he was not dismayed, even by the prospect of an approaching war with the Romans. Sending Philocles, one of his generals, with two thousand foot and two hundred horse, to ravage the lands of the Athenians, he gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, with orders to sail to Maronea, and marched thither himself by land, with two thousand foot lightly equipped, and two hundred horse. Maronea he took at the first assault; and, afterwards, with a good deal of trouble, got possession of Ænus, which was at last betrayed to him by Ganymede, who commanded there for Ptolemy. He then seized on other forts, Cypselus, Doriscos, and Serpheus; and, advancing from thence to the Chersonesus, received Elæus and Alopeconnesus, which were surrendered by the inhabitants. Callipolis also, and Madytos, were given up to him, with several forts of but little consequence. The people of Abydus shut their gates against him, not suffering even his ambassadors to enter the place. The siege of this city detained Philip a long time; and it might have been relieved, if Attalus and the Rhodians had acted with any vigour. The king sent only three hundred men for a garrison, and the Rhodians one quadrireme from their fleet, although it was lying idle at Tenedos: and afterwards, when the besieged could with difficulty hold out any longer, Attalus, going over in person, did nothing more than show them some hope of relief being near, giving not any real assistance to these his allies either by land or sea.

XVII. At first the people of Abydus, by means of engines placed along the walls, not only prevented the approaches by land, but annoyed the enemy's ships in their station. Afterwards a part of the wall being thrown down,

and the assailants having penetrated by mines, to an inner wall, which had been hastily raised to oppose their entrance, the besieged sent ambassadors to the king to treat of terms of capitulation. They demanded permission to send away the Rhodian quadrireme, with the crew, and the troops of Attalus in the garrison; and that they themselves might depart from the city, each with one suit of apparel; but Philip's answer afforded no hopes of accommodation, unless they surrendered at discretion. When this was reported by their ambassadors, it so exasperated them, rousing at the same time their indignation and despair, that, seized with the same kind of fury which had possessed the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, and the free-born youths and virgins, and even the infants with their nurses, in the place of exercise; the gold and silver to be carried into the forum; their valuable garments to be put on board the Rhodian ship, and another from Cyzicum, which lay in the harbour; the priests and victims to be brought, and altars to be erected in the midst. There they appointed a select number, who, as soon as they should see the army of their friends cut off in defending the breach, were instantly to slay their wives and children; to throw into the sea the gold, silver, and apparel that was on board the ships, and to set fire to the buildings, public and private: and to the performance of this deed they were bound by an oath, the priests repeating before them the verses of execration. Those who were of an age capable of fighting then swore to continue the battle till they fell, unless victorious. These, mindful of the gods by whom they had sworn, maintained their ground with such obstinacy, that although the night would soon have put a stop to the fight, yet the king, terrified by their fury, first drew off his forces. The chief inhabitants, to whom the more shocking part of the plan had been given in charge, seeing that few survived the battle, and that these were exhausted by fatigue and wounds, sent the priests (having their heads bound with the fillets of suppliants,) at the dawn of the next day to surrender the city to Philip.

XVIII. Before the surrender, one of the Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Alexandria, Marcus Æmilius, being the youngest of them, in pursuance of a resolution which the three had jointly formed, on hearing of the present siege, came to Philip, and complained



of his having made war on Attalus and the Rhodians; and particularly of the attack on Abydus, in which he was then employed: and on Philip's saying that he had been forced into the war by Attalus and the Rhodians commencing hostilities against him,—“Did the people of Abydus, too,” said he, “commence hostilities against you?” To him, who was unaccustomed to hear truth, this language seemed too arrogant to be used to a king, and he answered,—“Your youth, the beauty of your form, and, above all, the name of Roman, render you too presumptuous. However, my first desire is, that you would observe the treaties, and continue in peace with me; but if you begin an attack, I am, on my part, determined to prove that the kingdom and name of the Macedonians is not less formidable in war than that of the Romans.” Having dismissed the ambassadors in this manner, Philip got possession of the gold and silver which had been thrown together in a heap, but was disappointed of his booty with respect to prisoners: for such violent frenzy had seized the multitude, that, on a sudden, taking up a persuasion that they were guilty of treachery towards those who had fallen in the battle, and upbraiding one another with perjury, especially the priests, who would surrender alive to the enemy those persons whom they themselves had devoted, they all at once ran different ways to put their wives and children to death; and then they put an end to their own lives by every possible method. The king, astonished at their madness, restrained the violence of his soldiers, and said, “that he would allow the people of Abydus three days to die in;” and, during this space, the vanquished perpetrated more deeds of cruelty on themselves, than the enraged conquerors would have committed; nor did any one of them come into the enemy's hands alive, except such as were in chains, or under some other insuperable restraint. Philip, leaving a garrison in Abydus, returned to his kingdom; and, just when he had been encouraged by the destruction of the people of Abydus, to proceed in the war against Rome, as Hannibal had been by the destruction of Saguntum, he was met by couriers, with intelligence that the consul was already in Epirus, and had drawn his land forces to Apollonia, and his fleet to Corcyra, into winter quarters.

XIX. In the mean time, the ambassadors who had been sent into Africa, on the affair

of Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, received from the Carthaginians this answer: that “it was not in their power to do more than to inflict on him the punishment of exile, and to confiscate his effects; that they had delivered up all the deserters and fugitives, whom, on a diligent inquiry, they had been able to discover, and would send ambassadors to Rome, to satisfy the senate on that head.” They sent two hundred thousand measures of wheat to Rome, and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. From thence the ambassadors proceeded into Numidia, to the kings; delivered to Masinissa the presents and the message according to their instructions, and out of two thousand Numidian horsemen, which he offered, accepted one thousand. Masinissa superintended in person the embarkation of these, and sent them, with two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley, into Macedonia. The third commission which they had to execute was with Vermina. He advanced to meet them, as far as the utmost limits of his kingdom, and left it to themselves to prescribe such conditions of peace as they thought proper, declaring, that “he should consider any peace with the Roman people as just and advantageous.” The terms were then settled, and he was ordered to send ambassadors to Rome to procure a ratification of the treaty.

XX. About the same time, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, proconsul, came home from Spain; and having laid before the senate an account of his brave and successful conduct, during the course of many years, demanded that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph. The senate, on this, gave their opinion, that “his services were, indeed, deserving of a triumph; but that they had no precedent left them by their ancestors, of any person enjoying a triumph, who was not, at the time of performing the service, on account of which he claimed that honour, either dictator, consul, or prætor; that he had held the province of Spain in quality of proconsul, and not of consul, or prætor.” They determined, however, that he might enter the city in ovation. Against this, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, tribune of the people, protested, alleging, that such proceedings would be no less unprecedented, and contrary to the practice of their ancestors, than the other; but, overcome at length by the unanimous desire of the senate, the tribune

withdrew his opposition, and Lucius Lentulus entered the city in ovation. He carried to the treasury forty-four thousand pounds weight of silver, and two thousand four hundred pounds weight of gold. To each of the soldiers he distributed, of the spoil, one hundred and twenty *asses*.<sup>1</sup>

XXI. The consular army had, by this time, removed from Arretium to Ariminum, and the five thousand Latine confederates had gone from Gaul into Etruria. Lucius Furius, therefore, advanced from Ariminum, by forced marches, against the Gauls, who were then besieging Cremona, and pitched his camp at the distance of one mile and a half from the enemy. Furius had an excellent opportunity of striking an important blow, had he, without halting, led his troops directly to attack their camp; they were scattered and dispersed through the country; and the guard, which they had left, was very insufficient; but he was apprehensive that his men were too much fatigued by their hasty march. The Gauls, recalled from the fields by the shouts of their party, returned to the camp without seizing the booty within their reach, and, next day, marched out to offer battle; the Roman did not decline the combat, but had scarcely time to make the necessary dispositions, so rapidly did the enemy advance to the fight. The right brigade (for he had the troops of the allies divided into brigades) was placed in the first line, the two Roman legions in reserve. Marcus Furius was at the head of the right brigade, Marcus Cæcilius of the legions, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry: these were all lieutenant-generals. Two other lieutenant-generals, Cneius Lætorius and Publius Titinnius, the prætor kept near himself, that, with their assistance, he might observe, and take proper measures against any sudden attack. At first, the Gauls, bending their whole force to one point, were in hopes of being able to overwhelm, and trample under foot, the right brigade, which was in the van; but not succeeding, they endeavoured to turn round the flanks, and to surround their enemy's line, which, considering the multitude of their forces, and the small number of the others, seemed easy to be done. On observing this, the prætor, in order to extend his own line, brought up the two legions from the reserve, and placed them on the right and left of

the brigade which was engaged in the van; vowing a temple to Jupiter, if he should on that day prove victorious. To Lucius Valerius he gave orders, to make the horsemen of the two legions on one flank, and the cavalry of the allies on the other, charge the wings of the enemy, and not suffer them to come round to his rear. At the same time, observing that the centre of their line was weakened, from having extended the wings, he directed his men to make an attack there in close order, and to break through their ranks. The wings were routed by the cavalry, and, at the same time, the centre by the foot. Being worsted in all parts with great slaughter, the Gauls quickly turned their backs, and fled to their camp in hurry and confusion. The cavalry pursued them; and the legions, coming up in a short time after, assaulted the camp, from whence there did not escape so many as six thousand men. There were slain and taken above thirty-five thousand, with eighty standards, and above two hundred Gallic waggons laden with booty of all kinds. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, fell that day, and three distinguished generals of the Gauls. The prisoners taken at Placentia, to the number of two thousand free men, were restored to the colony.

XXII. This was an important victory, and caused great joy at Rome. On receipt of the prætor's letter, a supplication for three days was decreed. In that battle, there fell of the Romans and allies two thousand, most of them in the right brigade, against which, in the first onset, the most violent efforts of the enemy had been directed. Although the prætor had brought the war almost to a conclusion, yet the consul, Cneius Aurelius, having finished the business which required his attendance at Rome, set out for Gaul, and received the victorious army from the prætor. The other consul arriving in his province towards the end of autumn, passed the winter in the neighbourhood of Apollonia. Caius Claudius, and the Roman triremes which had been sent to Athens from the fleet that was laid up at Corcyra, as was mentioned above, arriving at Piræus, greatly revived the hopes of their allies, who were beginning to give way to despair. Their arrival not only put a stop to the inroads by land, which used to be made from Corinth through Megara, but so terrified the pirates from Chalcis, who had been accustomed to infest both the Athenian sea and coast, that they



dared not venture round the promontory of Sunium, nor even trust themselves out of the straits of the Euripus. In addition to these came three quadriremes from Rhodes, the Athenians having three open ships, which they had equipped for the protection of their lands on the coast. While Claudius thought, that if he were able with his fleet to give security to the Athenians, it was as much as could be expected at present. Fortune threw in his way an opportunity of accomplishing an enterprise of greater moment.

XXIII. Some exiles driven from Chalcis, by ill treatment received from the king's party, brought intelligence, that the place might be taken without even a contest; for the Macedonians, being under no immediate apprehension from an enemy, were straying idly about the country; and the townsmen, depending on the Macedonian garrison, neglected the guard of the city. Claudius, in consequence of this, set out, and though he arrived at Sunium early enough to have sailed forward to the entrance of the strait of Eubœa, yet fearing that, on doubling the promontory, he might be descried by the enemy, he lay by with the fleet until night. As soon as it grew dark he began to move, and, favoured by a calm, arrived at Chalcis a little before day; and then, approaching the city, on a side where it was thinly inhabited, with a small party of soldiers, and by means of scaling ladders, he got possession of the nearest tower, and the wall on each side. Finding in some places the guards asleep, and other parts left without any watch, they advanced to the more populous parts of the town, and having slain the sentinels, and broke open a gate, they gave an entrance to the main body of the troops. These immediately spread themselves through all parts of the city, and increased the tumult by setting fire to the buildings round the forum, by which means both the granaries belonging to the king, and his armoury, with a vast store of machines and engines, were reduced to ashes. Then commenced a general slaughter of those who fled, as well as of those who made resistance; and after having either put to the sword or driven out every one who was of an age fit to bear arms, (Sopater also, the Acarnanian, who commanded the garrison, being slain,) they first collected all the spoils in the forum, and then carried it on board the ships. The prison, too, was forced open by the Rhodians, and those

whom Philip had shut up there, were set at liberty. They next pulled down and mutilated the statues of the king; and then, on a signal being given for a retreat, reembarked and returned to Piræus, from whence they had set out. If there had been a sufficient number of Roman soldiers to have kept possession of Chalcis, without stripping Athens of a proper garrison, that city and the command of the Euripus would have been a most important advantage at the commencement of the war; for as the pass of Thermopylæ is the principal barrier of Greece by land, so is the strait of the Euripus by sea.

XXIV. Philip was then at Demetrias, and as soon as the news arrived there of the calamity which had befallen the city of his allies, although it was too late to carry assistance to those who were already ruined, yet anxious to accomplish what was next to assistance, revenge, he set out instantly with five thousand foot lightly equipped, and three hundred horse. With a speed almost equal to that of racing, he hastened to Chalcis, not doubting but that he should be able to surprise the Romans. Finding himself disappointed, and that his coming answered no other end than to give him a melancholy view of the smoking ruins of that friendly city, (so few being left, that they were scarcely sufficient to bury those who had fallen by the sword of the enemy,) with the same rapid haste which he had used in coming, he crossed the Euripus by the bridge, and led his troops through Bœotia to Athens, in hopes that a similar attempt might be attended by a similar issue. And he would have succeeded, had not a scout (one of those whom the Greeks call day-runners,<sup>1</sup> because they run through a journey of great length in one day), deserving from his post of observation the king's army in its march, set out at midnight, and arrived before them at Athens. The same sleep, and the same negligence, prevailed there which had proved the ruin of Chalcis a few days before. Roused, however, by the alarming intelligence, the prætor of the Athenians, and Dioxippus, commander of a cohort of mercenary auxiliaries, called the soldiers together in the forum, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm from the citadel, that all might be informed of the approach of the enemy. On which the people ran from all quarters to the gates, and after-

<sup>1</sup> Hemerodromoi.

wards to the walls. In a few hours after, and still some time before day, Philip approached the city, and observing a great number of lights, and hearing the noise of the men hurrying to and fro, as usual on such an alarm, he halted his troops, and ordered them to sit down and take some rest; resolving to use open force, since his design of surprise had not succeeded. Accordingly he advanced on the side of Dipylos, or the double gate, which being the principal entrance of the city, is somewhat larger and wider than the rest. Both within and without the streets are wide, so that the townsmen could form their troops from the forum to the gate, while on the outside, a road of about a mile in length, leading to the school of the academy, afforded open room to the foot and horse of the enemy. The Athenians, who had formed their troops within the gate, marched out with Attalus's garrison, and the cohort of Dioxippus, along that road. This Philip observed, and thinking that he had the enemy in his power, and might now satisfy his revenge in their destruction, and which he had long wished for, (being more incensed against them than any of the Grecian states,) he exhorted his men to keep their eyes on him during the fight, and to take notice, that wherever the king was, there the standards and the army ought to be. He then spurred on his horse, animated not only with resentment, but with a desire of gaining honour, reckoning it a glorious opportunity of displaying his prowess, in the view of an immense crowd which covered the walls, many of them for the purpose of beholding the engagement. Advancing far before the line, and, with a small body of horse, rushing into the midst of the enemy, he inspired his men with great ardour, and the Athenians with terror. Having wounded many with his own hand, both in close fight and with missive weapons, and driven them back within the gate, he still pursued them closely; and having made greater slaughter among them while embarrassed in the narrow pass, rash as the attempt was, he yet retired unmolested: because those who were in the towers withheld their weapons lest they should hit their friends, who were mingled in confusion among their enemies. The Athenians, after this, confining their troops within the walls, Philip sounded a retreat, and pitched his camp at Cynosarges, a temple of Hercules, and a school surrounded by a grove. But Cynosarges, and Lycæum, and whatever

was sacred or pleasant in the neighbourhood of the city, he burned to the ground, and levelled not only the houses, but sepulchres, paying no regard, in the violence of his rage, to any privilege either of men or gods.

XXV. Next day, the gates having at first been shut, and afterwards suddenly thrown open, in consequence of a body of Attalus's troops from Ægina, and the Romans from Piræus, having entered the city, the king removed his camp to the distance of about three miles. From thence he proceeded to Eleusis, in hopes of surprising the temple, and a fort which overlooks and surrounds it; but, finding that the guards were attentive, and that the fleet was coming from Piræus to support them, he laid aside the design, and led his troops, first to Megara, and then to Corinth; where, on hearing that the council of the Achæans was then sitting at Argos, he went and joined the assembly, to the surprise of that people. They were at the time employed in forming measures for a war against Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; who (observing, on the command being transferred from Philopemen to Cycliades, a general much inferior to him, that the confederates of the Achæans were falling off,) had renewed the war, and besides ravaging the territories of his neighbours, was become formidable even to the cities. While they were deliberating what number of men should be raised out of each of the states to oppose this enemy, Philip promised that he would relieve them from all anxiety, as far as concerned Nabis and the Lacedæmonians; and that he would not only secure the lands of their allies from devastation, but transfer the whole terror of the war on Laconia itself, by leading his army thither instantly. This discourse being received with general approbation, he added,—“It is but reasonable, however, that while I am employed in protecting your property by my arms, my own should not be exposed without defence; therefore, if you think proper, provide such a number of troops, as will be sufficient to secure Orcus, Chalcis, and Corinth; that my affairs, being in a state of safety behind me, I may proceed, without distraction, to attack Nabis and the Lacedæmonians. The Achæans were not ignorant of the tendency of these kind promises, and his offer of assistance against the Lacedæmonians, and that his view was to draw the Achæan youth out of Peloponnesus as hostages, that he might have it in his power to



embroil the nation in a war with the Romans. Cycliades, prætor, thinking that it would answer no purpose to expose his scheme by argument, said nothing more than that it was not allowable, according to the laws of the Achæans, to take any matter into consideration except that on which they had been called together: and the decree for levying an army against Nabis being passed, he dismissed the assembly, after having presided in it with much resolution and public spirit, although, until that day, he had been reckoned a partizan of the king. Philip, grievously disappointed, after having collected a few voluntary soldiers, returned to Corinth, and from thence into the territories of Athens.

XXVI. While Philip was in Achaia, Philocles, one of the generals, marching from Eubœa with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, intending to lay waste the territories of the Athenians, crossed the forest of Cithæron opposite to Eleusis. Despatching half of his troops, to make depredations in all parts of the country, he lay concealed with the remainder in a place convenient for an ambush; in order that if any attack should be made from the fort at Eleusis on his men employed in plundering, he might suddenly fall upon the enemy unawares, and while they were in disorder. His stratagem did not escape discovery: wherefore, calling back the soldiers, who had gone different ways in pursuit of booty, and drawing them up in order, he advanced to assault the fort at Eleusis; but being repulsed from thence with many wounds, he joined Philip on his return from Achaia, who was also induced to a similar attempt: but the Roman ships coming from Piræus, and a body of forces being thrown into the fort, he was compelled to relinquish the design. On this the king, dividing his army, sent Philocles with one part to Athens, and went himself with the other to Piræus; that, while his general, by advancing to the walls and threatening an assault, should keep the Athenians within the city, he might be able to make himself master of the harbour, which he supposed would be left with only a slight garrison. But he found the attack of Piræus no less difficult than that of Eleusis, the same persons acting in its defence. He therefore hastily led his troops to Athens, and being repulsed by a sudden sally of both foot and horse, who engaged him in the narrow ground, inclosed by the half-ruined wall, which, with two arms, joins Piræus to Athens,

he laid aside the scheme of attacking the city and, dividing his forces again with Philocles, set out to complete the devastation of the country. As, in his former ravages, he had employed himself in levelling the sepulchres round the city, so now, not to leave any thing unviolated, he ordered the temples of the gods, of which they had one consecrated in every village, to be demolished and burned. The country of Attica afforded ample matter for the exercise of this barbarous rage: for it was highly embellished with works of that kind, having plenty of marble, and abounding with artists of exquisite ingenuity. Nor was he satisfied with merely destroying the temples themselves, and overthrowing the images, but he ordered even the stones to be broken, lest, remaining whole, they should give a degree of grandeur to the ruins; and then, his rage not being satiated, but no object remaining on which it could be exercised, he retired into Boeotia, without having performed in Greece any thing else worth mention.

XXVII. The consul, Sulpicius, who was at that time encamped on the river Apsus, between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, having ordered Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, thither, sent him with part of the forces to lay waste the enemy's country. Apustius, after ravaging the frontiers of Macedonia, and having, at the first assault, taken the forts of Corragos, Gerunios, and Orgessos, came to Antipatria, a city situated in a narrow vale; where, at first inviting the leading men to a conference, he endeavoured to prevail on them to put themselves under the protection of the Romans; but finding that from confidence in the size, fortifications, and situation of their city, they paid no regard to his discourse, he attacked the place by force of arms, and took it by assault: then, putting all the young men to the sword, and giving up the entire spoil to his soldiers, he razed the walls, and burned the buildings. This proceeding spread such terror, that Codrion, a strong and well fortified town, surrendered to the Romans without a struggle. Leaving a garrison there, he took Ilion by force, a name better known than the town, on account of that of the same denomination in Asia. As the lieutenant-general was returning to the consul with a great quantity of spoil, Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, falling on his rear, in its passage over a river, threw it into disorder. On hearing the shouting and tumult, Apustius rode back in full speed, ordered the troops to

face about, and drew them up in order, with the baggage in the centre. The king's troops could not support the onset of the Roman soldiers: so that many of them were slain, and more made prisoners. The lieutenant-general having brought back the army without loss, to the consul, was ordered to return immediately to the fleet.

XXVIII. The war commencing thus brilliantly with this successful expedition, several petty kings and princes, whose dominions bordered on Macedonia, came to the Roman camp: Pleuratus, son of Scerdilædus and Amynder, king of the Athamanians; and from the Dardanians, Bato, son of Longarus. This Longarus had in his own quarrel, supported a war against Demetrius, father of Philip. To their offers of aid, the consul answered, that he would make use of the assistance of the Dardanians, and of Pleuratus, when he should lead his troops into Macedonia. To Amynder he allotted the part of exciting the Ætolians to war. To the ambassadors of Attalus, (for they also had come at the same time,) he gave directions that the king should wait at Ægina, where he wintered, for the arrival of the Roman fleet; and when joined by that, he should, as before, harass Philip by such enterprises as he could undertake by sea. To the Rhodians, also, an embassy was sent, to engage them to contribute their share towards carrying on the war. Nor was Philip, who had by this time arrived in Macedonia, remiss in his preparations for the campaign. He sent his son Perseus, then very young, with part of his forces to block up the pass near Pelagonia, appointing persons out of the number of his friends to attend him, and direct his inexperienced age. Sciathus and Peparethus, no inconsiderable cities, he demolished, fearing they might fall a prey to the enemy's fleet; despatching at the same time ambassadors to the Ætolians, lest that restless nation might change sides on the arrival of the Romans.

XXIX. The assembly of the Ætolians, which they call Panætolium, was to meet on a certain day. In order to be present at this, the king's ambassadors hastened their journey, and Lucius Furius Purpureo also arrived, being sent in like capacity by the consul. Ambassadors from Athens, likewise, came to this assembly. The Macedonians were first heard, as with them the latest treaty had been made; and they declared, that "as no change of cir-

cumstances had occurred, they had nothing new to introduce; for the same reasons which had induced the Ætolians to make peace with Philip, after experiencing the unprofitableness of an alliance with the Romans, should engage them to preserve it, now that it was established. Do you rather choose," said one of the ambassadors, "to imitate the inconsistency, or levity, shall I call it, of the Romans, who ordered this answer to be given to your ambassadors at Rome: 'Why, Ætolians, do you apply to us, when, without our approbation, you have made peace with Philip?' Yet these same people now require that you should, in conjunction with them, wage war against Philip. Formerly, too, it was pretended that they took arms on your account, and in your defence against Philip: now they do not allow you to continue at peace with him. To assist Messana, they first embarked for Sicily; and a second time to vindicate the liberty of Syracuse, oppressed by the Carthaginians. Both Messana and Syracuse, and all Sicily, they hold in their own possession, and have reduced it into a tributary province under their axes and rods. You imagine, perhaps, that in the same manner as you hold an assembly at Naupactus, according to your own laws, under magistrates of your own appointment, at liberty to choose allies and enemies, and to have peace or war at your own option, so the assembly of the states of Sicily is summoned to Syracuse, or Messana, or Lilybæum. No, a Roman prætor presides at the meeting; at his command they assemble; they behold him, attended by his lictors, seated on a lofty throne, issuing his haughty edicts. His rods are ready for their backs, his axes for their necks, and every year they are allotted a different master. Neither ought they, nor can they, wonder at this, when they see all the cities of Italy bending under the same yoke,—Rhegium, Tarentum, Capua, not to mention those in their own neighbourhood, out of the ruins of which their city of Rome grew into power. Capua indeed subsists, the grave and monument of the Campanian people, who were either cut off or driven into banishment; the mutilated carcass of a city, without senate, without commons, without magistrates; a sort of prodigy, the leaving which to be inhabited in this manner, showed more cruelty than if it had been razed to the ground. If foreigners who are separated from us to a greater distance by their language, manners, and laws, than by the



length of sea and land, are allowed to get footing here, it is madness to hope that any thing will continue in its present state. Does your liberty appear to be in any degree of danger from the government of Philip, who at a time when he was justly incensed, demanded nothing more of you than peace; and at present requires no more than the observance of the peace which he agreed to? Accustom foreign legions to these countries, and receive the yoke; too late and in vain, will you look for an alliance with Philip, when you will have become a property of the Romans. Trifling causes occasionally unite and disunite the *Ætoli*ans, *Acarnanians*, and *Macedonians*, men speaking the same language. With foreigners, with barbarians, all Greeks have, and ever will have, eternal war: because they are enemies by nature, which is always the same, and not from causes which change with the times. I conclude my discourse with the same argument with which I began. Three years since, the same persons, assembled in this same place, determined on peace with the same Philip, contrary to the inclinations of the same Romans, who now wish that the peace should be broken, after it has been adjusted and ratified. In the subject of your deliberation, fortune has made no change; why you should make any, I do not see."

XXX. Next, after the *Macedonians*, with the consent and at the desire of the *Romans*, the *Athenians* were introduced; who, having suffered grievously, could, with the greater justice, inveigh against the cruelty and inhumanity of the king. They represented, in a deplorable light, the miserable devastation and ruin of their country; adding, that, "they did not complain on account of having, from an enemy, suffered hostile treatment; for there were certain rights of war, according to which, as it was just to act, so it was just to endure. Their crops being burned, their houses demolished, their men and cattle carried off as spoil, were to be considered, rather as misfortunes to the sufferer, than as ill-treatment. But of this they had good reason to complain, that he who called the *Romans* foreigners and barbarians, had so atrociously violated, himself, all rights both divine and human, as, in his former inroad, to have waged an impious war against the infernal gods, in the latter against those above. That every sepulchre and monument within their country was demolished, the graves torn open, and the bones left

uncovered. There had been several temples, which, in former times, when their ancestors dwelt in the country in their separate districts, had been consecrated in each of their little forts and villages, and which, even after they were incorporated into one city, they did not neglect or forsake. Every one of these sacred edifices had Philip destroyed by fire, and left the images of the gods lying scorched and mutilated among the prostrated pillars of the temples. Such as he had rendered the country of *Attica*, formerly opulent, and adorned with improvements, such, if he were suffered, would he render *Ætolia* and every part of *Greece*. That *Athens*, also, would have been reduced to the same ruinous state, if the *Romans* had not come to its relief: for he had shown the same wicked rage against the gods, who are the guardians of the city, and *Minerva* who presides over the citadel; the same against the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*; the same against *Jupiter* and *Minerva* at *Piræus*. In a word, having been repelled by force of arms, not only from their temples, but even from their walls, he had vented his fury on those sacred edifices, which had no defence but in the respect due to religion. They therefore entreated and besought the *Ætoli*ans, that, compassionating the *Athenians*, and following the guidance of the gods, and, under them, of the *Romans*, who, next to the gods, possessed the greatest power, they would take part in the war."

XXXI. The *Roman* ambassador then addressed them to this purport: "The *Macedonians*, first, and afterwards, the *Athenians*, have obliged me to change entirely the method of my discourse. For, on the one hand, the *Macedonians*, by introducing charges against the *Romans*, when I had come prepared to make complaint of the injuries committed by Philip against so many cities in alliance with us, have obliged me to think of defence rather than accusation; and, on the other hand, after the relation given by the *Athenians*, of his inhuman and impious crimes against the gods both celestial and infernal, what room is there left for me or any other, to make any addition to the charge? You are to suppose, that the same complaints are made by the *Cianians*, *Abydenians*, *Æneans*, *Maronites*, *Thasians*, *Parians*, *Samians*, *Larissenians*, *Messenians*, on the side of *Achaia*; and complaints, still heavier and more grievous, by those whom he had it more in his power to injure. For us

to those proceedings which he censures in us, if they are not found highly meritorious, let them not be defended. He has objected to us, Rhegium, and Capua, and Syracuse. As to Rhegium, during the war with Pyrrhus, a legion which, at the earnest request of the Rhegians themselves, we had sent thither as a garrison, wickedly possessed themselves of the city which they had been sent to defend. Did we then approve of that deed? or did we exert the force of our arms against that guilty legion, until we reduced them under our power; and then, after making them give satisfaction to the allies, by their stripes and the loss of their heads, restore to the Rhegians their city, their lands, and all their effects, together with their liberty and laws? To the Syracusans, when oppressed (and, to add to the indignity, by foreign tyrants), we lent assistance; and after enduring great fatigues in carrying on the siege of so strong a city, both by land and sea, for almost three years, (although the Syracusans themselves chose to continue in slavery to the tyrants, rather than to trust to us,) yet, becoming masters of the place, and by exertion of the same force setting it at liberty, we restored it to the inhabitants. At the same time, we do not deny that Sicily is our province, and that the states which sided with the Carthaginians, and, in conjunction with them, waged war against us, pay us tribute and taxes; on the contrary, we wish that you and all nations should know, that the condition of each is such as it has deserved at our hands: and ought we to repent of the punishment inflicted on the Campanians, of which even they themselves cannot complain? These men, after we had on their account carried on war against the Samnites for near seventy years, with great loss on our side; had united them to ourselves, first by treaty, and then by intermarriages, and the consequent affinities; and lastly, by admitting them to a participation of the rights of our state, yet, in the time of our adversity, were the first of all the states of Italy which revolted to Hannibal, after basely putting our garrison to death, and afterwards, through resentment at being besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor one man of them had been left remaining, who could take offence, or consider them as treated with more severity than they had deserved? From consciousness of guilt, greater numbers of them perished by their own

hands, than by the punishments inflicted by us. And while from the rest we took away the town and the lands, still we left them a place to dwell in, we suffered the city which partook not of the guilt to stand uninjured; so that there is not visible this day, any trace of its having been besieged or taken. But why do I speak of Capua, when even to vanquished Carthage we granted peace and liberty? The greatest danger is, that by our too great readiness to pardon such, we may encourage others to try the fortune of war against us. Let so much suffice in our defence, and against Philip, whose domestic crimes, whose parricides and murders of his relations and friends, and whose lust, more disgraceful to human nature, if possible, than his cruelty, you, as being nearer to Macedonia, are better acquainted with. As to what concerns you, Ætolians, we entered into a war with Philip on your account: you made peace with him without consulting us. Perhaps you will say, that while we were occupied in the Punic war, you were constrained by fear to accept terms of pacification, from him who possessed superior power; and that on our side, pressed by more urgent affairs, we suspended our operations in a war which you had laid aside. At present, as we, having, by the favour of the gods, brought the Punic war to a conclusion, have fallen on Macedonia with the whole weight of our power, so you have an opportunity offered you of regaining a place in our friendship and alliance, unless you choose to perish with Philip, rather than to conquer with the Romans."

XXXII. After this discourse of the ambassador, the inclinations of all leaning towards the Romans, Damocritus, prætor of the Ætolians, (who, it was reported, had received money from the king,) without seeming to favour either party, said,—that "in consultations wherein the public safety was deeply interested, nothing was so injurious as haste. That repentance, indeed, generally followed, and that quickly, but yet too late and unavailing; because designs carried on with precipitation could not be recalled, nor matters brought back to their original state. The time, however, for determining the point under consideration, which, for his part, he thought should not be too early, might yet immediately be fixed in this manner. As it had been provided by the laws, that no determination should be made concerning peace or war, except in the Panæ-



tolie or Pylaic councils; let them immediately pass a decree, that the prætor, when he chooses to treat of either, may have full authority to summon a council; and that whatever shall be then debated and decreed, shall be, to all intents and purposes, legal and valid, as if it had been transacted in the Panætolic or Pylaic assembly." And thus dismissing the ambassadors, without coming to any resolution, he said, that therein he acted most prudently for the interest of the state; for the Ætolians would have it in their power to join in alliance with whichever of the parties should be more successful in the war. Nothing further was done in the assembly.

XXXIII. Meanwhile Philip was making vigorous preparations for carrying on the war both by sea and land. His naval forces he drew together at Demetrias in Thessaly; supposing that Attalus, and the Roman fleet, would move from Ægina in the beginning of the spring. He gave the command of the fleet and of the sea-coast to Heraclides, to whom he had formerly intrusted it. The equipment of the land-forces he took care of in person; and thought that he had deprived the Romans of two powerful auxiliaries, the Ætolians on the one side, and the Dardanians on the other, by making his son Perseus block up the pass at Pelagonia. The consul was employed, not in preparations, but in the operations of war. He led his army through the country of the Dassaretians, leaving the corn untouched, which he had brought from his winter-quarters, for the fields afforded supplies sufficient for the consumption of the troops. The towns and villages surrendered to him, some through inclination, others through fear; some were taken by assault, others were found deserted, the barbarians flying to the neighbouring mountains. He fixed a standing camp at Lycus near the river Beous, and from thence sent to bring in corn from the magazines of the Dassaretians. Philip saw the whole country filled with consternation, and not knowing the designs of the consul, he sent a party of horse to discover his route. Sulpicius was in the same state of uncertainty; he knew that the king had moved from his winter-quarters, but in what direction he had proceeded, he knew not: he also had sent horsemen to gain intelligence. These two parties having set out from opposite quarters, after wandering a long time among the Dassaretians, through unknown roads, fell at

length into the same road. Neither doubted, as soon as the noise of men and horses was heard at a distance, that an enemy approached: therefore before they came within sight of each other, they got their arms in readiness, and the moment they met, both hastened eagerly to engage. As they happened to be nearly equal in number and valour, being picked men on both sides, they fought during several hours with vigour, until fatigue, both of men and horses, put an end to the fight, without deciding the victory. Of the Macedonians, there fell forty horsemen; of the Romans thirty-five. Still, however, neither party was able to carry back any certain information in what quarter the camp of his enemy lay. But this was soon made known to them by deserters; of whom, either through restlessness, or the prospect of reward, a sufficient number are found, in every war, to discover the affairs of the contending parties.

XXXIV. Philip, judging that it would tend considerably towards conciliating the affections of his men, and induce them to face danger more readily on his account, if he bestowed some pains on the burial of the horsemen, who fell in that expedition, ordered them to be conveyed into the camp, in order that all might be spectators of the honours paid them at their funeral. Nothing is so uncertain, or so difficult to form a judgment of, as the minds of the multitude. The very measures which seem calculated to increase their alacrity, in exertions of every sort, often inspire them with fear and timidity. Accordingly those, who, being always accustomed to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, had only seen wounds made with javelins and arrows, seldom even by lances, came to behold bodies dismembered by the Spanish sword, some with their arms lopped off, or, the neck entirely cut through, heads severed from the trunk, and the bowels laid open, with other shocking circumstances which the present warfare had wrought: they therefore perceived, with horror, against what weapons and what men they were to fight. Even the king himself was seized with apprehensions, having never yet engaged the Romans in a regular battle. Wherefore, recalling his son, and the guard posted at the pass of Pelagonia, in order to strengthen his army by the addition of those troops, he thereby opened a passage into Macedonia for Pleuratus and the Dardanians. Then, taking deserters for

guides, he marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and, at the distance of somewhat more than two hundred paces from the Roman camp, and near Ithacus, he fortified a hill with a trench and rampart. From this place, taking a view of the Roman station in the valley beneath, he is said to have been struck with admiration, both at the general appearance of the camp, and the regular disposition of each particular part, distinguished by the order of the tents, and the intervals of the passages, and to have declared, that, certainly, that was not a camp of barbarians. For two days, the consul and the king, each waiting for the other's making some attempt, kept their troops within the ramparts. On the third day, the Roman led out all his forces, and offered battle.

XXXV. But the king, not daring to risk so hastily a general engagement, sent four hundred Trallians, who are a tribe of the Illyrians, as we have said in another place, and three hundred Cretans; adding to this body of infantry an equal number of horse, under the command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles honoured with the purple, to make an attack on the enemy's cavalry. When these troops arrived within a little more than five hundred paces, the Romans sent out the light-infantry, and two cohorts of horse, that both cavalry and infantry might be equal in number to the Macedonians. The king's troops expected that the method of fighting would be such as they had been accustomed to; that the horsemen, pursuing and retreating alternately, would at one time use their weapons, at another time turn their backs; that the agility of the Illyrians would be serviceable for excursions and sudden attacks, and that the Cretans might discharge their arrows as they advanced eagerly to the charge. But this plan of fighting was entirely disconcerted by the manner in which the Romans made their onset, which was not more brisk than it was obstinate: for the light-infantry, as if in a general line of battle, after discharging their javelins, carried on a close fight with their swords; and the horsemen, when they had once made a charge, stopping their horses, fought, some on horseback, while others dismounted and intermixed themselves with the foot. By this means neither were the king's cavalry, who were unaccustomed to a steady fight, a match for the others; nor were the infantry, who were unacquainted with any other

mode of fighting but that of skirmishing and irregular attacks, and were besides but half covered with the kind of harness which they used, at all equal to the Roman infantry, who carried a sword and buckler, and were furnished with proper armour, both to defend themselves, and to annoy the enemy: nor did they sustain the combat, but fled to their camp, trusting entirely to their speed for safety.

XXXVI. After an interval of one day, the king, resolving to make an attack with all his cavalry and light-armed infantry, had, during the night, placed in ambush, in a convenient place between the two camps, a body of targeteers, whom they call Peltastæ, and given orders to Athenagoras and the cavalry, if they found they had the advantage in the open fight, to pursue their success; if not, that they should retreat leisurely, and by that means draw on the enemy to the place where the ambush lay. The cavalry accordingly did retreat; but the officers of the body of targeteers, by bringing forward their men before the time, and not waiting for the signal, as they ought, lost an opportunity of performing considerable service. The Romans having gained the victory in open fight, and also escaped the danger of the ambuscade, retired to their camp. Next day the consul marched out with all his forces, and offered battle, placing his elephants (which had been taken in the Punic war,) in the front of the foremost battalions, and which was the first time that the Romans made use of those creatures in the field. Finding that the king kept himself quiet behind his entrenchments, he advanced close up to them, upbraiding him with cowardice; and as, notwithstanding, he still declined an engagement, the consul, considering how dangerous foraging must be while the camps lay so near each other, where the soldiers, dispersed through the country, were liable to be suddenly attacked by the horse, removed his camp to a place called Octolophus, distant about eight miles, where he could forage with more safety. While the Romans were collecting corn in the adjacent fields, the king kept his men within the trenches, in order to increase both the negligence and confidence of the enemy. But, when he saw them scattered, he set out with all his cavalry, and the auxiliary Cretans, and marching with such speed that the swiftest footmen could, by running, but just keep up with the horse, he took post between the camp of the Ro-



mans and their foragers. Then, dividing the forces, he sent one part of them in quest of the marauders, with orders to give no quarter; with the other, he himself halted, and placed guards on the roads through which he supposed the enemy would fly back to their camp. The slaughter and flight of the provisioning party had continued for some time on all sides, and no intelligence of the misfortune had yet reached the Roman camp, because those who fled towards the camp, fell in with the guards, which the king had stationed to intercept them, and greater numbers were slain by those who were placed in the roads, than by those who had been sent out to attack them. At length, a few effected their escape, through the midst of the enemy's posts, but were so filled with terror, that they excited a general consternation in the camp, without being able to give any certain account of what was going on.

XXXVII. The consul, ordering the cavalry to carry aid to those who were in danger, in the best manner they could, drew out the legions from the camp, and led them in order of battle towards the enemy. The cavalry, taking different ways through the fields, missed the road, being deceived by the various shouts raised in several quarters. Some of them met with the enemy, and battles began in many places at once. The hottest part of the action was at the station where the king commanded; for the guard there was, in numbers both of horse and foot, almost a complete army; and, as they were posted on the middle road, the greatest number of the Romans fell in with them. The Macedonians had also the advantage in this, that the king himself was present to encourage them; and the Cretan auxiliaries, fighting in good order, and in a state of preparation, against troops disordered and irregular, wounded many at a distance, where no such danger was apprehended. If they had acted with prudence in the pursuit, they would have secured an advantage of great importance, not only in regard to the glory of the present contest, but to the general interest of the war; but, greedy of slaughter, and following with too much eagerness, they fell in with the advanced cohorts of the Romans under the military tribunes. The horsemen who were flying, as soon as they saw the ensigns of their friends, faced about against the enemy, now in disorder; so that in a moment's time the fortune of the bat-

tle was changed, those now turning their backs who had lately been the pursuers. Many were slain in close fight, many in the pursuit; nor was it by the sword alone that they perished; several being driven into morasses were, together with their horses, swallowed up in the deep mud. The king himself was in danger; for his horse falling, in consequence of a wound, threw him headlong to the ground, and he very narrowly escaped being overpowered before he could recover his feet. He owed his safety to a trooper, who instantly leaped from his horse, on which he mounted the affrighted king; himself, as he could not run so fast as to keep up with the horsemen, was slain by the enemy, who had collected about the place where Philip fell. The king, in his desperate flight, rode about among the morasses, some of which were easily passed, and others not; at length, when most men despaired of his ever returning, he arrived in safety at his camp. Two hundred Macedonian horsemen perished in that action; about one hundred were taken: eighty horses, richly caparisoned, were led off the field; at the same time the spoils of arms were also carried off.

XXXVIII. Some have found fault with the king, as guilty of rashness on that day; and with the consul, as not having pushed with spirit the advantage which he had gained. For Philip, they say, on his part, ought to have avoided coming to action, knowing that in a few days, the enemy, having exhausted all the adjacent country, must be reduced to the extremity of want; and that the consul, after having routed the Macedonian cavalry and light-infantry, and nearly taken the king himself, ought to have led on his troops directly to the enemy's camp, where, dismayed as they were, they could have made no stand, and that he might have finished the war in a moment's time. This, like most other matters, was easier in speculation than in practice. For, if the king had brought his infantry into the engagement, then, indeed, during the tumult, and while, vanquished and struck with dismay, they fled from the field into their entrenchments, (and even continued their flight from thence on seeing the victorious enemy mounting the ramparts,) the king's camp might have fallen into the Romans' possession. But as the infantry had remained in the camp, fresh and free from fatigue, with outposts before the gates, and guard properly disposed, what would he

have gained in having imitated the rashness of which the king had just now been guilty, by pursuing the routed horse? On the other side, the king's first plan of an attack on the foragers, while dispersed through the fields, was not injudicious, could he have satisfied himself with a moderate degree of success: and it is the less surprising, that he should have made a trial of fortune, as there was a report, that Pleuratus and the Dardanians had marched with very numerous forces, and had already passed into Macedonia; so that if he should be surrounded on all sides, there was reason to think that the Roman might put an end to the war without stirring from his seat. Philip, however, considered, that after his cavalry had been defeated in two engagements, he could with much less safety continue in the same post; accordingly, wishing to remove from thence, and, at the same, to keep the enemy in ignorance of his design, he sent a herald to the consul a little before sunset, to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the horsemen; and thus imposing on him, he began his march in silence, about the second watch, leaving a number of fires in all parts of his camp.

XXXIX. The consul had already retired to take refreshment, when he was told that the herald had arrived, and on what business; he gave him no other answer, than that he should be admitted to an audience early the next morning: by which means, Philip gained what he wanted,—the length of that night, and part of the following day, during which he might march his troops beyond the enemy's reach. He directed his route towards the mountains, a road which he knew the Romans with their heavy baggage would not attempt. The consul, having at the first light, dismissed the herald, with a grant of a truce, in a short time after discovered that the enemy had gone off; but not knowing what course to take in pursuit of them, he remained in the same camp for several days, which he employed in collecting forage. He then marched to Stubera, and brought thither, from Pelagonia, the corn that was in the fields. From thence he advanced to Pellina, not having yet discovered to what quarter the Macedonian had bent his course. Philip having at first fixed his camp at Bryanium, marched thence through cross-roads, and gave a sudden alarm to the enemy. The Romans, on this, removed from Pelina, and pitched their camp near the river Oshpagus. The king also sat down at a

small distance, forming his entrenchment on the bank of the river Erigonus. Having there received certain information, that the Romans intended to proceed to Eordæa, he marched away before them, in order to take possession of the defiles, and prevent the enemy from making their way, where the roads are confined in narrow straits. There, with much labour, he fortified some places with a rampart, others with a trench, others with stones heaped up, instead of walls, others with trees laid across, according as the situation required, or as materials lay convenient; and thus a road, in its own nature difficult, he rendered, as he imagined, impregnable by the works which he drew across every pass. The adjoining ground being mostly covered with woods, was exceedingly incommodious to the phalanx of the Macedonians, which is of no manner of use, except when they extend their very long spears before their shields, forming as it were a pallisade; to perform which, they require an open plain. The Thracians, too, were embarrassed by their lances, which also are of a great length, and were entangled among the branches that stood in their way on every side. The body of Cretans alone was not unserviceable; and yet even these, though in case of an attack made on them, they could to good purpose discharge their arrows against the horses or riders, where they were open to a wound, yet against the Roman shields they could do nothing, because they had neither strength sufficient to pierce through them, nor was there any part exposed at which they could aim. Perceiving, therefore, that kind of weapon to be useless, they annoyed the enemy with stones, which lay in plenty in all parts of the valley: the strokes made by these on their shields, with greater noise than injury, for a short time retarded the advance of the Romans; but quickly learning to despise these weapons also, some closing their shields in form of a tortoise, forced their way through the enemy in front; others having, by a short circuit, gained the summit of the hill, dislodged the dismayed Macedonians from their guards and posts, and even slew the greater part of them, the difficulties of the ground preventing their escape.

XL. Thus, with less opposition than they had expected to meet, they passed the defiles, and came to Eordæa; then, having laid waste the whole country, the consul withdrew into Elimeæ. From thence he made an irruption



into Orestis, and laid siege to the city Celetrum, situated in a peninsula: a lake surrounds the walls; and there is but one entrance from the mainland along a narrow isthmus. Relying on their situation, the townsmen at first shut the gates, and refused to submit; but afterwards, when they saw the troops in motion, and advancing under cover of their closed shields, and the isthmus, covered by the enemy marching in, their courage failed them, and they surrendered without hazarding a struggle. From Celetrum he advanced into the country of the Dassaretians, took the city Pelium by storm, carried off the slaves with the rest of the spoil, and discharging the freemen without ransom, restored the city to them, after placing a strong garrison in it, for it lay very conveniently for making inroads into Macedonia. Having thus carried devastation through the enemy's country, the consul led back his forces into those parts which were already reduced to obedience near Apollonia, from whence, at the beginning of the campaign, he had set out to begin his operations. Philip's attention had been drawn to other quarters by the Ætolians, Athamanians, and Dardanians: so many were the wars that started up on different sides of him. Against the Dardanians, who were now retiring out of Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, and ordered him to hang on their rear as they retreated; and, by cutting off their hindmost troops, make them more cautious for the future of leading out their armies from home. As to the Ætolians, Damocritus, their prætor, the same who at Naupactum had persuaded them to defer passing a decree concerning the war, had in the next meeting roused them to arms, after hearing of the battle between the cavalry at Octolophus; the irruption of the Dardanians and of Pleuratus, with the Illyrians, into Macedonia; of the arrival of the Roman fleet, too, at Oreus; and that Macedonia, besides being beset on all sides by so many nations, was in danger of being invested by sea also.

XLII. These reasons had brought back Damocritus and the Ætolians to the interest of the Romans. Marching out, therefore, in conjunction, with Amynder, king of the Athamanians, they laid siege to Cercinium. The inhabitants here had shut their gates, whether of their own choice or by compulsion is unknown, as they had a garrison of the king's

troops. However, in a few days, Cercinium was taken and burned; and after great slaughter had been made, those who survived, both free men and slaves, were carried off amongst other spoil. This caused such terror, as made all those who dwelt round the lake Bæbius, abandon their cities and fly to the mountains: and the Ætolians not finding booty, turned away from thence, and proceeded into Perrhæbia. There they took Cyretiaë by storm and sacked it without mercy. The inhabitants of Malloea making a voluntary submission, were received into alliance. From Perrhæbia, Amynder advised to march to Gomphi, because that city lies close to Athamania, and there was reason to think that it might be reduced without any great difficulty. But the Ætolians, for the sake of plunder, directed their march to the rich plains of Thessaly, Amynder following, though he did not approve either of their careless method of carrying on their depredations, or of their pitching their camp in any place where chance directed, without choice, and without taking any care to fortify it. Therefore, lest their rashness and negligence might be the cause of some misfortune to himself and his troops, when he saw them forming their camp in low grounds, under the city Phæcadus, he took possession, with his own troops, of an eminence about five hundred paces distant, which could be rendered secure by a slight fortification. The Ætolians seemed to have forgotten that they were in an enemy's country, excepting that they continued to plunder, some straggling in small parties without arms, others spending whole days and nights in drinking and sleeping in the camp, neglecting even to fix guards, when Philip unexpectedly came upon them. His approach being announced by those who had fled out of the fields in a fright, threw Damocritus and the rest of the officers into great confusion. It happened to be midday, and when most of the men after a hearty meal lay fast asleep. Their officers roused them, however, as fast as possible; ordered them to take arms; despatched some to recall those who were straggling through the fields in search of plunder, and so violent was their hurry, that many of the horsemen went out without their swords, and but few of them put on their corslets. After marching out in this precipitate manner, (the whole horse and foot not amounting to six hundred,) they met the king's cavalry, superior in number, in spirit, and in

arms. They were, therefore, routed at the first charge; and having scarcely attempted resistance returned to the camp in shameful flight. Several were slain; and some taken, having been cut off from the main body of the runaways.

XLII. Philip, when his troops had advanced almost to the rampart, ordered a retreat to be sounded, because both men and horses were fatigued, not so much by the action, as by the length of their march, and the extraordinary celerity with which they had made it. He therefore despatched the horsemen by troops, and the companies of light infantry in turn, for water; after which they took refreshment. The rest he kept on guard, under arms, waiting for the main body of the infantry, which had marched with less expedition, on account of the weight of their armour. As soon as these arrived, they also were ordered to fix their standards, and, laying down their arms before them, to take food in haste; sending two, or at most three, out of each company, to provide water. In the meantime the cavalry and light infantry stood in order, and ready, in case the enemy should make any motion. The *Ætoli*ans, as if resolved to defend their fortifications, (the multitude which had been scattered about the fields having, by this time, returned to the camp,) posted bodies of armed men at the gates, and on the rampart, and from this safe situation looked with a degree of confidence on the enemy, as long as they continued quiet. But, as soon as the troops of the Macedonians began to move, and to advance to the rampart, in order of battle, and ready for an assault, they all quickly abandoned their posts, and fled through the opposite part of the camp, to the eminence where the *Athamanians* were stationed. During their flight in this confusion, many of the *Ætoli*ans were slain, and many made prisoners. Philip doubted not, that, had there been day-light enough remaining, he should have been able to make himself master of the camp of the *Athamanians* also; but the day being spent in the fight, and in plundering the camp afterwards, he sat down under the eminence, in the adjacent plain, determined to attack the enemy at the first dawn. But the *Ætoli*ans, under the same apprehensions which had made them desert their camp, dispersed, and fled during the following night. *Amynder* was of the greatest service; for, by his directions, the *Athamanians*, who were ac-

quainted with the roads, conducted them into *Ætolia*, whilst the Macedonians pursued them over the highest mountains, through unknown paths. In this disorderly flight, a few, missing their way, fell into the hands of the Macedonian horsemen, whom Philip, at the first light, on seeing the eminence abandoned, had sent to infest them on their march.

XLIII. About the same time also, *Athenagoras*, one of the king's generals, overtaking the *Dardanians* in their retreat homeward, at first threw their rear into disorder: but these unexpectedly facing about, and forming their line, the fight became like a regular engagement. When the *Dardanians* began again to advance, the Macedonian cavalry and light-infantry harassed those who had no troops of that kind to aid them, and were, besides, burdened with unwieldy arms. The ground, too, favoured the assailants: very few were slain, but many wounded; none were taken, because they rarely quit their ranks, but both fight and retreat in a close body. Thus Philip, having checked the proceedings of those two nations by these well-timed expeditions, gained reparation for the damages sustained from the operations of the Romans; the enterprise being as spirited as the issue was successful. An accidental occurrence lessened the number of his enemies on the side of *Ætolia*. *Scopas*, a man of considerable influence in his own country, having been sent from *Alexandria* by king *Ptolemy*, with a great sum of gold, hired and carried away to *Egypt*, six thousand foot and some horse; nor would he have suffered one of the young *Ætoli*ans to remain at home, had not *Damocritus*, (it is not easy to say, whether out of zeal for the good of the nation, or out of opposition to *Scopas*, for not having secured his interest by presents,) by sometimes reminding them of the war with which they were threatened, at other times, of the solitary state in which their country would be left, detained some of them. Such were the actions of the Romans, and of Philip, during that summer.

XLIV. In the beginning of the same summer, the fleet under *Lucius Apustius*, lieutenant-general, setting sail from *Corcyra*, and passing by *Malea*, formed a junction with king *Attalus*, off *Scylla*um, which lies in the district of *Hermione*. The *Athenian* state, which had for a long time, through fear, restrained their animosity against Philip within some bounds, assuming confidence from the support now



afforded them, gave full scope to it without any reserve. There are never wanting in that city, orators, who are ready on every occasion to inflame the people; a kind of men, who, in all free states, and more particularly in that of Athens, where eloquence flourishes in the highest degree, are maintained by the favour of the multitude. These immediately proposed a decree, and the commons passed it, that "all the statues and images of Philip, with their inscriptions, and likewise those of all his ancestors of both sexes, should be removed and defaced; that the festival days, solemnities, and priests, which had been instituted in honour of him or them, should all be abolished; and that even the ground where any such statue had been set up, and inscribed with his name, should be held abominable." And it was resolved, that, "for the future, nothing which ought to be erected or dedicated in a place of purity should be there erected; and that the public priests, as often as they should pray for the people of Athens, for their allies, armies, and fleets, so often should they utter curses and execrations against Philip, his offspring, his kingdom, his forces by sea and land, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians." It was added to the decree, that, "if any person in future should make any proposal tending to throw disgrace and ignominy on Philip, the people of Athens would ratify it in its fullest extent: if, on the contrary, any one should, by word or deed, endeavour to lessen his ignominy, or to do him honour, that whoever slew such person should be justified in so doing." Lastly, a clause was annexed, that "all the decrees, formerly passed against the Pisistratidæ, should be in full force against Philip." Thus the Athenians waged war against Philip with writings and with words, in which alone their power consists.

XLV. Attalus and the Romans, having, from Hermione, proceeded first to Piræus, and staid there a few days, after being loaded with decrees of the Athenians, (in which the honours paid to their allies were as extravagant as the expressions of their resentment against their enemy had been,) sailed to Andros, and, coming to an anchor in the harbour called Gaureleos, sent persons to sound the inclinations of the townsmen, whether they chose voluntarily to surrender, rather than run the hazard of an assault. On their answering, that they were not at their own disposal, the citadel

being possessed by the king's troops, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant-general, landing their forces, with every thing requisite for attacking towns, made their approaches to the city on different sides. The Roman engines and arms, which they had never seen before, together with the spirit of the soldiers, so briskly approaching the walls, were particularly terrifying to the Greeks, insomuch that they immediately fled into the citadel, leaving the city in the power of the enemy. After holding out for two days in the citadel, relying more on the strength of the place than on their arms, on the third both they and the garrison capitulated, on condition of their being transported to Delium in Bœotia, and being each of them allowed a single suit of apparel. The island was yielded up by the Romans to king Attalus; the spoil, and the ornaments of the city, they themselves carried off. Attalus, desirous that the island, of which he had got possession, might not be quite deserted, persuaded almost all the Macedonians, and several of the Andrians, to remain there: and, in some time after, those who, according to the capitulation, had been transported to Delium, were induced to return from thence by the promises made them by the king, in which they were disposed the more readily to confide, by the ardent affection which they felt for their native country. From Andros the combined army passed over to Cythnus: there they spent several days, to no purpose, in attempting to get possession of the city; when, at length, finding it scarcely worth the trouble, they departed. At Prasias, a place on the main land of Attica, twenty barks of the Issæans joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the lands of the Carystians, the rest of the fleet lying at Geræstus, a noted harbour in Eubœa, until their return from Carystus: on which, setting sail altogether, and steering their course through the open sea, until they passed by Scyrus, they arrived at the island of Icus. Being detained there for a few days by a violent northerly wind, as soon as it abated, they passed over to Sciathus, a city which had been lately plundered and desolated by Philip. The soldiers, spreading themselves over the country, brought back to the ships corn and many other kinds of provisions. Plunder there was none, nor had the Greeks deserved to be plundered. Directing their course to Cassandrea, they first came to Mendis, a village on the coast of that state; and, intending from thence

to double the promontory, and bring round the fleet to the very walls of the city, they were near being buried in the waves by a furious storm. However, after being dispersed, and a great part of the ships having lost their rigging, they escaped on shore. This storm at sea was an omen of the kind of success which they were to meet on land; for, after collecting their vessels together, and landing their forces, having made an assault on the city, they were repulsed with considerable loss, there being a strong garrison of the king's troops in the place. Being thus obliged to retreat without accomplishing their design, they passed over to Canastrum in Pallene, and from thence, doubling the promontory of Torona, conducted the fleet to Acanthus. There they first laid waste the country, then stormed the city itself, and plundered it. They proceeded no farther, for their ships were now heavily laden with booty, but went back to Sciathus, and from Sciathus to Eubœa, whence they had first set out.

XLVI. Leaving the fleet there, they entered the Malian bay with ten light ships, in order to confer with the Ætoliens on the method of conducting the war. Sipyrhicas, the Ætolian, was at the head of the embassy that came to Heraclea, to hold a consultation with the king and the Roman lieutenant-general. They demanded of Attalus, that, in pursuance of the treaty, he should supply them with one thousand soldiers, which number he had engaged for on condition of their taking part in the war against Philip. This was refused to the Ætoliens, because on their part, they had formerly showed themselves unwilling to march out to ravage Macedonia, at a time when Philip, being employed near Pergamus in destroying by fire every thing sacred and profane, they might have compelled him to retire from thence, in order to preserve his own territories. Thus, instead of aid, the Ætoliens were dismissed with hopes, the Romans making them large promises. Apustius and Attalus returned to their ships, where they began to concert measures for the siege of Oreus. This city was well secured by fortifications; and also, since the attempt formerly made on it, by a strong garrison. After the taking of Andros, the combined fleet had been joined by twenty Rhodian ships, all decked vessels, under the command of Agesimbrotus. This squadron they sent to cruise off Zelasium, a promontory of Isthmia, very conveniently situate beyond

Demetrias, in order that, if the ships of the Macedonians should attempt to come out, they might be at hand to oppose them. Heraclides, the king's admiral, kept his fleet there, rather with a view of laying hold of any advantage which the negligence of the enemy might afford him, than with a design of employing open force. The Romans and king Attalus carried on their attacks against Oreus on different sides; the Romans against the citadel next to the sea, the king's troops against the lower part of the town, lying between the two citadels, where the city is also divided by a wall. As their posts were different, so were their methods of attack: the Romans made their approaches by means of covered galleries, some carried by men, others moving on wheels, applying also the ram to the walls; the king's troops, by throwing in weapons with the balista, catapulta, and every other kind of engine. They cast stones also of immense weight, formed mines, and made use of every expedient, which, on trial, had been found useful in the former siege. On the other side, the Macedonian garrison, in the town and the citadels, was not only more numerous than on the former occasion, but exerted themselves with greater spirit, in consequence of the reprimands which they had received from the king for their former misconduct, and also from remembrance both of his threats and promises with regard to their future behaviour; so that there was very little hope of its being speedily taken. The lieutenant-general thought, that, in the meantime, some other business might be accomplished; wherefore, leaving such a number of men as seemed sufficient to finish the works, he passed over to the nearest part of the continent, and, arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of Larissa, except the citadel,—not that celebrated city in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste. Attalus also surprised Ægeleos, where nothing was less apprehended than such an enterprise during the siege of another city. The works at Oreus had now begun to take effect, while the garrison within were almost spent with unremitted toil (keeping watch both by day and night,) and also with wounds. Part of the wall being loosened by the strokes of the ram, had fallen down in many places; and the Romans, during the night, broke into the citadel through the breach which lay over the harbour. Attalus, likewise, at the first light, on a signal given from the citadel by the Romans, assaulted the city on his side, where



great part of the walls had been levelled; on which the garrison and townsmen fled into the other citadel, and even that they surrendered in two days after. The city fell to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

XLVI. The autumnal equinox now approached, and the Eubœan gulf, called *Coela*, is reckoned dangerous by mariners. Choosing, therefore, to remove thence before the winter storms came on, they returned to Piræus, from whence they had set out for the campaign. Apustius, leaving there thirty ships, sailed by Malea to Corcyra. The king was delayed during the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, immediately after which he also retired into Asia, sending home Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians. Such, during that summer, were the proceedings, by sea and land, of the Roman consul and lieutenant-general, aided by Attalus and the Rhodians, against Philip and his allies. The other consul, Caius Aurelius, on coming into his province, and finding the war there already brought to a conclusion, did not dissemble his resentment against the prætor, for having proceeded to action in his absence; wherefore, sending him away to Etruria, he led on the legions into the enemy's country, where their operations, having no other object than booty, produced more of it than glory. Lucius Furius, finding nothing in Etruria that could give him employment, and at the same time fired with ambition of obtaining a triumph for his success against the Gauls, which he knew would be more easily accomplished in the absence of the consul, who envied and was enraged against him, came to Rome unexpectedly, and called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona; where, after making a recital of the services which he had performed, he demanded to be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

XLVIII. A great part of the senate, induced by their regard for him, and the importance of his services, showed an inclination to grant his request. The elder part refused to agree to such grant, both "because the army, with which he had acted, belonging to another; and because he had left his province through an ambitious desire of snatching that opportunity of procuring a triumph,—a conduct altogether unprecedented." The senators of consular rank particularly insisted, that "he ought to have waited for the consul; for that he

might, by pitching his camp near the city, and thereby securing the colony without coming to an engagement, have protracted the affair until his arrival; and that, what the prætor had not done, the senate ought to do; they should wait for the consul. After hearing the business discussed by the consul and prætor in their presence, they would be able, on better grounds, to form a judgment on the case." Great part were of opinion, that they ought to consider nothing but the service performed, and whether he had performed it while in office, and under his own auspices. For, "when of two colonies, which had been opposed, as barriers, to restrain the tumultuous inroads of the Gauls, one had been already sacked and burned, the flames being ready to spread (as if from an adjoining house) to the other, which lay so near, what ought the prætor to have done? If it was improper to enter on any action without the consul, then the senate had acted wrong in giving the army to the prætor; because, if they chose that the business should be performed, not under the prætor's auspices, but the consul's, they might have limited the decree in such a manner, that not the prætor, but the consul, should have the management of it; or else the consul had acted wrong, who after ordering the army to remove from Etruria into Gaul, did not meet it at Ariminum, in order to be present at operations, which were not allowed to be performed without him. But the exigencies of war do not wait for the delays and procrastinations of commanders; and battles must be sometimes fought, not because commanders choose it, but because the enemy compels it. The fight itself, and the issue of the fight, is what ought to be regarded now. The enemy were routed and slain, their camp taken and plundered, the colony relieved from a siege, the prisoners taken from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, and an end put to the war in one battle. And not only men rejoiced at this victory, but the immortal gods also had supplications paid to them, for the space of three days, on account of the business of the state having been wisely and successfully, not rashly and unfortunately, conducted by Lucius Furius, prætor. Besides, the Gallic wars were, by some fatality, destined to the Furian family."

XLIX. By means of discourses of this kind, made by him and his friends, the interest

of the prætor, who was present, prevailed over the respect due to the dignity of the absent consul, and the majority decreed a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius, prætor, during his office, triumphed over the Gauls. He carried into the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand *asses*,<sup>1</sup> and one hundred and seventy thousand pounds' weight of silver. There were neither any prisoners led before his chariot, nor spoils carried before him, nor did any soldiers follow him. It appeared that every thing, except the victory, belonged to the consul. Publius Scipio then celebrated, in a magnificent manner, the games which he had vowed when consul in Africa; and with respect to the lands for his soldiers, it was decreed, that whatever number of years each of them had served in Spain or in Africa, he should, for every year, receive two acres; and that ten commissioners should make the distribution. Three commissioners were then appointed to fill up the number of colonists at Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been reduced in the war with Hannibal: Caius Terrentius Varro, Titus Quintius Flaminius, Publius Cornelius, son of Cneius Scipio, were the commissioners who enrolled the colonists for Venusia. During the same year, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who in the quality of proconsul, commanded in Spain, routed a numerous army of the enemy in the territory of Sedeta; in which battle, it is said, that fifteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and seventy-eight military standards taken. The consul Caius Aurelius, on returning from his province to Rome, to hold the elections, made heavy complaints, not on the subject on which they had supposed he would, that the senate had not waited for his coming, nor allowed him an opportunity of arguing the matter with the prætor; but, that "the senate had decreed a triumph in such a manner, without hearing the report of any one of those who were present at the operations of the war, except the person who was to enjoy the triumph: that their ancestors had made it a rule that the lieutenant-generals, the military tribunes, the centurions, and even the soldiers, should be present at the same, for this reason, that the reality of his exploits, to whom so high an honour was paid, might be publicly ascertained. Now, of that army which

fought with the Gauls, had any one soldier, or even a soldier's servant, been present, of whom the senate could inquire concerning the truth or falsehood of the prætor's narrative? He then appointed a day for the elections, at which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius Tapulus. The prætors were then appointed, Lucius Quintius Flaminius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus.

L. During that year, provisions were remarkably cheap. The curule ædiles, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Sextus Ælius Pætus, distributed among the people a vast quantity of corn, brought from Africa, at the rate of two *asses* a peck. They also celebrated the Roman games in a magnificent manner, repeating them a second day; and erected in the treasury five brazen statues out of the money paid as fines. The plebeian games were thrice repeated entire, by the ædiles, Lucius Terentius Massa, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who was elected prætor. There were also funeral games exhibited that year in the forum, for the space of four days, on occasion of the death of Marcus Valerius Lævinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, who gave also a show of gladiators, in which twenty-five pairs fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, one of the ten commissioners for keeping the books of the Sybil, died, and Manius Acilius Glabrio was substituted in his room. It happened that both the curule ædiles, lately chosen, were persons who could not immediately undertake the office: for Caius Cornelius Cethegus was absent when he was elected, being then commander in Spain; and Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was present, being flamen Dialis, could not take the oath of observing the laws; and no person was allowed to hold any office longer than five days without taking the oath. Flaccus petitioned to be excused from complying with the law, on which the senate decreed, that if the ædile produced a person approved of by the consuls, who would take the oath for him, the consuls, if they thought proper, should make application to the tribunes, that it might be proposed to the people. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, prætor elect, was produced to swear for his brother. The tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered, that this should be as effectual



as if the ædile himself had sworn. With regard to the other ædile, likewise, an order of the commons was made. On the tribunes putting the question, what two persons they chose should go and take the command of the armies in Spain, in order that Caius Cornelius, curule ædile, might come home to execute his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might leave that province, where he had continued many years; the commons ordered Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Stertinius, proconsuls, to command in Spain.

## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK XXXII.

Successes of Titus Quintius Flamininus against Philip; and of his brother Lucius, with the fleet, assisted by Attalus and the Rhodians. Treaty of friendship with the Achæans. Conspiracy of the slaves discovered, and suppressed. The number of the prætors augmented to six. Defeat of the Insubrian Gauls by Cornelius Cethegus. Treaty of friendship with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon. Capture of several cities in Macedonia.

I. THE consuls and prætors entering into office on the ides of March, [Y. R. 553. B. C. 199.] cast lots for the provinces. Italy fell to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius. Of the prætors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quinctius, Ariminum to Cneius Bæbius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul, Lentulus, was ordered to levy new legions; Villius to receive the army from Publius Sulpicius; and, to complete its number, power was given him to raise as many men as he thought proper. To the prætor Bæbius, were decreed the legions, which Caius Aurelius, late consul, had commanded, with directions that he should keep them in their present situation, until the consul should come with the new army to supply their place; and that, on his arriving in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served out their time should be sent home, except five thousand of the allies, which would be sufficient to protect the province round Ariminum. The command was continued to the prætors of the former year; to Cneius Sergius, that he might superintend the distribution of land to the soldiers, who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; to Quintus Minucius, that he might finish the inquiries concerning

the conspiracies in Bruttium, which, while prætor, he had managed with care and fidelity. That he should also send to Locri, to suffer punishment, those who had been convicted of sacrilege, and who were then in chains at Rome; taking care, at the same time, that whatever had been carried away from the temple of Proserpine should be replaced, and proper atonements made. The Latine festival was repeated in pursuance of a decree of the pontiffs, because ambassadors from Ardea had complained to the senate, that during the said solemnity they had not been supplied with meat as usual. From Suessa an account was brought, that two of the gates, and the wall between them, were struck with lightning. Messengers from Formiæ related, that the temple of Jupiter was also struck by lightning; from Ostia, likewise, news came of the like accident having happened to the temple of Jupiter there; it was said, too, that the temples of Apollo and Sancus, at Veliternum, were struck in like manner; and that in the temple of Hercules, hair grew on the statue. A letter was received from Quintus Minucius, proprætor, from Bruttium, that a foal had been born with five feet, and three chickens with three feet each. Afterwards a letter was brought from Mace-



donia, from Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, in which, among other matters, it was mentioned, that a laurel tree had sprung up on the poop of a ship of war. On occasion of the former prodigies, the senate had voted, that the consuls should offer sacrifices with the greater victims, to such gods as they thought proper. On account of the last prodigy, alone, the aruspices were called before the senate, and, in pursuance of their answer, the people were ordered by proclamation to perform a supplication for one day, and worship was solemnized at all the shrines.

II. This year, the Carthaginians brought to Rome the first payment of the silver, imposed on them as a tribute; and the questors having reported, that it was not of the proper standard, and that, on the assay, it wanted a fourth part, they borrowed money at Rome, and made up the deficiency. On their requesting that the senate would be pleased to order their hostages to be restored to them, a hundred were given up, with assurances in regard to the rest, if they continued to observe the treaty. They then farther requested, that the remaining hostages might be removed from Norba, where they were ill accommodated, to some other place, and they were permitted to remove to Signia and Terentinum. The request of the people of Gades was likewise complied with: that a governor should not be sent to their city; being contrary to their stipulation with Lucius Marcius Septimus, when they came under the protection of the Roman people. Deputies from Narnia, complaining that they had not their due number of settlers, and that several who were not of their community, had crept in among them, and assumed the privileges of colonists, Lucius Cornelius, consul, was ordered to appoint three commissioners to adjust those matters. The three appointed were Publius and Sextus Ælius, both surnamed Pætus; and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. The favour granted to the Narnians, of filling up their number of colonists, was refused to the people of Cossa, who applied for it.

III. The consuls, having finished the business that was to be done at Rome, set out for their provinces. Publius Villius, on coming into Macedonia, found the soldiers in a violent mutiny, signs of which had appeared some time before. There were two thousand concerned in it. These troops, after Hannibal was vanquished, had been transported from

Africa to Sicily, and in about a year after, into Macedonia, as volunteers; they denied, however, that this was done with their consent, affirming, that they had been put on board the ships, by the tribunes, contrary to their remonstrances; but, in what manner soever they had become engaged in that service, whether by compulsion or not, the time of it was now expired, and it was reasonable that some end should be put to their toils. For many years they had not seen Italy, but had grown old under arms in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia; they were now, in short, worn out with labour and fatigue, and had lost the best part of their blood by the many wounds which they had received." The consul told them, that "the grounds on which they demanded their discharge, appeared to him to be reasonable, if the demand had been made in a moderate manner; but that neither on that, nor on any other grounds, could mutiny ever be justified. Wherefore, if they were contented to adhere to their standards, and obey orders, he would write to the senate concerning their release; and that what they desired would more easily be obtained by modest behaviour than by turbulence."

IV. At this time, Philip was pushing on the siege of Thaumaci, with the utmost vigour, by means of mounds and engines, and was ready to bring up the ram to the walls, when he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking by the sudden arrival of the Ætolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, having made their way into the town between the posts of the Macedonians, never ceased, day or night, making continual sallies, sometimes against the guards, sometimes against the works. They were at the same time favoured by the nature of the place: for Thaumaci stands near the road from Thermopylæ, and the Malian bay, through Lamia, on a lofty eminence, hanging immediately over the narrow pass called Cæle.<sup>1</sup> After passing through the craggy grounds of Thessaly, the roads are rendered intricate by the windings of the valleys, and on the near approach to the city, such an immense plain opens at once to view, like a vast sea, that the eye can scarcely reach the bounds of the expanse beneath. From this surprising prospect it was called Thaumaci.<sup>2</sup> The city itself is secured, not only by the height of its

1 Hollows.

2 From *thaumazein*, to wonder.

situation, but by its standing on a rock, from the sides of which, all round, the projecting parts had been pared off. In consequence of these difficulties, and the prize not appearing sufficient to recompense so much toil and danger, Philip desisted from the attempt. The winter also was approaching; he therefore retired from thence, and led back his troops into winter-quarters, in Macedonia.

V. There, whilst others, glad of any interval of rest, consigned both body and mind to repose, Philip, in proportion as the season of the year had relieved him from the incessant fatigues of marching and fighting, found his care and anxiety increase the more, when he turned his thoughts towards the general issue of the war. He dreaded, not only his enemies, who pressed him hard by land and sea, but also the dispositions, sometimes of his allies, at others of his own subjects. The former, he thought, might be induced, by hopes of friendship with the Romans, to change sides, and the Macedonians themselves be seized with a desire of innovation. Wherefore, he despatched ambassadors to the Achæans, both to require their oath, (for it had been made an article of their agreement that they should take an oath of fidelity to Philip every year,) and at the same time to restore to them Orchomenes, Heræa, and Triphylia. To the Megalopolitans, he delivered up Aliphera; which city, they insisted, had never belonged to Triphylia, but ought to be restored to them, having been one of those that were incorporated by the council of the Arcadians for the founding of Megalopolis. These measures had the desired effect of strengthening his connection with the Achæans. The affections of the Macedonians he conciliated by his treatment of Heraclides: for finding that, from having countenanced this man, he had incurred the general displeasure of his subjects, he charged him with a number of crimes, and threw him into chains, to the great joy of the people. In his preparations for war, he exerted the most vigorous efforts; exercised both the Macedonian and mercenary troops in arms, and, in the beginning of spring sent Athenagoras, with all the foreign auxiliaries and light troops, through Epirus into Chaonia, to seize the pass at Antigonæ, which the Greeks called Stena. He followed, in a few days, with the heavy troops: and having viewed every situation in the country, he judged that the most advantageous post for fortifying

himself was on the river Aous. This river runs in a narrow vale, between two mountains, one of which the natives call the river Asnaus, affording a passage of very little breadth along the bank. He ordered Athenagoras, with the light infantry, to take possession of Asnaus, and to fortify it. His own camp he pitched on Æropus. Those places, where the rocks were steep, were defended by guards of a few soldiers only; the less secure he strengthened, some with trenches, some with ramparts, and others with towers. A great number of engines, also, were disposed in proper places, that, by means of weapons thrown from these, they might keep the enemy at a distance. The royal pavilion was pitched on the outside of the rampart, on the most conspicuous eminence, in order, by this show of confidence, to dishearten the foe, and raise the hopes of his own men.

VI. The consul received intelligence from Charopus of Epirus, that the king, with his army, had posted himself in this pass. As soon, therefore, as the spring began to open, he left Coreyra, where he had passed the winter, and, sailing over to the continent, led on his army. When he came within about five miles of the king's camp, leaving the legions in a strong post, he went forward in person with some light troops, to view the nature of the country; and, on the day following, held a council, in order to determine whether he should, notwithstanding the great labour and danger to be encountered, attempt a passage through the defiles occupied by the enemy, or lead round his forces by the same road through which Sulpicius had penetrated into Macedonia the year before. The deliberations on this question had lasted several days, when news arrived, that Titus Quintus had been elected consul; that he had obtained, by lot, Macedonia as his province; and that, hastening his journey, he had already come over to Coreyra. Valerius Antias says, that Villius marched into the defile, and that, as he could not proceed straight forward, because every pass was occupied by the king, he followed the course of a valley, through the middle of which the river Aous flows, and having hastily constructed a bridge, passed over to the bank, where the king lay, and fought a battle with him; that the king was routed, and driven out of his camp; that twelve thousand Macedonians were killed, and two thousand two hundred taken, together with a hundred and thirty-two mili-



tary standards, and two hundred and thirty horses. He adds, that, during the battle a temple was vowed to Jupiter in case of success. The other historians, both Greek and Latin, (all those at least whose accounts I have read,) affirm, that nothing memorable was done by Villius, and that Titus Quintius the consul, who succeeded him, found that no progress whatever had been made in the business of the war.

VII. During the time of these transactions in Macedonia, the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had stayed at Rome; held an assembly for the election of censors. Out of many illustrious men who stood candidates, were chosen Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Ælius Pætus. These, acting together in perfect harmony, read the list of the senate, without passing a censure on any one member; they also let to farm the port-duties at Capua, and those at the fort of Puteoli, situate where the city now stands; enrolling for this latter place three hundred colonists, that being the number fixed by the senate; they also sold the lands of Capua, which lie at the foot of Mount Tifata. About the same time, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on his return from Spain, was hindered from entering the city in ovation by Marcus Portius Læca, plebeian tribune, notwithstanding he had obtained permission of the senate: coming, then, into the city in a private character, he conveyed to the treasury one thousand two hundred pounds weight of silver, and about thirty pounds weight of gold. During this year, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who had succeeded to the government of the province of Gaul, in the room of Caius Aurelius, consul of the year preceding, having, without proper caution, entered the territories of the Insubrian Gauls, was, with almost the whole of his army, attacked at disadvantage and overthrown. He lost above six thousand six hundred men,—a severe blow from an enemy who had for some time ceased to be considered as being formidable. This event called away the consul, Lucius Lentulus, from the city; who, arriving in the province, which was in general confusion, and taking the command of the army, which he found dispirited by its defeat, severely reprimanded the prætor, and ordered him to quit the province, and return to Rome. Neither did the consul himself perform any considerable service, being called home to preside at the

elections, which were obstructed by Marcus Fulvius and Manius Curius, plebeian tribunes, who wished to hinder Titus Quintius Flamininus from standing candidate for the consulship, after passing through the office of quaestor. They alleged, that “the ædileship and prætorship were now held in contempt, and that the nobility did not make their way to the consulship through the regular gradations of offices; but, passing over the intermediate steps, pushed at once from the lowest to the highest.” From a dispute in the Field of Mars, the affair was brought before the senate, where it was voted, “that when a person sued for any post, which by the laws he was permitted to hold, the people had the right of choosing whoever they thought proper.” To this decision of the senate, the tribunes submitted, and thereupon Sextus Ælius Pætus and Titus Quintius Flamininus were elected. Then was held the election of prætors. The persons chosen were Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Caius Helvius, who had been plebeian ædiles. These repeated the plebeian games, and, on occasion of the games, celebrated a feast of Jupiter. The curule ædiles, also, Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was flamen of Jupiter, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence. Servius and Caius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died this year; in their room, in the college, were substituted Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Cneius Cornelius Scipio.

VIII. The new consuls, Sextus Ælius Pætus and Titus Quintius Flamininus, on assuming the administration, [Y. R. 554. B. C. 198.] convened the senate in the capitol, and the fathers decreed, that “the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for the provinces, Macedonia and Italy. That he to whom Macedonia fell should enlist, as a supplement to the legions, three thousand Roman footmen, and three hundred horse, and also five thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen of the Latine confederates.” The army assigned to the other consul was to consist entirely of new-raised men. Lucius Lentulus, consul of the preceding year, was continued in command, and was ordered not to depart from the province, nor to remove the old army, until the consul should arrive with the new legions. The consuls cast lots for the provinces, and Italy fell to Ælius, Macedonia to Quin-

tius. Of the prætors, the lots gave to Lucius Cornelius Merula the city jurisdiction; to Marcus Claudius, Sicily; to Marcus Porcius, Sardinia; and to Caius Helvius, Gaul. The levying of troops was then begun, for besides the consular armies, they had been ordered also to enlist men for the prætors: for Marcellus, in Sicily, four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latine confederates; for Cato, in Sardinia, three thousand foot and two hundred horse of the same country; with directions, that both these prætors, on their arrival in their provinces, should disband the veterans, both foot and horse. The consuls then introduced to the senate ambassadors from king Attalus. These, after representing that their king gave every assistance to the Roman arms on land and sea, with his fleet and all his forces, and had hitherto executed with zeal and alacrity, every order of the consuls, added, that "they feared it would not be in his power to continue so to do, as he was much embarrassed by Antiochus, who had invaded his kingdom, when the sea and land forces, which might have defended it, were removed to a distance. That Attalus, therefore, entreated the conscript fathers, if they chose to employ his army and navy in the Macedonian war, then to send a body of forces to protect his territories; or if that were not agreeable, to allow him to go home for that purpose, with his fleet and troops." The following answer was ordered to be given to the ambassadors: that "the senate retained a due sense of Attalus's friendship in aiding the Roman commanders, with his fleet and other forces. That they would neither send succours to Attalus, against Antiochus, the ally and friend of the Roman people; nor would they detain the troops which he had sent to their assistance, to his inconvenience. That it was ever a constant rule with the Roman people, to use the aid of others, so far only as was agreeable to the will of those who gave it; and even to leave those who were so inclined, at full liberty to determine, when that assistance should commence, and when it should cease. That they would send ambassadors to Antiochus; to represent to him, that Attalus, with his fleet and army, were, at the present, employed by the Roman people against Philip their common enemy; and that they would request Antiochus, to leave the dominions of Attalus unmolested, and to refrain from all hostilities; for that it was much to be wished, that kings, who

were allies and friends to the Roman people, should maintain friendship between themselves also."

IX. When the consul Titus Quintius had finished the levies, in making which he chose principally such as had served in Spain or Africa, that is, soldiers of approved courage, and when hastening to set forward to his province, he was delayed by reports of prodigies, and the expiations of them necessary to be performed. There had been struck by lightning the public road at Veii, a temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, a temple of Hercules at Ardea, with a wall and towers at Capua, also the edifice which is called Alba. At Arretium, the sky appeared as on fire; at Velitræ, the earth, to the extent of three acres, sunk down so as to form a vast chasm. From Suessa Aurunca, an account was brought of a lamb born with two heads; from Sinuessa, of a swine with a human head. On occasion of these ill omens, a supplication of one day's continuance was performed; the consuls employed themselves diligently in the worship of the gods, and as soon as these were appeased, set out for their provinces. Ælius, accompanied by Caius Helvius, prætor, went into Gaul, where he put under the command of the prætor the army which he received from Lucius Lentulus, and which he ought to have disbanded, intending to carry on his own operations with the new troops, which he had brought with him; but he effected nothing worth recording. The other consul, Titus Quintius, setting sail from Brundisium earlier than had been usual with former consuls, reached Corcyra, with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. From this place, he passed over, in a quinquereme, to the nearest part of Epirus, and proceeded, by long journeys, to the Roman camp. Here he dismissed Villius; and waiting a few days, until the forces from Corcyra should come up and join him, held a council, to determine whether he should endeavour to force his way straight forward through the camp of the enemy; or whether, without attempting an enterprise of so great difficulty and danger, he should not rather take a circuitous and safe road, so as to penetrate into Macedonia by the country of the Dassaretians and Lycus. The latter plan would have been adopted, had he not feared that, in removing to a greater distance from the sea, the enemy might slip out of his hands; and that if the king should resolve to secure himself in the woods and



wilds, as he had done before, the summer might be spun out without any thing being effected. It was therefore determined, be the event what it might, to attack the enemy in their present post, disadvantageous as it would seem to an assailant. But it was easier to resolve on this measure, than to devise any safe or certain method of accomplishing it.

X. Forty days were passed in view of the enemy, without making any kind of effort. Hence Philip conceived hopes of bringing about a treaty of peace, through the mediation of the people of Epirus; and a council, which was held for the purpose, having appointed Pausanias the prætor, and Alexander the master of the horse, as negotiators, they brought the consul and the king to a conference, on the banks of the river Aous, where the channel was narrowest. The sum of the consul's demands was, that the king should withdraw his troops from the territories of the several states; that to those, whose lands and cities he had plundered, he should restore such of their effects as could be found; and that the value of the rest should be estimated by a fair arbitration. Philip answered, that "the cases of the several states differed widely from each other. That such as he himself had seized on, he would set at liberty; but he would not divest himself of the hereditary and just possessions which had been conveyed down to him from his ancestors. If those, with whom hostilities had been carried on, complained of any losses in the war, he was ready to submit the matter to the arbitration of any state with whom both parties were at peace." To this the consul replied, that "the business required neither judge nor arbitrator: for who did not see clearly that every injurious consequence of the war was to be imputed to the first aggressor? And in this case Philip, unprovoked by any, had first commenced hostilities against all." When they next began to treat of those nations which were to be set at liberty, the consul named, first, the Thessalians: on which the king indignantly exclaimed, "What harsher terms, Titus Quintius, could you impose on me, if I were vanquished?" With these words he retired hastily from the conference, and they were prevented only by the river which separated them, from assaulting each other with missile weapons. On the following day many skirmishes took place between parties sallying from the outposts, in a plain sufficient-

ly wide for the purpose. Afterwards the king's troops drew back into narrow and rocky places, whither the Romans, keenly eager for fighting, penetrated also. These had in their favour order and military discipline, while their arms were of a kind well calculated for pressing close on the Macedonians, who had, indeed, the advantage of ground, with balistas and catapultas disposed on almost every rock as on walls. After many wounds given and received on both sides, and numbers being slain, as in a regular engagement, darkness put an end to the fight.

XI. While matters were in this state, a herdsman, sent by Charopus, prince of the Epirots, was brought to the consul. He said, that "being accustomed to feed his herd in the forest, then occupied by the king's camp, he knew every winding and path in the neighbouring mountains; and that if the consul thought proper to send some troops with him, he would lead them by a road, neither dangerous nor difficult, to a spot over the enemy's head." Charopus sent a message to the Roman, to give just so much credit to this man's account, as should still leave every thing in his own power, and as little as possible in that of the other. Though the consul rather wished than dared to give the intelligence full belief, and though his emotions of joy were strongly checked by fear, yet being moved by the confidence due to Charopus, he resolved to put to trial the favourable offer. In order to prevent all suspicion of the matter, during the two following days he carried on attacks against the enemy without intermission, drawing out troops against them in every quarter, and sending up fresh men to relieve the wearied. Then, selecting four thousand foot and three hundred horse, he put them under the command of a military tribune, with directions to advance the horse as far as the nature of the ground allowed; and when they came to places impassable to cavalry, then to post them in some plain; that the infantry should proceed by the road which the guide would show, and that when, according to his promise, they arrived on the height over the enemy's head, then they should give a signal by smoke, but raise no shout, until the tribune should have reason to think that, in consequence of the signal received from him, the battle was begun. He ordered that the troops should march by night (the moon shining through the whole of it), and employ the

day in taking food and rest. The most liberal promises were made to the guide, provided he fulfilled his engagement; he bound him nevertheless, and delivered him to the tribune. Having thus sent off this detachment, the Roman general exerted redoubled vigour in every part to make himself master of the posts of the enemy.

XII. On the third day, the Roman party made the signal by smoke, to notify that they had gained possession of the eminence to which they had been directed; and then the consul, dividing his forces into three parts, marched up with the main strength of his army, through a valley in the middle, and made the wings on right and left advance to the camp of the enemy. Nor did these betray any want of spirit, but came out briskly to meet him. The Roman soldiers, in the ardour of their courage, long maintained the fight on the outside of their works, for they had no small superiority in bravery, in skill, and in the nature of their arms; but when the king's troops, after many of them were wounded and slain, retreated into places secured either by intrenchments or situation, the danger reverted on the Romans, who pushed forward, inconsiderately, into disadvantageous grounds and defiles, out of which a retreat was difficult. Nor would they have extricated themselves without suffering for their rashness, had not the Macedonians, first, by a shout heard in their rear, and then by an attack begun on that quarter, been utterly dismayed and confounded at the unthought-of danger. Some betook themselves to a hasty flight: some keeping their stand, rather because they could find no way for flight, than that they possessed spirit to support the engagement, were cut off by the Romans, who pressed them hard both on front and rear. Their army might have been entirely destroyed, had the victors continued their pursuit of the fugitives; but the cavalry were obstructed by the narrowness of the passes and the ruggedness of the ground; and the infantry, by the weight of their armour. The king at first fled with precipitation, and without looking behind him; but afterwards, when he had proceeded as far as five miles, he began, from recollecting the unevenness of the road, to suspect, (what was really the case,) that the enemy could not follow him; and halting, he despatched his attendants through all the hills and valleys to collect the stragglers together. His loss was

not more than two thousand men. The rest of his army coming to one spot, as if they had followed some signal, marched off, in a compact body, towards Thessaly. The Romans, after having pursued the enemy as far as they could with safety, killing such as they overtook, and despoiling the slain, seized and plundered the king's camp; to which, even when there were no troops to oppose them, they could not easily make their way. The following night they were lodged within their own trenches.

XIII. Next day, the consul pursued the enemy through the same defiles, following the course of the river as it winds through the valleys. The king came first to the camp of Pyrrhus, a place so called in Triphylia, a district of Melotis; and on the following day, by a very long march, his fears urging him on, he reached Mount Lingos. This ridge of mountains belongs to Epirus, and stretches along between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side next to Thessaly faces the east, that next to Macedonia the north. These hills are thickly clad with woods, and on their summits have open plains and springs of water. Here Philip remained encamped for several days, being unable to determine whether he should continue his retreat, until he arrived in his own dominions, or whether he might venture back into Thessaly. At length, he resolved to direct his route into Thessaly; and, going by the shortest roads to Tricca, he made hasty excursions from thence, to all the cities within his reach. The inhabitants who were able to accompany him, he carried away from their habitations, and burned the towns, allowing the owners to take with them such of their effects as they were able to carry; the rest became the prey of the soldiers; nor was there any kind of cruelty which they could have suffered from an enemy, that they did not suffer from these their confederates. The infliction of such hardships was irksome to Philip, even while he authorised it; but as the country was soon to become the property of the foe, he wished to rescue out of it their persons at least. In this manner were ravaged the towns of Phacium, Iresia, Euhydrium, Eretria, and Palæphatus. On his coming to Pheræ, the gates were shut against him, and as it would necessarily occasion a considerable delay, if he attempted to take it by force, and as he could not spare time, he dropped the design, and crossed over the mountains into Macedonia; for he had received



intelligence, that the *Ætoli*ans too were marching towards him. These, on hearing of the battle fought on the banks of the river *Aous*, first laid waste the nearest tracts round *Sperchia*, and *Long Come*, as it is called, and then, passing over into *Thessaly*, got possession of *Cymine* and *Angea* at the first assault. From *Metropolis*, they were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, while a part of their army was plundering the country, assembled in a body to defend the city. Afterwards, making an attempt on *Callithere*, they were attacked by the townsmen in a like manner; but withstood their onset with more steadiness, drove back into the town the party which had sallied, and content with that success, as they had scarcely any prospect of taking the place by storm, retired. They then took by assault and sacked the towns of *Theuma* and *Calathas*. *Achorræ*, they gained by surrender. *Xyniæ*, through similar apprehensions, was abandoned by the inhabitants. These having forsaken their homes, and going together in a body, fell in with a party of *Athamanians* employed in protecting their foragers; all of whom, an irregular and unarmed multitude, incapable of any resistance, were put to the sword by the troops. The deserted town of *Xyniæ* was plundered. The *Ætoli*ans then took *Cyphara*, a fort conveniently situated on the confines of *Dolopia*. All this the *Ætoli*ans performed within the space of a few days.

XIV. *Amy*nander and the *Athamanians*, when they heard of the victory obtained by the *Romans*, continued not inactive. *Amy*nander, having little confidence in his own troops, requested aid from the consul; and then advancing towards *Gomphi*, he stormed on his march a place called *Pheca*, situate between that town and the narrow pass which separates *Thessaly* from *Athamania*. He then attacked *Gomphi*, and though the inhabitants defended it for several days with the utmost vigour, yet, as soon as he had raised the scaling-ladders to the walls, the same apprehension which had operated on others, made them capitulate. This capture of *Gomphi* spread the greatest consternation among the *Thessalians*: their fortresses of *Argenta*, *Pherinus*, *Thimarus*, *Lisinæ*, *Stimon*, and *Lampsus*, surrendered, one after another, with several other garrisons equally inconsiderable. While the *Athamanians* and *Ætoli*ans, delivered from fear of the *Macedonians*, converted to their own profit the fruits of another's victory; and *Thessaly*,

ravaged by three armies at once, knew not which to believe its foe or its friend; the consul marched on, through the pass which the enemy's flight had left open, into the country of *Epirus*. Though he well knew which party the *Epirots*, excepting their prince *Charopus*, were disposed to favour, yet as he saw, that even from the motive of atoning for past behaviour, they obeyed his orders with diligence, he regulated his treatment of them by the standard of their present rather than of their former temper, and by this readiness to pardon, conciliated their affection for the future. Then, sending orders to *Corecra*, for the transport ships to come into the *Ambrician* bay, he advanced by moderate marches, and on the fourth day pitched his camp on *Mount Cercetius*. Hither he ordered *Amy*nander to come with his auxiliary troops; not so much because he wanted such addition of his forces, as with design to use them as guides into *Thessaly*. With the same purpose, many volunteers of the *Epirots* also were admitted into the corps of auxiliaries.

XV. Of the cities of *Thessaly*, the first which he attacked, was *Phaleria*. The garrison here consisted of two thousand *Macedonians*, who made at first a most vigorous resistance, availing themselves, to the utmost, of every advantage that their arms and works could afford. The assault was carried on, without intermission or relaxation, either by day or by night, because the consul thought that it would have a powerful effect on the spirits of the rest of the *Thessalians*, if the first who made trial of the *Roman* strength were unable to withstand it; and this at the same time subdued the obstinacy of the *Macedonians*. On the reduction of *Phaleria*, deputies came from *Metropolis* and *Piera*, surrendering those cities. To them, on their petition, pardon was granted: *Phaleria* was sacked, and burned. He then proceeded to *Æginium*; but finding this place so circumstanced, that, even with a moderate garrison, it was safe, after discharging a few weapons against the nearest advanced guard, he directed his march towards the territory of *Gomphi*; and thence, into the plains of *Thessaly*. His army was now in want of every thing, because he had spared the lands of the *Epirots*; he therefore despatched messengers to learn whether the transports had reached *Leucas* and the *Ambracian* bay; sending the cohorts, in turn, to *Ambracia* for corn. Now the road from *Gomphi* to *Ambracia*, al-

though difficult and embarrassed, is very short : so that in a few days provisions were brought up from the sea in abundance. He then marched to Atrax, which is about ten miles from Larissa, on the river Peneus. The inhabitants came originally from Perrhebia. The Thes-salians, here, were not in the least alarmed at the first coming of the Romans ; and Philip, although he durst not himself advance into Thessaly, yet, keeping his station in the vale of Tempe, whenever any place was attempted by the enemy, he sent up reinforcements as occasion required.

XVI. About the time that Quintius first pitched his camp opposite to Philip's, and at the entrance of Epirus, Lucius, the consul's brother, whom the senate had commissioned both to the naval command and to the government of the coast, sailed over with two quinqueremes to Coreyra ; and when he learned that the fleet had departed thence, thinking any delay improper, he followed, and overtook it at the island of Zama. Here he dismissed Lucius Apustius, in whose room he had been appointed, and then proceeded to Malea, but at a slow rate, being obliged, for the most part, to tow the vessels which accompanied him with provisions. From Malea, after ordering the rest to follow with all possible expedition, himself, with three light quinqueremes, hastened forward to the Piræus, and took under his command the ships left there by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, for the protection of Athens. At the same time, two fleets set sail from Asia ; one of twenty-four quinqueremes, under king Attalus ; the other belonging to the Rhodians, consisting of twenty decked ships, and commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets, joining near the island of Andros, sailed for Eubœa, to reach which place they had only to cross a narrow channel. They first ravaged the lands belonging to Carystus ; but, judging that city too strong, in consequence of a reinforcement hastily sent from Chalcis, they bent their course to Eretria. Lucius Quintius also, on hearing of the arrival of king Attalus, came thither with the ships which had lain at the Piræus ; having left orders, that his own ships should, as they arrived, follow him to Eubœa. The siege of Eretria was now pushed forward with the utmost vigour ; for the three combined fleets carried machines and engines, of all sorts, for the demolition of towns, and the adjacent country

offered abundance of timber for the construction of new works. At the beginning the townsmen defended themselves with a good degree of spirit ; afterwards, when they felt the effects of fatigue, a great many being likewise wounded, and a part of the wall demolished by the enemy's works, they became disposed to capitulate. But they had a garrison of Macedonians, of whom they stood in no less dread than of the Romans ; and Philocles, the king's general, sent frequent messages from Chalcis, that he would bring them succour in due time, if they could hold out the siege. The hope of this, in conjunction with their fears, obliged them to protract the time longer than was consistent either with their wishes or their strength. However, having learned soon after, that Philocles had been repulsed in the attempt, and forced to fly back, in disorder, to Chalcis, they instantly sent deputies to Attalus, to beg pardon and protection. While intent on the prospect of peace, they remitted their diligence in the duties of war, and kept armed guards in that quarter only, where the breach had been made in the wall, neglecting all the rest ; Quintius made an assault by night on the side where it was least apprehended, and carried the town by scalade. The townsmen, with their wives and children, fled into the citadel, but soon after surrendered themselves prisoners. The quantity of money, of gold and silver, taken, was not great. Of statues and pictures, the works of ancient artists, and other ornaments of that kind, a greater number was found than could be expected, either from the size of the city, or its opulence in other particulars.

XVII. The design on Carystus was then resumed, and the fleets sailed thither ; on which the whole body of the inhabitants, before the troops were disembarked, deserted the city and fled into the citadel, whence they sent deputies to beg protection from the Roman general. To the townspeople life and liberty were immediately granted ; and it was ordered, that the Macedonians should pay a ransom of three hundred drachmas<sup>a</sup> a head, deliver up their arms, and quit the country. After being thus ransomed, they were transported, unarmed, to Bœotia. The combined fleets having, in the space of a few days, taken these two important cities of Eubœa, sailed round Sunium, a pro-



montory of Attica, and steered their course to Cenchreae, the grand mart of the Corinthians. In the meantime, the consul found the siege of Atrax more tedious than he had imagined, the enemy making an unexpected resistance. He had supposed that the whole of the trouble would be in demolishing the wall, and that if he could once open a passage for his soldiers into the city, the consequence would then be, the flight and slaughter of the enemy, as usually happens on the capture of towns. But when, on a breach being made in the wall by the rams, and when the soldiers, by mounting over the ruins, had entered the place, this proved only the beginning, as it were, of an unusual and fresh labour. For the Macedonians in garrison, who were both chosen men and many in number, supposing that they would be entitled to extraordinary honour if they should maintain the defence of the city by means of arms and courage, rather than by the help of walls, formed themselves in a compact body, strengthening their line by an uncommon number of files in depth. These, when they saw the Romans entering by the breaches, drove them back, so that they were entangled among the rubbish, and with difficulty could effect a retreat. This gave the consul great uneasiness; for he considered such a disgrace, not merely as it retarded the reduction of a single city, but as likely to affect materially the whole process of the war, which in general depends much on the influence of events in themselves unimportant. Having therefore cleared the ground about the half-ruined wall, he brought up a tower of extraordinary height, consisting of many stories, and which carried a great number of soldiers. He likewise sent up the cohorts in strong bodies one after another, to force their way, if possible, through the wedge of the Macedonians, which is called a phalanx. But in such a confined space, (for the wall was thrown down to no great extent,) the enemy had the advantage, both in the kind of weapons which they used, and in the manner of fighting. When the Macedonians, in close array, stretched out before them their long spears against the target fence which was formed by the close position of their antagonists' shields, and when the Romans, after discharging their javelins without effect, drew their swords, these could neither press on to a closer combat, nor cut off the heads of the spears; and if they did cut or break off any, the

shaft being sharp at the part where it was broken, filled up its place among the points of those which were unbroken, in a kind of palisade. Besides this, the parts of the wall still standing, covered safely the flanks of the Macedonians, who were not obliged, either in retreating or in advancing to an attack, to pass through a long space, which generally occasions disorder in the ranks. An accidental circumstance also helped to confirm their courage: for as the tower was moved along a bank not sufficiently compacted, one of the wheels sinking into a rut, made the tower lean in such a manner that it appeared to the enemy as if falling, and threw the soldiers posted on it into consternation and affright.

XVIII. As none of his attempts met any success, the consul was very unwilling to allow the difference between the two kinds of soldiery and their weapons to be manifested in such trials; at the same time, he could neither see any prospect of reducing the place speedily, nor any means of subsisting in winter, at such a distance from the sea, and in a country desolated by the calamities of war. He therefore raised the siege; and as, along the whole coast of Acarnania and Ætolia, there was no port capable of containing all the transports that brought supplies to the army, nor any place which afforded lodgings to the legions, he pitched on Anticyra, in Phocis, on the Corinthian gulf, as most commodiously situated for his purpose. There the legions would be at no great distance from Thessaly, and the places belonging to the enemy; while they would have in front Peloponnesus, separated from them by a narrow sea; on their rear, Ætolia and Acarnania; and on their sides, Locris and Bœotia. Phanotea in Phocis he took without difficulty at the first assault. The siege of Anticyra gave him not much delay. Then Ambrysis and Hyampolis were taken. Daulis, being situated on a lofty eminence, could not be reduced either by scale or works: he therefore provoked the garrison by missile weapons, to make sallies from out the town. Then by flying at one time, pursuing at another, and engaging in slight skirmishes, he led them into such a degree of carelessness, and such a contempt of him, that at length the Romans, mixing with them as they ran back, entered by the gates, and stormed the town. Six other fortresses in Phocis, of little consequence, came into his hands, through fear rather than by force of arms. Elatia shut its gates, and

the inhabitants seemed determined not to admit within their walls either the army or the general of the Romans, unless compelled by force.

XIX. While the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, a prospect opened to him of effecting a business of much more importance: of being able to prevail on the Achæans to renounce their alliance with Philip, and attach themselves to the Romans. Cyliades, the head of the faction that favoured the interest of Philip, they had now banished; and Aristæus, who wished for a union between his countrymen and the Romans, was prætor. The Roman fleet, with Attalus and the Rhodians, lay at Cenchrææ, and were preparing to lay siege to Corinth with their whole combined force. The consul therefore judged it prudent, that, before they entered on that affair, ambassadors should be sent to the Achæan state, with assurances, that if they came over from the king to the side of the Romans, the latter would consign Corinth to them, and annex it to the old confederacy of their nation. Accordingly by the consul's direction, ambassadors were sent to the Achæans, by his brother Lucius Quintius, by Attalus, and by the Rhodians and Athenians—a general assembly being summoned to meet at Sicyon to give them audience. Now the minds of the Achæans laboured with a complication of difficulties. They feared the Lacedæmonians, their constant and inveterate enemies; they dreaded the arms of the Romans; they were under obligations to the Macedonians, for services both of ancient and of recent date; but the king himself, on account of his perfidy and cruelty, they looked upon with jealous fear, and, not judging from the behaviour which he then assumed for the time, they knew that, on the conclusion of the war, they should find him a more tyrannic master. So that every one of them was not only at a loss what opinion he should support in the senate of his own particular state, or in the general diets of the nation; but, even when they deliberated within themselves, they could not, with any certainty, determine what they ought to wish, or what to prefer. Such was the unsettled state of mind of the members of the assembly, when the ambassadors were introduced to audience. The Roman ambassador, Lucius Calpurnius, spoke first; next the ambassadors of king Attalus; after them, those of the Rhodians; and then Philip's. The

Athenians were heard the last, that they might refute the discourses of the Macedonians. These inveighed against the king with the greatest acrimony of any, for no others had suffered from him so many and so severe hardships. So great a number of speeches succeeding each other, took up the whole of the day; and about sunset the council was adjourned.

XX. Next day the council met again; and when the magistrates, according to the custom of the Greeks, gave leave, by their herald, to any person who chose to deliver his sentiments, not one stood forth; but they sat a long time, looking on each other in silence. It was no wonder, that men, revolving in their minds matters of such contradictory natures, and who found themselves puzzled and confounded, should be involved in additional perplexity by the speeches continued through the whole preceding day; in which the difficulties, on all sides, were brought into view, and stated in their full force. At length Aristæus, the prætor of the Achæans, not to dismiss the council without any business being introduced, said:—"Achæans, where are now those violent disputes, in which, at your feasts and meetings, whenever mention was made of Philip and the Romans, you scarcely refrained from blows? Now, in a general assembly, summoned on that single business, when you have heard the arguments of the ambassadors on both sides; when the magistrates demand your opinions; when the herald calls you to declare your sentiments, you are struck dumb. Although your concern for the common safety be insufficient for determining the matter, cannot the party zeal which has attached you to one side or the other extort a word from any one of you? especially when none is so blind as not to perceive, that the time for declaring and recommending what each either wishes or thinks most advisable, must be at the present moment; that is, before we make any decree. When a decree shall be once passed, every man, even such as at first may have disapproved the measure, must then support it as good and salutary." These persuasions of the prætor, so far from prevailing on any one person to declare his opinion, did not excite, in all that numerous assembly, collected out of so many states, so much as a murmur or a whisper.

XXI. Then the prætor, Aristæus, proceeded thus:—"Chiefs of Achæa, you are



not more at a loss what advice to give, than you are for words to deliver it in; but every one is unwilling to promote the interest of the public at the risk of danger to himself. Were I in a private character, perhaps I too should be silent; but, as prætor, it is my duty to declare, that I see evidently, either that the ambassadors ought to have been refused an audience of the council, or that they ought not to be dismissed from it without an answer. Yet how can I give them an answer, unless by a decree of yours? And, since not one of you who have been called to this assembly either chooses or dares to make known his sentiments, let us examine (as if they were opinions proposed to our consideration) the speeches of the ambassadors delivered yesterday; supposing, for a moment, the speakers not to have required what was useful to themselves, but to have recommended what they thought most conducive to our advantage. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, request an alliance and friendship with us; and they demand to be assisted in the war which they are now engaged in against Philip. Philip reminds us of our league with him, and of the obligation of our oath; he requires only, that we declare ourselves on his side; and says, he will be satisfied if we do not intermeddle in the operations of the war. Who is there so short-sighted as not to perceive the reason why those, who are not yet our allies, require more than he who is? This arises not from modesty in Philip, nor from the want of it in the Romans. The Achæan harbours show what it is, which, while it bestows confidence to requisitions on one side, precludes it on the other. We see nothing belonging to Philip but his ambassador: the Roman fleet lies at Cenebræ, exhibiting to our view the spoils of the cities of Eubœa. We behold the consul and his legions, at the distance of a small tract of sea, overrunning Phocis and Locris. You were surprised at Philip's ambassador, Cleomedon, showing such diffidence yesterday in his application to us to take arms on the side of the king against the Romans. But if we, in pursuance of the same treaty and oath, the obligation of which he inculcated on us, were to ask of him, that Philip should protect us, both from Nabis and his Lacedæmonians, and also from the Romans, he would be utterly unable to find, not only a force for the purpose, but even an answer to return. As much so in

truth as was Philip himself, who endeavoured, by promises of waging war against Nabis, to draw away our youth into Eubœa: but finding that we would neither decree such assistance to him, nor choose to be embroiled with Rome, forgot that alliance on which he now lays such stress, and left us to the Lacedæmonians to be spoiled and plundered. Besides, to me the arguments of Cleomedon appeared utterly inconsistent. He made light of the war with the Romans; and asserted, that the issue of it would be similar to that of the former, which they waged against Philip. If such be the case, why does he, at a distance, solicit our assistance; rather than come hither in person, and defend us, his old allies, both from Nabis and from the Romans? Us, do I say? Why, then, has he suffered Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why so many cities of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why does he at present suffer Elatia to be besieged? Did he, either through compulsion, or fear, or choice, quit the straits of Epirus, and those impregnable fastnesses on the river Aous; and why, abandoning the possession of the pass, did he retire into his own kingdom? If, of his own will, he gave up so many allies to the ravages of the enemy, what objection can he make to these allies, after his example, taking care of themselves? If through fear, he ought to pardon the like fear in us. If his retreat was in consequence of a defeat, let me ask you, Cleomedon, shall we, Achæans, be able to withstand the Roman arms, which you, Macedonians, have not withstood? Are we to give credit to your assertion, that the Romans do not employ, in the present war, greater forces or greater strength than they did in the former, or are we to regard the real facts? In the first instance, they aided the Ætolians with a fleet; they sent not to the war either a consul as commander, or a consular army. The maritime cities of Philip's allies were in terror and confusion; but the inland places so secure against the Roman arms, that Philip ravaged the country of the Ætolians, while they in vain implored succour from those arms. Whereas, in the present case, the Romans, after bringing to a final conclusion the Punic war, which, raging for sixteen years in the bowels, as it were, of Italy, had given them abundance of trouble, sent not auxiliaries to the Ætolians in their quarrels, but, being themselves principals, made a hostile invasion on Macedonia with land and

sea forces at once. Their third consul is now pushing forward the war with the utmost vigour. Sulpicius, engaging the king within the territory of Macedonia itself, routed and utterly defeated him; and afterwards despoiled the most opulent part of his kingdom. Then, again, when he was in possession of the strait of Epirus, where, from the nature of the ground, his fortifications, and the strength of his army, he thought himself secure, Quintius drove him out of his camp; pursued him, as he fled into Thessaly; and, almost in the view of Philip himself, stormed the royal garrisons and the cities of his allies. Supposing that there were no truth in what the Athenian ambassadors mentioned yesterday, respecting the cruelty, avarice, and lust of the king; supposing the crimes committed, in the country of Attica, against the gods, celestial and infernal, concerned us not at all; that we had less to complain of than what the people of Cius and Abydos, who are far distant from us, have endured: let us then, if you please, forget even our own wounds; let the murders and ravages committed at Messena, and in the heart of Peloponnesus, the killing of his host Garitenes, at Cyparissia, in the midst of a feast, in contempt of laws divine and human; the murder of the two Aratuses, of Sicyon, father and son, though he was wont to call the unfortunate old man his parent; his carrying away the son's wife into Macedonia for the gratification of his vicious appetites, and all his violations of virgins and matrons;—let all these, I say, be forgotten; let all be consigned to oblivion. Let us suppose our business were not with Philip, through dread of whose cruelty you are all thus struck dumb; for what other cause could keep you silent, when you have been summoned to a council? Let us imagine that we are treating with Antigonus, a prince of the greatest mildness and equity, to whose kindness we have all been highly indebted; would he require us to perform, what at the time was impossible? Peloponnesus is a peninsula, united to the continent by a narrow isthmus, particularly exposed and open to the attacks of naval armaments. Now, if a hundred decked ships, and fifty lighter open ones, and thirty Issean barks, shall begin to lay waste our coasts, and attack the cities which stand exposed, almost on the very shore; shall we then retreat into the inland towns, as if we were not afflicted with an intestine war, though in truth it is rankling in our very bowels?

When Nabis and the Lacedæmonians by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, shall press us, where must I implore the support due from the king's alliance; where the succours of the Macedonians? Shall we ourselves, with our own arms, defend, against the Roman forces, the cities that will be attacked? Truly, in the former war, we defended Dymæ excellently well! The calamities of others afford us abundant examples; let us not seek to render ourselves an example to the rest. Do not, because the Romans voluntarily desire your friendship, condemn that which you ought to have prayed for, nay, laboured with all your might to obtain. But, it is insinuated, that they are impelled by fear, in a country to which they are strangers; and that, wishing to shelter themselves under your assistance, they have recourse to your alliance in the hope of being admitted into your harbours, and of there finding supplies of provisions. Now, at sea, they are absolute masters; and instantly reduce to subjection every place at which they land. What they request, they have power to enforce. Because they wish to treat you with tenderness, they do not allow you to take steps that must lead you to ruin. Cleomedon lately pointed out, as the middle and safest way, to maintain a neutrality; but that is not a middle way; it is no way. For, besides the necessity of either embracing or rejecting the Roman alliance, what other consequence can ensue from such conduct, than that, while we show no steady attachment to either side, as if we waited the event with design to adapt our counsels to fortune, we shall become the prey of the conqueror? Contemn not, then, when it is offered to your acceptance, what you ought to have solicited with your warmest prayers. The free option between the two, which you have this day, you will not always have. The same opportunity will not last long, nor will it frequently recur. You have long wished to deliver yourselves out of the hands of Philip, although you have not dared to make the attempt. Those have now crossed the sea, with large fleets and armies, who are able to set you at liberty, without any trouble or danger to yourselves. If you reject such allies, the soundness of your understandings may be called in question; but you must avoidably have to deal with them, either as friends or foes."

XXII. This speech of the prætor was followed by a general murmur; some declaring



their approbation, and others sharply rebuking those who did so. And now, not only individuals, but whole states engaged in altercation; and at length the magistrates, called Demiurguses,<sup>1</sup> who are ten in number, took up the dispute with as much warmth as the multitude. Five of them declared, that they would propose the question concerning an alliance with Rome, and would take the votes on it; while five insisted, that there was a law, by which the magistrates were prohibited from proposing, and the council from decreeing, any thing injurious to the alliance with Philip. This day, also, was spent in contention, and there remained now but one day more of the regular time of sitting; for, according to the rule, the decree must be passed on the third day: and as that approached, the zeal of the parties was kindled into such a flame, that scarcely did parents refrain from offering violence to their own sons. There was present a man of Pallene, named Rhisiasus, whose son, Memnon, was a demiurgus, and was of that party which opposed the reading of the decree, and taking the votes. This man, for a long time, entreated his son to allow the Achæans to take proper measures for their common safety, and not, by his obstinacy, to bring ruin on the whole nation; but, finding that his entreaties had no effect, he swore that he would treat him, not as a son, but as an enemy, and would put him to death with his own hand. By these threats he forced him, next day, to join the party that voted for the question being proposed. These, having now become the majority, proposed the question accordingly, while almost every one of the states, openly approving the measure, showed plainly on which side they would vote. Whereupon the Dymæans, Megalopolitans, with several of the Argives, rose up, and withdrew from the council; which step excited neither wonder nor disapprobation. For when, in the memory of their grandfathers, the Megalopolitans had been expelled their country by the Lacedæmonians, Antigonus had re-instated them in their native residence; and, at a later period, when Dymæ was taken and sacked by the Roman troops, Philip ordered that the inhabitants, wherever they were in servitude, should be ransomed, and not only restored them to their liberty, but their country. As

to the Argives, besides believing that the royal family of Macedonia derived its origin from them, the greater part were attached to Philip by personal acts of kindness and familiar friendship. For these reasons, when the council appeared disposed to order an alliance to be concluded with Rome, they withdrew; and their secession was readily excused, in consideration of the many and recent obligations by which they were bound to the king of Macedon.

XXIII. The rest of the Achæan states, on their opinions being demanded, ratified, by an immediate decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians. That with the Romans, as it could not be perfected without an order from the people, they deferred until such time as they could hear from Rome. For the present, it was resolved, that three ambassadors should be sent to Lucius Quintus; and that the whole force of the Achæans should be brought up to Corinth, which city Quintus, after taking Cenchreæ, was then besieging. The Achæans accordingly pitched their camp opposite to the gate that leads to Sicyon. The Romans made their approaches on the side of the city which faces Cenchreæ; Attalus having drawn his army across the isthmus, towards Lechæum, the port on the opposite sea. At first, they did not push forward their operations with any great degree of vigour, because they had hopes of a dissension breaking out between the townsmen and the king's troops. But afterwards, learning that they all co-operated with unanimity; that the Macedonians exerted themselves as if in defence of their native country; and that the Corinthians submitted to the orders of Androsthenes, commander of the garrison, as if he were their countryman, elected by their own suffrages, and invested with legal authority; the assailants had no other hopes but in force, arms, and their works. They therefore brought up their mounds to the walls, though by very difficult approaches. On that side where the Romans attacked, their ram demolished a considerable part of the wall; and the Macedonians having run together to defend the place thus stripped of its works, a furious conflict ensued. At first, by reason of the enemy's superiority in number, the Romans were quickly repulsed; but being joined by the auxiliary troops of Attalus and the Achæans, they restored the fight to an equality; so that there was no doubt of their easily driving the Macedonians and Greeks from their ground, but that there were

<sup>1</sup> From *demios* public, and *ergon* business.

in the town a great multitude of Italian deserters; some of whom having been in Hannibal's army, had, through fear of being punished by the Romans, followed Philip; others, having been sailors, had lately quitted the fleets, in hopes of more honourable employment: despair of safety, therefore, in case of the Romans getting the better, inflamed these to a degree, which might rather be called madness than courage. Opposite to Sicyon is the promontory of Juno Acræa, as she is called, stretching out into the main, the passage to Corinth being about seven miles. To this place Philocles, one of the king's generals, led, through Bœotia, fifteen hundred soldiers; and there were barks from Corinth ready to take these troops on board, and carry them over to Lechæum. Attalus, on this, advised to burn the works, and raise the siege immediately; Quintius was inclined to persevere in the attempt. However, when he saw the king's troops posted at all the gates, and that the sallies of the besieged could not easily be withstood, he came over to the opinion of Attalus. Thus baffled in their design, they dismissed the Achæans, and returned to their ships. Attalus steered to Piræus, the Romans to Coreyra.

XXIV. While the naval forces were thus employed, the consul, having encamped before Elatia, in Phocis, first endeavoured, by conferring with the principal inhabitants, to bring them over, and by their means to effect his purpose; but on their answering that they had nothing in their power, because the king's troops were more numerous and stronger than the townsmen, he assaulted the city on all sides at once with arms and engines. A battering-ram shattered a part of the wall that reached from one tower to another, and this falling with a prodigious noise and crash, left much of the town exposed. On this a Roman cohort made an assault through the breach, while at the same time the townsmen, quitting their several posts, ran together from all parts to the endangered place. Others of the Romans climbed over the ruins of the wall, and brought up scaling-ladders to the parts that were standing. As the conflict attracted the eyes and attention of the enemy to one particular spot, the walls were scaled in several places, by which means the soldiers easily entered the town. The noise and tumult which ensued so terrified the enemy, that quitting the place, which they had crowded together to defend, they all

fled in panic to the citadel, accompanied by the unarmed multitude. The consul having thus become master of the town, gave it up to be plundered, and then sent a messenger into the citadel, offering the king's troops their lives, on condition of their laying down their arms, and departing. To the Elatians he offered their liberty; which terms being agreed to, in a few days after he got possession of the citadel.

XXV. In consequence of Philocles, the king's general, coming into Achaia, not only Corinth was delivered from the siege, but the city of Argos was betrayed into his hands by some of the principal inhabitants, after they had first sounded the minds of the populace. They had a custom, that, on the first day of assembly, their prætors, for the omen's sake, should pronounce the names Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules; in addition to which, a rule had been made, that, along with these, they should join the name of king Philip. After the conclusion of the alliance with the Romans, the herald omitted so to honour him; on which a murmur spread through the multitude, and they soon became clamorous, calling out for the name of Philip, and insisting that the respect, due by law, should be paid as before; which at length being complied with, universal approbation ensued. On the encouragement afforded by this favourable disposition, Philocles was invited, who seized in the night a strong post called Larissa, seated on a hill which overhangs the city, and in which he placed a garrison. At the dawn of day, however, and as he was proceeding in order of battle to the forum, at the foot of the hill he was met by a line of troops, drawn up to oppose him. This was a body of Achæans, lately posted there, consisting of about five hundred young men, selected out of all the states. Their commander was Ænesidemus, of Dymæ. The king's general sent a person to recommend to them to evacuate the city, because they were not a match for the townsmen alone, who favoured the cause of Philip; much less when these were joined by the Macedonians, whom even the Romans had not withstood at Corinth. This at first had no effect, either on the commander, or his men: and when they, soon after, perceived the Argives also in arms, coming, in a great body, from the opposite side, and threatening them with destruction, they yet seemed determined to run every hazard, if their leader would persevere. But Ænesidemus, unwilling



that the flower of the Achaean youth should be lost, together with the city, made terms with Philocles, that they should have liberty to retire, while himself remained armed with a few of his dependents, and without even stirring from his station. To a person, sent by Philocles to inquire what he meant, he only answered, standing with his shield held out before him, that he meant to die in arms in defence of the city intrusted to his charge. Philocles then ordered some Thracians to throw their javelins at him and his attendants; and they were, every man of them, slain. Thus notwithstanding the alliance concluded by the Achaeans with the Romans, two of their cities, and those of the greatest consequence, Argos and Corinth, were still in the hands of Philip. Such were the services performed in that campaign by the land and sea forces of Rome employed in Greece.

XXVI. In Gaul, the consul Sextus Ælius did nothing worth mention, though he had two armies in the province; one, which he had retained under their standards, although it ought to have been disbanded; and of this, which had served under Lucius Cornelius, proconsul, he had given the command to Caius Helvius, the prætor: the other he had brought with him.

He spent nearly the whole summer in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to their colonies, from whence they had been driven to various places by the calamities of war. While Gaul, beyond expectation, remained quiet through the whole year, an insurrection of the slaves was very near taking place in the neighbourhood of the city. The hostages, given by the Carthaginians, were kept in custody at Setia: as they were the children of the principal families, they were attended by a great multitude of slaves; to this number many were added, in consequence of the late African war, and by the Setians themselves having bought, from among the spoil, several of those which had been captured. Having conspired together, they sent some of their number to engage in the cause their fellows of the country round Setia, with those at Norba and Circëii. When every thing was fully prepared, they determined, during the games which were soon to be solemnized at the first-mentioned place, to attack the people while intent on the show, and, putting them to death, to make themselves masters of the city in the sudden confusion; and then to seize on Norba and

Circëii. Information of this atrocious plot was brought to Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Merula, the city prætor. Two slaves came to him before day, and disclosed the whole proceedings and intentions of the conspirators. The prætor, ordering them to be guarded in his own house, summoned a meeting of the senate; and having laid before them the information of the discoverers, he was ordered to go himself to the spot, and examine into, and crush, the conspiracy. Setting out, accordingly, with five lieutenant-generals, he compelled such as he found in the country, to take the military oath, to arm, and follow him. Having by this tumultuary kind of levy armed about two thousand men, before it was possible to guess his destination, he came to Setia. There the leaders of the conspiracy were instantly apprehended; on which, the remainder fled from the city; but parties were sent through the country to search them out. The services of the two who made the discovery, and of one free person employed, were highly meritorious. The senate ordered a present to the latter of an hundred thousand *asses*; to the slaves, twenty-five thousand *asses* each, and their freedom. The price was paid to their owners out of the treasury. Not long after, intelligence was received, that others, out of the remaining spirit of the conspiracy, had formed a design of seizing Præneste. The prætor, Lucius Cornelius, went thither, and inflicted punishment on near five hundred persons concerned in that wicked scheme. The public were under apprehensions, that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners fomented these plots: watches were, therefore, kept at Rome in all the streets, which the inferior magistrates were ordered to go round and inspect; while the triumvirs of the prison, called the Quarry, were to keep a stricter guard than usual. Circular letters were also sent, by the prætor, to all the Latine states, directing that the hostages should be confined within doors, and not at any time allowed the liberty of going into public; and that the prisoners should be kept bound with fetters, of not less than ten pounds weight, and confined in the common jail.

XXVII. In this year, ambassadors from king Attalus made an offering, in the capitol, of a golden crown of two hundred and fifty-six pounds weight, and returned thanks to the senate, because Antiochus, complying with the

requisitions of the Romans, had withdrawn his troops out of Attalus's territories. During this summer, two hundred horsemen, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, were furnished by king Masinissa to the army in Greece. From Sicily also, and Sardinia, large supplies of provisions were sent, with clothing for the troops. Sicily was then governed by Marcus Marcellus, Sardinia by Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of acknowledged integrity and purity of conduct, but deemed too severe in punishing usury. He drove the usurers entirely out of the island; and restricted or abolished the contributions, usually paid by the allies, for maintaining the dignity of the prætors. The consul, Sextus Ælius, coming home from Gaul to Rome to hold the elections, elected consuls, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, and Quintus Minucius Rufus. Two days after, was held the election of prætors; and this year, for the first time, six prætors were appointed, in consequence of the increase of the provinces, and the extension of the bounds of the empire. The persons elected were Lucius Manlius Vulso, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius. Of these Sempronius and Helvius were, at the time, plebeian ædiles. The curule ædiles were, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman games were four times repeated during this year.

XXVIII. When the new consuls, Caius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, entered into office, [Y. R. 555. B. C. 197.] the chief business was, the adjusting of the provinces of the consuls and prætors. Those of the prætors were the first settled, because that could be done by the lots. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius; the foreign to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia; Manlius, Sicily; Sempronius, the Hither Spain, and Helvius, the Farther. When the consuls were preparing to cast lots for Italy and Macedonia, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, plebeian tribunes, objected to their proceeding, alleging, that "Macedonia was a very distant province, and that the principal cause which had hitherto retarded the progress of the war, was, that when it was scarcely entered upon, and just at the commencement of operations, the former consul was always recalled. This was the fourth year since the declaration of war against Macedonia. The greater part of one year Sulpicius spent in

seeking the king and his army; Villius, on the point of engaging the enemy, was recalled. Quintius was detained at Rome, for the greater part of his year, by business respecting religion; nevertheless, he had so conducted affairs, that had he come earlier into the province, or had the cold season been at a greater distance, he might have put an end to hostilities. He was then just going into winter-quarters; but, by all accounts, he had brought the war into such a state, that if he were not prevented by a successor, there was a reasonable prospect of being able to put an end to it, in the course of the ensuing summer." By such arguments the tribunes so far prevailed, that the consuls declared, that they would abide by the directions of the senate, if the cavillers would agree to do the same. Both parties having, accordingly, referred the determination entirely to those magistrates, a decree was passed, appointing the two consuls to the government of the province of Italy. Titus Quintius was continued in command, until a successor should be found. To each, two legions were decreed; and they were ordered, with these, to carry on the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, who had revolted from the Romans. A reinforcement of five thousand foot and three hundred horse was ordered to be sent into Macedonia to Quintius, together with three thousand seamen. Lucius Quintus Flamininus was continued in the command of the fleet. To each of the prætors, for the two Spains, were granted eight thousand foot, of the allies and Latines, and four hundred horse; and they were ordered to discharge the veteran troops in their provinces, and also to fix the bounds which should divide the hither from the farther province. Two additional lieutenant-generals were sent to the army in Macedonia, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province.

XXIX. It was thought necessary, that before the consuls and prætors went abroad, some prodigies should be expiated. For the temples of Vulcan and Summanus,<sup>1</sup> at Rome, and a wall and a gate at Fregellæ, had been struck by lightning. At Frusino, during the night, a light like day shone out. At Asculum, a lamb was born with two heads and five feet. At Formiæ, two wolves entering the town tore several persons who fell in their way; and, at Rome, a wolf made its way, not only into

1 Pluto, Summus Manium.



the city, but into the capitol. Caius Acilius, plebeian tribune, caused an order to be passed, that five colonies should be led out to the sea-coast; two to the mouths of the rivers Vulturius and Linternus; one to Puteoli, and one to the fort of Salernum. To these was added Buxentum. To each colony three hundred families were ordered to be sent.

The commissioners appointed to make the settlements, who were to hold the office for three years, were Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. As soon as the levies, and such other business, religious and civil, as required their personal attendance, was finished, the consuls set out for Gaul. Cornelius took the direct road towards the Insubrians, who were then in arms, and had been joined by the Cænomanians. Quintus Minucius turned his route to the left side of Italy, and leading away his army to the lower sea, to Genoa, opened the campaign with an invasion of Liguria. Two towns, Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the Ligurians, and two states of the same nation, Celela and Cerdicum, surrendered to him. And now, all the states on this side of the Po, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Ilvations among the Ligurians, were reduced to submission: no less, it is said, than fifteen towns and twenty thousand men. He then led his legions into the territory of the Boians.

XXX. The Boian army had, not very long before, crossed the Po, and joined the Insubrians and Cænomanians; for, having heard that the consuls intended to act with their forces united, they wished to increase their own strength by this junction. But when information reached them that one of the consuls was ravaging the country of the Boians, a dispute instantly arose. The Boians demanded, that all, in conjunction, should carry succour to those who were attacked; while the Insubrians positively refused to leave their country defenceless. In consequence of this dissension, the armies separated; the Boians went to defend their own territory, and the Insubrians, with the Cænomanians, encamped on the banks of the river Mincius. About five miles below this spot, the consul Cornelius pitched his camp close to the same river. Sending emissaries hence into the villages of the Cænomanians, and Brixia, the capital of their tribe, he learned with certainty that their young men had taken

arms without the approbation of the elders; and that the Cænomanians had not joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, by any authority from the state. On which he invited to him the principal of the natives, and endeavoured to contrive and concert with them the means of inducing the younger Cænomanians to forsake the party of the Insubrians; and either to march away and return home, or to come over to the side of the Romans. This he was not able to effect; but so far, he received solemn assurances that, in case of a battle, they would either stand inactive, or, should any occasion offer, would even assist the Romans. The Insubrians knew not that such an agreement had been concluded, but they harboured in their minds some kind of suspicion, that the fidelity of their confederates was wavering. Wherefore, in forming their troops for battle, not daring to intrust either wing to them, lest, if they should treacherously give ground, they might cause a total defeat, they placed them in reserve behind the line. At the beginning of the fight, the consul vowed a temple to Juno Sospita, provided the enemy should, on that day, be routed and driven from the field; on which the soldiers raised a shout, declaring, that they would insure to their commander the completion of his vow, and at the same time attacked the enemy. The Insubrians did not stand even the first onset. Some writers affirm, that the Cænomanians, falling on their rear, during the heat of the engagement, caused as much disorder there as prevailed in their front; and that, thus assailed on both sides, thirty-five thousand of them were slain, five thousand seven hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, the original cause of the war; and that a hundred and thirty military standards, and above two hundred waggons were taken. On this, the towns, which had joined in the revolt, surrendered to the Romans.

XXXI. The other consul, Minucius, had at first spread his troops through the territories of the Boians, committing violent depredations every where; but afterwards, when that people left the Insubrians, and came home to defend their own property, he kept his men within their camp, expecting to come to an engagement with the enemy. Nor would the Boians have declined a battle, if their spirits had not been depressed, by hearing of the defeat of the Insubrians. This so deeply affected them, that, de-

setting their commander and their camp, they dispersed themselves through the several towns, each wishing to take care of his own effects. Thus they obliged the enemy to alter their mode of carrying on the war: for, no longer hoping to decide the matter by a single battle, he began again to lay waste the lands, burn the houses, and storm the villages. At this time, Clastidium was burned, and the legions were led thence against the Ilvian Ligurians, who alone refused to submit. That state, also, on learning that the Insubrians had been defeated in battle, and the Boians so terrified that they had not dared to risk an engagement, made a submission. Letters from the consuls, containing accounts of their successes, came from Gaul to Rome at the same time. Marcus Sergius, city prætor, read them in the senate, and afterwards, by direction of the Fathers, in an assembly of the people; on which a supplication, of four days' continuance, was decreed.—By this time winter had begun.

XXXII. During the winter, while Titus Quintius, after the reduction of Elatia, had his troops cantoned in Phocis and Locris, a violent dissension broke out at Opus. One faction invited to their assistance the Ætolians, who were nearest at hand; the other the Romans. The Ætolians arrived first; but the other party, which was the more powerful, refused them admittance, and, despatching a courier to the Roman general, held the citadel until he arrived. The citadel was possessed by a garrison belonging to the king, and they could not be prevailed on to give it up, either by the threats of the people of Opus, or by the commands of the Roman consul. What prevented their being immediately attacked, was, the arrival of an envoy from the king, to solicit the appointing of a time and place for a conference. This request was readily complied with; not that Quintius did not wish to see war concluded under his own auspices, partly by arms, and partly by negotiation: for he knew not, yet, whether one of the new consuls would be sent to take the government in his room, or whether he should be continued in the command; a point which he had charged his friends and relations to labour with all their might. But he thought that a conference would answer this purpose: that it would put it in his power to give matters a turn towards war, in case he remained in the province, or towards peace, if he were to be removed. They chose for the meeting a part

of the sea-shore, in the Malian gulf, near Nicaea. Thither Philip came from Demetrias, with five barks and one ship of war: he was accompanied by some principal Macedonians, and an Achæan exile, name Cycliades, a man of considerable note. With the Roman general, were king Amynder, Dionysidorus, ambassador from king Attalus, Agesimbrotus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phæneas, prætor of the Ætolians, and two Achæans, Aristæus and Xenophon. Attended by these, the Roman general advanced to the brink of the shore, and the king came forward to the prow of his vessel, as it lay at anchor; when the former said, "If you will come on the shore, we shall converse with greater ease." This the king refused; and on Quintius asking him, "Whom do you fear?" With the haughty spirit of royalty, he replied, "Fear I have none, but of the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the faith of those whom I see about you. and least of all in the Ætolians." "That danger," said the Roman, "is equal in all cases; when men confer with an enemy, no confidence subsists." "But, Titus Quintius," replied the king, "if treachery be intended, the prizes of perfidy are not equal: Philip and Phæneas. For it will not be so difficult for the Ætolians to find another prætor, as for the Macedonians to find another king in my place."—Silence then ensued.

XXXIII. The Roman expected that he, who solicited the conference, should open it; and the king thought, that he who was to prescribe, not he who received, terms of peace, ought to begin the conference. At length the Roman said, that "his discourse should be very simple; for he would only mention those articles, without which no pacification could be admitted. These were that the king should withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece. That he should deliver up to the allies of the Roman people the prisoners and deserters; should restore to the Romans those places in Illyricum of which he had possessed himself by force, since the peace concluded in Epirus; and to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the cities which he had seized since the death of Ptolemy Philopater. These were the terms which he required, on behalf of himself and the Roman people: but it was proper that the demands of the allies, also, should be heard. The ambassador of king Attalus demanded "restitution of the ships and prisoners taken in the sea-fight at Cius: and



that Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, which Philip had pillaged and defaced, should be put in a state of thorough repair." The Rhodians laid claim to Peræa, a tract on the continent, lying opposite to their island, which from early times had been under their jurisdiction; and they required that "the garrisons should be withdrawn from Tassus, Bargylii, and Euroma, and from Sestus and Abydos on the Hellespont; that Perinthus should be restored to the Byzantians, in right of their ancient title, and that all the seaport towns and harbours of Asia should be free." The Achæans asserted their right to Corinth and Argos. Phæneas nearly repeated the demands made by the Romans, that the troops should withdraw out of Greece, and the Ætolians be put in possession of the cities which had formerly been under their dominion. He was followed by Alexander, a man of eminence among this people, and considering his country, not uneloquent. He said, that "he had long kept silence, not because he expected that any business would be effected in that conference, but because he was unwilling to interrupt any of the allies in their discourse." He asserted, that "Philip had neither treated of peace with sincerity; nor waged war with courage, at any time: that in negotiating, he was insidious and fraudulent: while in war he never fought on equal ground, nor engaged in regular battles; but, skulking about, burned and pillaged towns, and, when likely to be vanquished, destroyed the prizes of victory. But not in that manner did the ancient kings of Macedon behave; they decided the fate of the war in the field, and spared the towns as far as they were able, in order to possess the more opulent empire. For, what sort of conduct was it to destroy the objects, for the possession of which the contest was waged, and thereby leave nothing to himself but fighting? Philip had, in the last year, desolated more cities of his allies in Thessaly, than all the enemies that Thessaly ever had. On the Ætolians themselves, he had made greater depredations, when he was in alliance with them, than since he became their enemy. He had seized on Lysimachia, after dislodging the prætor and garrison of the Ætolians. Cius also, a city belonging to their government, he razed from the foundation. With the same injustice, he held possession of Thebes in Phthiotis, of Echinus, Larissa, and Pharsalus."

XXXIV. Philip, provoked by this dis-

course of Alexander, pushed his ship nearer to the land, that he might be the better heard, and began to speak with much violence, particularly against the Ætolians. But Phæneas, interrupting him, said that "the business depended not upon words; he must either conquer in war, or submit to his superiors. "That, indeed, is evident," said Philip, "even to the blind," sneering at Phæneas, who had a disorder in his eyes: for he was naturally fonder of such pleasantries than became a king; and even in the midst of serious business, he indulged a turn to ridicule farther than was decent. He then expressed great indignation at the "Ætolians assuming as much importance as the Romans, and insisting on his evacuating Greece; people who knew not even its boundaries. For, of Ætolia itself, a large proportion, consisting of the Agræans, Apodeotians, and Amphilocheians, was no part of Greece. Have they just ground of complaint against me, for not refraining from war with their allies, when themselves, from the earliest period, follow, as an established rule, the practice of suffering their young men to carry arms against those allies, withholding only the public authority of the state: while very frequently contending armies have Ætolian auxiliaries on both sides? I did not seize on Cius by force, but assisted my friend and ally, Prussias, who was besieging it, and Lysimachia I rescued from the Thracians. But since necessity diverted my attention from the guarding of it to this present war, the Thracians have possession of it. So much for the Ætolians. To Attalus, and the Rhodians I in justice owe nothing; for not to me, but to themselves, is the commencement of hostilities to be attributed. However, out of respect to the Romans, I will restore Peræa to the Rhodians, and to Attalus his ships, and such prisoners as can be found. As to what concerns Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, what other answer can I make to those who require their restoration, than what I should make in case of woods and groves cut down: that, as the only way of restoring them, I will take on myself the trouble and expense of planting, since it is thought fit that, between kings, such kinds of demands should be made and answered." The last part of his speech was directed to the Achæans, wherein he enumerated, first, the kindnesses of Antigonos; then, his own towards their nation, desiring them to consider the decrees themselves had passed concerning

him, which comprehended every kind of honour, divine and human; and to these he added their late decree, by which they had confirmed the resolution of deserting him. He inveighed bitterly against their perfidy, but told them, that nevertheless he would give them back Argos. "With regard to Corinth, he would consult with the Roman general; and would, at the same time, inquire from him, whether he demanded, only, that he (Philip) should evacuate those cities, which, being captured by himself, were held by the right of war; or those, also, which he had received from his ancestors."

XXXV. The Achæans and Ætoliæns were preparing to answer, but, as the sun was near setting, the conference was adjourned to the next day; and Philip returned to his station whence he came, the Romans and allies to their camp. On the following day, Quintius repaired to Nicæa, which was the place agreed on, at the appointed time; but neither Philip, nor any message from him, came, for several hours. At length, when they began to despair of his coming, his ships suddenly appeared. He said, that "the terms enjoined were so severe and humiliating, that, not knowing what to determine, he had spent the day in deliberation." But the general opinion was, that he had purposely delayed the business, that the Achæans and Ætoliæns might not have time to answer him; and this opinion he himself confirmed, by desiring, in order to avoid altercation, and to bring the affair to some conclusion, that the others should retire, and leave him to converse with the Roman general. For some time, this was not admitted, lest the allies should appear to be excluded from the conference. Afterwards, on his persisting in his desire, the Roman general, with the consent of all, taking with him Appius Claudius, a military tribune, advanced to the brink of the coast, and the rest retired. The king, with the two persons whom he had brought the day before, came on shore, where they conversed a considerable time in private. What account of their proceedings Philip gave to his people is not well known: what Quintius told the allies was, that "Philip was willing to cede to the Romans the whole coast of Illyricum, and to give up the deserters and prisoners, if there were any. That he consented to restore to Attalus his ships, and the seamen taken with them; and to the Rhodians the tract which they call Peræa. That he refused to evacuate Iassus

and Bargylli. To the Ætoliæns he was ready to restore Pharsalus and Larissa; Thebes he would keep: and that he would give back to the Achæans the possession, not only of Argos, but of Corinth also." This arrangement pleased none of the parties; neither those to whom the concessions were to be made, nor those to whom they were refused; "for on that plan," they said, "more would be lost than gained; nor could the grounds of contention ever be removed, but by his utterly evacuating every part of Greece."

XXXVI. These expressions, delivered with eagerness and vehemence by every one in the assembly, reached the ears of Philip, though he stood at a distance. He therefore requested of Quintius, that the whole business might be deferred until the next day; and then he would, positively, either prevail on the allies to accede to his proposals, or suffer himself to be prevailed on to accede to theirs. The shore at Thronium was appointed for their meeting, and all the parties assembled there early. Philip began with entreating Quintius, and all who were present, not to harbour such sentiments as must tend to obstruct a pacification; and then desired time, while he could send ambassadors to Rome, to the senate, declaring, that "he would either obtain a peace on the terms mentioned, or would accept whatever terms the senate should prescribe." None approved of this; they said, he only sought a delay, and leisure to collect his strength. But Quintius observed, "that such an objection would have been well founded, if it were then summer and a season fit for action; as matters stood, and the winter being just at hand, nothing would be lost by allowing him time to send ambassadors. For, without the authority of the senate, no agreement which they might conclude with the king would be valid; and besides, they would by this means have an opportunity, while the winter itself would necessarily cause a suspension of arms, to learn what terms were likely to be approved by the senate." The other chiefs of the allies came over to this opinion: and a cessation of hostilities for two months being granted, they resolved that each of their states should send an ambassador with the necessary information to the senate, and in order that it should not be deceived by the misrepresentations of Philip. To the above contention, was added an article, that all the king's troops should be immediately



withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. With the ambassadors of the allies, Quintius sent Amynander, king of Athamania; and, to add a degree of splendour to the embassy, a deputation from himself, composed of Quintus Fabius, the son of his wife's sister, Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius.

XXXVII. On their arrival at Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were admitted to audience before those of the king. Their discourse, in general, was filled up with invectives against Philip. What produced the greatest effect on the minds of the senate, was, that, by pointing out the relative situations of the lands and seas in that part of the world, they made it manifest to every one, that if the king held Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, Greece could not be free; and they added, that Philip himself, with not more insolence than truth, used to call these the fetters of Greece. The king's ambassadors were then introduced, and, when they were beginning a long harangue, they were stopped by a short question, Whether he was willing to yield up the three above-mentioned cities? They answered, that they had received no specific instructions on that head: on which they were dismissed, without having made any progress towards a peace. Full authority was given to Quintius to determine every thing relative to war and peace. As this demonstrated clearly that the senate were not weary of the war, so he who was more earnestly desirous of conquest than of peace, never afterwards consented to a conference with Philip; and even gave him notice that he would not admit any embassy from him, unless it came with information that his troops were retiring from Greece.

XXXVIII. Philip now perceived that he must decide the matter by arms, and collect his strength about him from all quarters. Being particularly uneasy in respect to the cities of Achaia, a country so distant from him, and also of Argos, even more, indeed, than of Corinth, he resolved, as the most advisable method, to put the former into the hands of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, in trust as it were, on the terms, that if he should prove successful in the war, Nabis should re-deliver it to him; if any misfortune should happen, he should keep it himself. Accordingly, he wrote to Philocles, who had the command in Corinth and Argos, to have a meeting with the tyrant.

Philocles, besides coming with a valuable present, added to that pledge of future friendship between the king and the tyrant, that it was Philip's wish to unite his daughters in marriage to the sons of Nabis. The tyrant, at first, refused to receive the city on any other terms, than that of being invited by a decree of the Argives themselves: but afterwards, hearing that in a full assembly they had treated his name not only with scorn, but even with abhorrence, he thought he had now a sufficient excuse for plundering them, and he accordingly desired Philip to give him possession of the place. Nabis was admitted into the city in the night, without the privy of any of the inhabitants, and, at the first light, seized on the higher parts of it, and shut the gates. A few of the principal people having made their escape, during the first confusion, the properties of all who were absent were seized as booty: those who were present were stripped of their gold and silver, and loaded with exorbitant contributions. Such as paid these readily were discharged, without personal insult and laceration of their bodies; but such as were suspected of hiding or reserving any of their effects, were mangled and tortured like slaves. He then summoned an assembly, in which he proposed the passing of two laws; one for an abolition of debts, the other for a distribution of the land, in shares, to each man—two firebrands in the hands of the enemies of government, for inflaming the populace against the higher ranks.

XXXIX. The tyrant, when he had the city of Argos in his power, never considering from whom, or on what conditions he had received it, sent ambassadors to Elatia, to Quintius, and to Attalus, in his winter-quarters at Ægina, to tell them, that "he was in possession of Argos; and that if Quintius would come hither, and consult with him, he had no doubt but that every thing might be adjusted between them." Quintius glad of an opportunity of depriving Philip of that strong hold, along with the rest, consented to come; accordingly, sending a message to Attalus, to leave Ægina, and meet him at Sicyon, he set sail from Anticyra with ten quinqueremes, which his brother Lucius Quintius happened to bring a little before from his winter station at Coreyra, and passed over to Sicyon. Attalus was there before him, who, representing that the tyrant ought to come to the Roman general, not the general to the tyrant, brought Quintius over to his

opinion, which was, that he should not enter the city of Argos. Not far from it, however, was a place called Mycenica; and there the parties agreed to meet. Quintius came, with his brother and a few military tribunes; Attalus, with his royal retinue; and Nicostratus, the prætor of the Achæans, with a few of the auxiliary officers: and they there found Nabis waiting with his whole army. He advanced, armed and attended by his guards, almost to the middle of the interjacent plain; Quintius, unarmed, with his brother and two military tribunes; the king was accompanied by one of his nobles, and the prætor of the Achæans unarmed likewise. The tyrant, when he saw the king and the Roman general unarmed, opened the conference, with apologizing for having come to the meeting armed himself, and surrounded with armed men. "He had no apprehensions," he said, "from them; but only from the Argive exiles." When they then began to treat of the terms, on which friendship was to be established between them, the Roman made two demands: one, that the Lacedæmonian should conclude a peace with the Achæans; the other, that he should send him aid against Philip. He promised the aid required; but, instead of a peace with the Achæans, a cessation of hostilities was obtained, to last until the war with Philip should be ended.

XL. A debate, concerning the Argives also, was set on foot by king Attalus, who charged Nabis with holding their city by force, which was put into his hands by the treachery of Philocles; while Nabis insisted, that he had been invited by the Argives themselves to afford them protection. The king required a general assembly of the Argives to be convened, that the truth of that matter might be known. To this the tyrant did not object; but the king alleged, that the Lacedæmonian troops ought to be withdrawn from the city, in

order to render the assembly free; and that the people should be left at liberty to declare their real sentiments. This was refused, and the debate produced no effect. To the Roman general, six hundred Cretans were given by Nabis, who agreed with the prætor of the Achæans to a cessation of arms for four months, and then the conference broke up. Quintius proceeded to Corinth, advancing to the gates with the cohort of Cretans, in order to show Philocles, the governor of the city, that the tyrant had deserted the cause of Philip. Philocles came out to confer with the Roman general; and, on the latter exhorting him to change sides immediately, and surrender the city, he answered in such a manner as showed an inclination rather to defer, than to refuse the matter. From Corinth, Quintius sailed over to Anticyra, and sent his brother thence, to sound the disposition of the people of Acarnania. Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. Here, on one side, the state added new honours to those formerly paid to the king; and, on the other, the king, besides having on a former occasion redeemed for them, at a vast expense, a piece of land sacred to Apollo, unwilling to pass by the city of his friends and allies without a token of munificence, made them a present of ten talents of silver,<sup>1</sup> and ten thousand bushels of corn, and then returned to Cenchreæ to his fleet. Nabis, leaving a strong garrison at Argos, returned to Lacedæmon; and, as he himself had pillaged the men, he sent his wife to Argos to pillage the women. She invited to her house, sometimes singly, and sometimes in numbers, all the females of distinction who were related to each other: and partly by fair speeches, partly by threats, stripped them, not only of their gold, but, at last, even of their garments, and every article of dress.

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1 1,937l. 10s.





## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK XXXIII.

Titus Quintius Flaminius, proconsul, gains a decisive victory over Philip at Cynoscephalæ. Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, prætor, cut off by the Celtiberians. Death of Attalus, at Pergamus. Peace granted to Philip, and liberty to Greece. Lucius Furius Purpureo and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consuls, subdue the Boian and Insubrian Gauls. Triumph of Marcellus. Hannibal, alarmed at an embassy from Rome concerning him, flies to Antiochus, king of Syria, who was preparing to make war on the Romans.

SUCH were the occurrences of the winter. In the beginning of spring, Quintius urged Attalus to join him, which he did, at Elatia; and being anxious to bring under his authority the nation of the Bœotians, who had hitherto been wavering and irresolute, he marched through Phocis, and pitched his camp at the distance of five miles from Thebes, the capital of Bœotia. Next day, attended by one company of soldiers, and by Attalus, together with the ambassadors, who had come to him in great numbers, from all quarters, he proceeded towards the city, having ordered the spearmen of two legions, being two thousand men, to follow him at the distance of a mile. About midway, Antiphilus, prætor of the Bœotians, met him: the rest of the people stood on the walls, watching the arrival of the king and the Roman general. Few arms and few soldiers appeared—the hollow roads, and the valleys, concealing from view the spearmen, who followed at a distance. When Quintius drew near the city, he slackened his pace, as if with intention to salute the multitude, who came out to meet him: but the real motive of his delaying was, that the spearmen might come up. The townsmen pushed forward, in a crowd, before the lictors, not perceiving the band of soldiers who were following them close, until they arrived at the general's quarters. Then, supposing the city betrayed and taken, through the treachery of Antiphilus, their prætor, they were

all struck with astonishment and dismay. It was now evident that no room was left to the Bœotians for a free discussion of measures in the assembly, which was summoned for the following day. However they concealed their grief, which it would have been both vain and unsafe to have discovered.

II. When the assembly met, Attalus, first, rose to speak, and he began his discourse with a recital of the kindnesses conferred by his ancestors and himself on the Greeks in general, and on the Bœotians in particular. But, being now too old and infirm to bear the exertion of speaking in public, he lost his voice, and fell; and for some time, while they were carrying him to his apartments, (for he was deprived of the use of one half of his limbs,) the proceedings of the assembly were stopped. Then, Aristæus spoke on the part of the Achæans, and was listened to with the greater attention, because he recommended to the Bœotians no other measures than those which he had recommended to the Achæans. A few words were added by Quintius, extolling the good faith rather than the arms and power of the Romans. A resolution was then proposed, by Dicearchus of Plataea, for forming a treaty of friendship with the Roman people, which was read; and no one daring to offer any opposition, it passed by the suffrages of all the states of Bœotia. When the assembly broke up, Quintius made no longer stay at Thebes than the



sudden misfortune of Attalus made necessary. When he found that the force of the disorder had not brought the king's life into any immediate danger, but had only occasioned a weakness in his limbs, he left him there, to use the necessary means for recovery, and went back to Elatia. Having now brought the Bœotians, as formerly the Achæans, to join in the confederacy, while all places were in a state of tranquillity and safety, he bent his thought and attention towards Philip, and the remaining business of the war.

III. Philip, on his part, as his ambassadors had brought no hopes of peace from Rome, resolved, as soon as spring began, to levy soldiers through every town in his dominions: but he found a great scarcity of young men; for successive wars, through several generations, had very much exhausted the Macedonians, and, even in the course of his own reign, great numbers had fallen, in the naval engagements with the Rhodians and Attalus, and in those on land with the Romans. Mere youths, therefore, from the age of sixteen, were enlisted; and even those who had served out their time, provided they had any remains of strength, were recalled to their standards. Having, by these means, filled up the numbers of his army about the vernal equinox, he drew together all his forces to Dius; he encamped them there in a fixed post; and, exercising the soldiers every day, waited for the enemy. About the same time Quintius left Elatia, and came by Thronium and Scarphea to Thermopylæ. There he held an assembly of the Ætolians, which had been summoned to meet at Heraclea, to determine what number of men they should send to assist the Romans. On the third day, having learned the determination of the allies, he proceeded from Heraclea to Xyniæ; and, pitching his camp on the confines between the Ænians and Thessalians, waited for the Ætolian auxiliaries. The Ætolians occasioned no delay. Two thousand foot, and four hundred horse, under the command of Phæneas, speedily joined him; and then Quintius, to show plainly what he had waited for, immediately decamped. On passing into the country of Phthiotis, he was joined by five hundred Cretans of Gortynium, whose commander was Cydates, with three hundred Apollonians, armed nearly in the same manner; and not long after, by Amynder, with one thousand two hundred Athamanian foot.

IV. Philip, being informed of the departure of the Romans from Elatia, and considering that, on the approaching contest, his kingdom was at hazard, thought it advisable to make an encouraging speech to his soldiers; in which, after he had expatiated on many topics often insisted on before, respecting the virtues of their ancestors, and the military fame of the Macedonians, he touched particularly on two things, which at the time threw the greatest damp on their spirits, laying great stress upon such as might revive their courage, and give them some degree of confidence. To the defeat suffered at the river Aous, where the phalanx of the Macedonians was thrown into consternation and disorder, he opposed the repulse given by main force to the Romans at Atrax: and even with respect to the former case, when they had not maintained possession of the pass leading into Epirus, he said, "the first fault was to be imputed to those who had been negligent in keeping the guards; and the second, to the light-infantry and mercenaries in the time of the engagement; but that, as to the phalanx of the Macedonians, it had stood firm on that occasion; and would for ever remain invincible, on equal ground, and in regular fight." This body consisted of sixteen thousand men, the prime strength of the army, and of the kingdom. Besides these, he had two thousand targateers, called Peltastæ; of Thracians and Illyrians, of the tribe called Trallians, the like number of two thousand; and of hired auxiliaries, collected out of various nations, about one thousand; and two thousand horse. With this force the king waited for the enemy. The Romans had nearly an equal number; in cavalry they had a superiority, by the addition of the Ætolians.

V. Quintius, marching to Thebes in Phthiotis sat down before it; and having received encouragement to hope, that the city would be betrayed to him by Timon, a leading man in the state, he came up close to the walls with only a small number of cavalry and some light-infantry. So entirely were his expectations disappointed, that he was not only obliged to maintain a fight with the enemy, who sallied out against him, but would have been in extreme danger, had not both infantry and cavalry been called out hastily from the camp, and come up in time. Not meeting with that success which his too sanguine hopes had led him to expect, he desisted

from any farther attempt on the city at present. He had received certain information of the king being in Thessaly; but as he had not yet discovered into what part of it he had come, he sent his soldiers round the country, with orders to cut timber and prepare palisades. Both Macedonians and Greeks had palisades; but the latter had not adopted the most convenient mode of using them, either with respect to carriage, or for the purpose of strengthening their posts. They cut trees, both too large, and too full of branches for a soldier to carry easily along with his arms: and after they had fenced their camp with a line of these, to demolish them was no difficult matter; for the trunks appearing to view, with great intervals between them, and the numerous and strong shoots affording the hand a good hold, two, or at most three young men, uniting their efforts, used to pull out one tree, which, being removed, left a breach as wide as a gate, and there was nothing at hand with which it could be stopped up. But the Romans cut light stakes, mostly of one fork, with three, or at the most, four branches; so that a soldier, with his arms slung at his back, can carry several of them together; and then they stick them down so closely, and interweave the branches in such a manner, that it cannot be seen to what extent any branch belongs; besides which, the boughs are so sharp, and wrought so intimately with each other, as to leave no room for a hand to be thrust between; consequently an enemy cannot lay hold of any thing, or, if that could be done, could he draw out the branches thus intertwined, and which mutually bind each other. Nay, even if, by accident, one should be pulled out, it leaves but a small opening, which is very easily filled up.

VI. Next day Quintius, causing his men to carry palisades with them, that they might be ready to encamp on any spot, marched a short way, and took post about six miles from Pheræ; whence he sent scouts to discover in what part of Thessaly the king was, and what appeared to be his intention. Philip was then near Larissa, and as soon as he learned that the Roman general had removed from Thebes, being equally impatient for a decisive engagement, he proceeded towards the enemy, and pitched his camp about four miles from Pheræ. On the day following, some light troops went out from both camps, to seize on certain hills, which overlooked the city. When, nearly at

equal distances from the summit which was intended to be seized, they came within sight of each other, they halted; and sending messengers to their respective camps for directions, how they were to proceed on this unexpected meeting, waited their return in quiet. For that day, they were recalled to their camps, without having come to action. On the following day, there was an engagement between the cavalry, near the same hills, in which the Ætolians bore no small part; and in which the king's troops were defeated, and driven within their trenches. Both parties were greatly impeded in the action, by the ground being thickly planted with trees; by the gardens, of which there were many in a place so near the city; and by the roads being inclosed between walls, and in some places shut up. The commanders, therefore, were equally desirous of removing out of that quarter; and, as if they had preconcerted the matter, they both directed their route to Scotussa: Philip hoping to find there a supply of corn; the Roman intending to get before him, and destroy the crops. The armies marched the whole day without having sight of each other in any place, the view being intercepted by a continued range of hills between them. The Romans encamped at Eretria, in Phthiotis; Philip, on the river Onchestus. But though Philip lay at Melambrius, in the territory of Scotussa, and Quintius near Thetidium, in Pharsalia, neither party knew with any certainty, where his antagonist was. On the third day, there fell a violent rain, which was succeeded by darkness equal to that of night, and this confined the Romans to their camp, through fear of an ambuscade.

VII. Philip, intent on hastening his march, suffered not himself to be delayed by the clouds, which, after the rain, covered the face of the country, but ordered his troops to march: and yet so thick a fog had obscured the day, that neither the standard-bearers could see the road, nor the soldiers the standards; so that all, led blindly by the shouts of uncertain guides, fell into disorder, like men wandering by night. When they had passed over the hills called Cynoscephalæ, where they left a strong guard of foot and horse, they pitched their camp. Although the Roman general staid at Thetidium, yet he detached ten troops of horse, and one thousand foot, to find out where the enemy lay; warning them, however, against ambuscades, which the darkness of the day would



cover, even in an open country. When these arrived at the hills, where the enemy's guard was posted, struck with mutual fear, both parties stood, as if deprived of the power of motion. They then sent back messengers to their respective commanders; and when the first surprise subsided, they proceeded to action without more delay. The fight was begun by small advanced parties; and afterwards the number of the combatants were increased by reinforcements sent to support those who gave way. But the Romans, far inferior to their adversaries, sent message after message to the general, that they were in danger of being overpowered: on which he hastily sent five hundred horse, and two thousand foot, mostly Ætolians, under the command of two military tribunes, who relieved them, and restored the fight. The Macedonians, distressed in turn by this change of fortune, sent to beg succour from their king: but as, on account of the general darkness from the fog, he had expected nothing less, on that day, than a battle, and had therefore sent a great number of men, of every kind, to forage, he was, for a considerable time, in great perplexity, and unable to form a resolution. The messengers still continued to urge him; the covering of clouds was now removed from the tops of the mountains, and the Macedonian party was in view, having been driven up to the highest summit, and trusting for safety rather to the nature of the ground, than to their arms. He therefore thought it necessary, at all events, to hazard the whole, in order to prevent the loss of a part, for want of support: and, accordingly, he sent up Athenagoras, general of the mercenaries, with all the auxiliaries, except the Thracians, joined by the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. On their arrival, the Romans were forced from the top of the hill, and did not face about until they came to the level plain. The principal support which saved them from being driven down in disorderly flight, was the Ætolian horsemen. The Ætolians were then by far the best cavalry in Greece; in infantry, they were surpassed by some of their neighbours.

VIII. The accounts of this affair, which were brought to the king, represented it in a more flattering light than the advantage gained could warrant; for people came, one after another, and calling out that the Romans were flying in a panic: so that notwithstanding it was against his judgment, and he demurred,

declaring it a rash proceeding, and that he liked not either the place or the time, yet he was prevailed upon to draw out his whole force to battle. The Roman general did the same, induced by necessity, rather than by the favourableness of the occasion. Leaving the right wing as a reserve, having the elephants posted in front, he, with the left, and all the right infantry, advanced against the enemy; at the same time reminding his men, that "they were going to fight the same Macedonians whom they had fought in the passes of Epirus, fenced, as they were, with mountains and rivers, and whom, after conquering the natural difficulties of the ground, they had dislodged and vanquished; the same, in short, whom they had before defeated under the command of Publius Sulpicius, when they opposed their passage to Eordæa. That the kingdom of Macedonia had been hitherto supported by its reputation, not by real strength. Even that reputation had, at length, vanished." Quintius soon reached his troops, who stood in the bottom of the valley; and they, on the arrival of their general and the army, renewed the fight, and, making a vigorous onset, compelled the enemy again to turn their backs. Philip, with the targeteers, and the right wing of infantry (the main strength of the Macedonian army, called by them the phalanx), advanced in a quick pace, having ordered Nicanor, one of his courtiers, to bring up the rest of his forces with all speed. On reaching the top of the hill, from a few arms and bodies lying there, he perceived that there had been an engagement on the spot, and that the Romans had been repulsed from it. When he likewise saw the fight now going on close to the enemy's works, he was elated beyond measure: but presently, observing his men flying back, and the danger of his own, he was much embarrassed, and hesitated for some time, whether he should cause his troops to retire into the camp. He was sensible that his party, besides the losses which they suffered as they fled, must be entirely lost, if not speedily succoured; and as, by this time, a retreat would be unsafe, he found himself compelled to put all to hazard, before he was joined by the other division of his forces. He placed the cavalry and light-infantry that had been engaged, on the right wing; and ordered the targeteers, and the phalanx of Macedonians, to lay aside their spears, which their great length rendered unserviceable, and to manage

the business with their swords: at the same time, that his line might not be easily broken, he lessened the extent of the front one half, and doubled the files in depth. He ordered them also to close their files, so that men and arms should touch each other.

IX. Quintius, having received among the standards and ranks those who had been engaged with the enemy, gave the signal by sound of trumpet. It is said, that such a shout was raised, as was seldom heard at the beginning of any battle; for it happened, that both armies shouted at once; not only the troops then engaged, but also the reserves, and those who were just then coming into the field. The king, fighting from the higher ground, had the better on the right wing, by means chiefly of the advantage of situation. On the left, all was disorder and confusion; particularly when that division of the phalanx, which had marched in the rear, was coming up. The centre stood spectators of the fight, as if it no way concerned them. The phalanx, just arrived, (a column rather than a line of battle, and fitter for a march than for a fight,) had scarcely mounted the top of the hill: before these could form, Quintius, though he saw his men in the left wing giving way, charged the enemy furiously, first driving on the elephants against them, for he judged that one part being routed would draw the rest after. There was no dispute. The Macedonians, unable to stand the first shock of the elephants, instantly turned their backs; and the rest, as had been foreseen, followed them in their retreat. Then, one of the military tribunes, forming his design in the instant, took with him twenty companies of men; left that part of the army which was evidently victorious; and making a small circuit, fell on the rear of the enemy's right wing. Any army whatever must have been disordered by his charge. Such charge and disorder is, indeed, incident to all armies in general, but there was in this case a circumstance particularly aggravating. The phalanx of the Macedonians being heavy, could not readily face about; nor would they have been suffered to do it by their adversaries in front, who, although they gave way to them a little before, on this new occasion pressed them vigorously. Besides, they lay under another inconvenience in respect of the ground; for, by pursuing the retreating enemy down the face of the hill, they had left the top to the party who came round on their

rear. Thus attacked on both sides, they were exposed for some time to great slaughter, and then betook themselves to flight, most of them throwing away their arms.

X. Philip, with a small party of horse and foot, ascended a hill somewhat higher than the rest, to take a view of the situation of his troops on the left. Then when he saw them flying in confusion, and all the hills around glittering with Roman standards and arms, he withdrew from the field. Quintius, as he was pressing on the retreating enemy, observed the Macedonians suddenly raising up their spears, and not knowing what they meant thereby, he ordered the troops to halt. Then, on being told that this was the practice of the Macedonians, intimating an intention of surrendering themselves prisoners, he was disposed to spare the vanquished; but the troops, not being apprised, either of the enemy having ceased fighting, or of the general's intention, made a charge on them, and the foremost being soon cut down, the rest dispersed themselves and fled. Philip hastened with all possible speed to Tempé, and there halted one day at Gonni, to pick up those who might have survived the battle. The victorious Romans rushed into the Macedonian camp with hopes of spoil, but found it, for the most part, plundered already by the Ætolians. Eight thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, five thousand taken. Of the victors, about seven hundred fell. Valerius Antias, who on every occasion exaggerates numbers enormously, says that the killed of the enemy on that day amounted to forty thousand; the prisoners taken (in which article the deviation from truth is less extravagant,) to five thousand seven hundred, with two hundred and forty-one military standards. Claudius also asserts, that thirty-two thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand three hundred taken. We have not given entire credit, even to the smallest of those numbers, but have followed Polybius, a writer whose testimony may be depended on with respect to all the Roman affairs, but especially those which were transacted in Greece.

XI. Philip having collected, after the flight, such as, having been scattered by the various chances of the battle, had followed his steps, and having sent people to Larissa to burn the records of the kingdom, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into Macedonia. Quintius set up to sale a part of



the prisoners and booty, and part he bestowed on the soldiers; and then proceeded to Larissa, without having yet received any certain intelligence to what quarter Philip had betaken himself, or what were his designs. To this place came a herald from the king, apparently to obtain a truce, until those who had fallen in battle should be removed and buried, but in reality to request permission to send ambassadors. Both were obtained from the Roman general; who, besides, desired the messenger to tell the king, "not to be too much dejected." This expression gave much offence, particularly to the *Ætoli*ans, who were become very assuming, and who complained, that "the general was quite altered by success. Before the battle, he was accustomed to transact all business, whether great or small, in concert with the allies; but they had, now, no share in any of his counsels; he conducted all affairs entirely by his own judgment; and was even seeking an occasion of ingratiating himself personally with Philip, in order that, after the *Ætoli*ans had laboured through all hardships and difficulties of the war, the Roman might assume to himself all the merit and all the fruits of a peace." Certain it is, that he had treated them with less respect than formerly, but they were ignorant of his motives for slighting them. They imagined that he was actuated by an expectation of presents from the king, though he was of a spirit incapable of yielding to a passion of that kind; but he was, with good reason, displeased at the *Ætoli*ans, on account of their insatiable greediness for plunder, and of their arrogance in assuming to themselves the honour of the victory—a claim so ill founded, as to offend the ears of all who heard it. Besides he foresaw, that, if Philip were removed out of the way, and the strength of the kingdom of Macedonia entirely broken, the *Ætoli*ans would hold the place of masters of Greece. For these reasons, on many occasions, he took pains to lessen their importance and reputation in the judgment of the other states.

XII. A truce for fifteen days was granted to the Macedonians, and a conference with the king appointed. Before the day arrived on which this was to be held, the Roman general called a council of the allies, and desired their opinions respecting the terms of peace, proper to be prescribed. Amynander, king of Athamania, delivered his opinion in a few words; that "the conditions of peace ought to be

adjusted in such a manner, as that Greece might have sufficient power, even without the interference of the Romans, to maintain the peace, and also its own liberty." The sentiments delivered by the *Ætoli*ans were more harsh; for, after a few introductory observations on the justice and propriety of the Roman general's conduct, in communicating his plans of peace to those who had acted with him as allies in the war, they insisted, that he was utterly mistaken, if he supposed that he could leave the peace with the Romans, or the liberty of Greece, on a permanent footing, unless he deprived Philip, either of his life, or of the throne; both which he could easily accomplish, if he chose to pursue his present success." Quintius, in reply, said, that "the *Ætoli*ans, in giving such advice, attended not either to the maxims of the Roman policy, or to the consistency of their own conduct. For, in all the former councils and conferences, wherein the conditions of peace were discussed, they never once urged the pushing of the war to the utter ruin of the Macedonian: and, as to the Romans, besides that they had, from the earliest periods, observed the maxim of sparing the vanquished, they had lately given a signal proof of their clemency in the peace granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But, not to insist on the case of the Carthaginians, how often had the confederates met Philip himself in conference, yet no mention was ever made of his resigning his kingdom: and, because he had been defeated in battle, was that a reason that their animosity should become implacable? Against an armed foe, men ought to engage with hostile resentment; towards the vanquished, he that showed most clemency, showed the greatest spirit. The kings of Macedonia were thought to be dangerous to the liberty of Greece. Suppose that kingdom and nation extirpated, the Thracians, Illyrians, and in time, the Gauls, (nations uncivilized and savage,) would pour themselves into Macedonia first, and then into Greece. He therefore warned them, not, by removing inconveniences which lay nearest, to open a passage to others greater and more grievous." Here he was interrupted by Phæneas, prætor of the *Ætoli*ans, who called on the assembly to remember the warning he gave them: that "if Philip escaped now, he would soon raise a new and more dangerous war." On which Quintius said,—“Cease wrangling, when you ought to deliberate. The peace shall not be

encumbered with such conditions as will leave it in his power to raise a war."

XIII. The convention was then adjourned; and next day, the king came to the pass at the entrance of Tempè, the appointed place of meeting: and the third day following was fixed for introducing him to a full assembly of the Romans and allies. On this occasion Philip, with great prudence, avoided the mention of any of those particulars, without which peace could not be obtained; and he declared, that he was ready to comply with all the articles which, in the former conference, were either prescribed by the Romans or demanded by the allies; and to leave all other matters to the determination of the senate. Although he seemed to have hereby precluded every objection, even from the most inveterate of his enemies, yet, all the rest remaining silent, Phœneas, the Ætolian, said to him,—“What! Philip, do you at last restore to us Pharsalus and Larissa, with Cremaste, Echinus, and Thebes in Phthiotis?” Philip answered, that “he would give no obstruction to their retaking the possession of them.” On which a dispute arose between the Roman general and the Ætolians about Thebes; for Quintius affirmed, that it became the property of the Roman people by the laws of war; because when, before the commencement of hostilities, he marched his army thither, and invited the inhabitants to friendship; they, although at full liberty to renounce the king’s party, yet preferred an alliance with Philip to one with Rome. Phœneas alleged, that, in consideration of their being confederates in the war, it was reasonable, that whatever the Ætolians possessed before it began, should be restored; and that, besides, there was, in the first treaty, a provisional clause of that purport, by which the spoils of war, of every kind that could be carried or driven, were to belong to the Romans; the lands and captured cities to the Ætolians. “Yourselves,” replied Quintius, “annulled the conditions of that treaty, when ye deserted us, and made peace with Philip; but supposing it still remained in force, yet that clause could affect only captured cities. Now, the states of Thessaly submitted to us by a voluntary act of their own.”—These words were heard by the allies with universal approbation; but to the Ætolians they were highly displeasing at the present, and proved afterwards the cause of a war, and of many great disasters attending it.

The terms settled with Philip were that he should give his son Demetrius, and some of his friends, as hostages; should pay two hundred talents; and send ambassadors to Rome, to adjust the other articles: for which purpose there should be a cessation of arms for four months. An engagement was entered into, that, in case the senate should refuse to conclude a treaty, his money and hostages should be returned to him. We are told, that one of the principal reasons which made the Roman general wish to expedite the conclusion of a peace, was, that he had received certain information of Antiochus intending to commence hostilities, and to pass over into Europe.

XIV. About the same time, and, as some writers say, on the same day, the Achæans defeated Androsthenes, the king’s commander, in a general engagement near Corinth. Philip, intending to use this city as a citadel, to awe the states of Greece, had invited the principal inhabitants to a conference, under pretence of settling with them the number of horsemen which the Corinthians could supply towards the war, and these he detained as hostages. Besides the force already there, consisting of five hundred Macedonians, and eight hundred auxiliaries of various kinds, he had sent thither one thousand Macedonians, one thousand two hundred Illyrians, and of Thracians and Cretans (for these served in both the opposite armies), eight hundred. To these were added Boeotians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians, to the amount of one thousand, all carrying bucklers; with as many of the young Corinthians themselves, as filled up the number of six thousand effective men,—a force which inspired Androsthenes with such confidence, as to wish for a meeting with the enemy in the field. Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, was at Sicyon, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse; but seeing himself so inferior, both in the number and kind of troops, he did not go outside the walls: the king’s forces, in various excursions, ravaged the lands of Pellene, Philiassus, and Cleone. At last, reproaching the enemy with cowardice, they passed over into the territory of Sicyon, and, sailing round Achaia, wasted the whole coast. As the enemy, while thus employed, spread themselves about too widely, and too carelessly (the usual consequence of too much confidence,) Nicostratus



conceived hopes of attacking them by surprise. He therefore sent secret directions to all the neighbouring states, as to what day, and what number from each state, should assemble in arms at Apelauros, a place in the territory of Stymphalia. All being in readiness at the time appointed, he marched thence immediately; and, without communicating his intentions to any one, came by night through the territory of the Phliasians to Cleone. He had with him five thousand foot, of whom \* \* \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> were light-armed and three hundred horse; with this force he waited there, having despatched scouts to watch on what quarter the enemy should make their irregular inroads.

XV. Androstenes, utterly ignorant of all these proceedings, left Corinth, and encamped on the Nemea, a river running between the confines of Corinth and Sicyon. Here, dismissing one half of his troops, he divided the remainder into three parts, and ordered all the cavalry of each part to march in separate divisions, and ravage, at the same time, the territories of Pellene, Sicyon, and Phliasus. Accordingly, the three divisions set out by different roads. As soon as Nicostratus received intelligence of this at Cleone, he instantly sent forward a numerous detachment of mercenaries, to seize a strong pass at the entrance into the territory of Corinth; and he himself quickly followed, with his troops in two columns, the cavalry proceeding before the head of each, as advanced guards. In one column marched the mercenary soldiers and light infantry; in the other, the shield-bearers of the Achæans and other states, who composed the principal strength of the army. Both infantry and cavalry were now within a small distance of the camp, and some of the Thracians attacked parties of the enemy, who were straggling and scattered over the country, when the sudden alarm reached their tents. The commander there was thrown into the utmost perplexity; for, having never had a sight of the Achæans, except once or twice on the hills before Sicyon, when they did not venture down into the plains, he had never imagined that they would come so far as Cleone. He ordered the stragglers to be recalled by sound of trumpet; commanded the soldiers to take arms with all haste; and, marching out at the head of thin battalions, drew up his line on the bank of the river.

His other troops, having scarcely had time to be collected and formed, did not withstand the enemy's first onset; but the Macedonians had attended their standards in greater numbers, and now kept the battle a long time doubtful. At length, being left exposed by the flight of the rest, and pressed by two bodies of the enemy on different sides, by the light infantry on their flank, and by the shield-bearers and targeteers in front, and seeing victory declare against them, they at first gave ground; soon after, being vigorously pushed, they turned their backs; and most of them throwing away their arms, and having lost all hope of defending their camp, made the best of their way to Corinth. Nicostratus sent the mercenaries in pursuit; and the auxiliary Thracians against the party employed in ravaging the lands of Sicyon: both of which detachments slew great numbers, greater almost than were slain in the battle itself. Of those who had been ravaging Pellene and Phthius, some, returning to their camp, ignorant of all that had happened, and without any regular order, fell in with the advanced guards of the enemy, where they expected their own. Others, from the bustle which they perceived, suspecting the cause, fled and dispersed themselves in such a manner, that, as they wandered up and down, they were cut off by the very peasants. There fell, on that day, one thousand five hundred: three hundred were made prisoners. The great fears, under which all Achaia had hitherto laboured, were thus removed.

XVI. Before the battle at Cynoscephalæ, Lucius Quintus had invited to Corcyra some chiefs of the Acarnanians, the only state in Greece which had continued to maintain its alliance with the Macedonians; and, in concert with them, laid some kind of scheme for a change of measures. Two causes principally, had retained them in friendship with the king: one was a principal of honour, natural to that nation; the other, their fear and hatred of the Ætolians. A general assembly was summoned to meet at Leucas; but neither did all the states of Acarnania come thither, nor were those who did attend, agreed in opinion. However, the magistrates and leading men prevailed so far, as to get a decree passed, on the authority of a majority of those present, for joining in alliance with the Romans. This gave great offence to those who had not been present; and, in this ferment of the nation,

<sup>1</sup> In the original, the number is omitted, or lost.

Androcles and Echedemus, two men of distinction among the Acarnanians, being employed by Philip, gained so much influence as to prevail on the assembly, not only to repeal the decree for an alliance with Rome, but also to condemn, as guilty of treason, Archisilaus and Bianor, both men of the first rank in Acarnania, who had been the advisers of that measure; and to deprive Zeuxidas, the prætor, of his office, for having put it to the vote. The persons condemned took a course apparently desperate, but successful in the issue: for, while their friends advised them to yield to the times, and withdraw to Coreyra, to the Romans, they resolved to present themselves to the multitude; and either, by that act, to mollify their resentment, or endure whatever might befall them. They came, accordingly, into a full assembly; on which, at first, a murmur arose, expressive of surprise; but presently silence took place, partly from respect to their former dignity, partly from commiseration of their present situation. They were even indulged with the liberty of speaking. At first, they addressed the assembly in a suppliant manner; but, in the progress of their discourse, when they came to refute the charges made against them, they spoke with that degree of confidence which innocence inspires. At last, they even ventured to utter some complaints, and to charge the proceedings against them with injustice and cruelty; this had such an effect on the minds of all present, that, with one consent, they annulled all the decrees passed against them. Nevertheless, they came to a resolution, to renounce the friendship of the Romans, and return to the alliance with Philip.

XVII. These decrees were passed at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, the place where all the states usually met in council. As soon, therefore, as the news of this sudden change reached the lieutenant-general Flamininus, in Coreyra, he instantly set sail with the fleet for Leucas; and coming to an anchor at Heraas, advanced thence towards the walls with every kind of machine used in the attacking of cities; supposing that the first appearance of danger might bend the minds of the inhabitants to submission. But seeing no prospect of effecting any thing, except by force, he began to erect towers, and to bring up the battering rams and other engines to the walls. The whole of Acarnania, being situated between Ætolia and Epirus, faces towards the west and the Sicilian

sea. Leucadia, now an island, separated from Acarnania by a shallow strait, and which is the work of art, was then a peninsula, united on its eastern side to Acarnania by a narrow isthmus: this isthmus was about five hundred paces in length, and in breadth not above one hundred and twenty. At the entrance of this narrow neck stands Leucas, stretching up part of a hill which faces the east and Acarnania: the lower part of the town is level, lying along the sea, which divides Leucadia from Acarnania. Thus it lies open to attacks, both from the sea and from the land; for the channel is more like a marsh than a sea, and all the adjacent ground has a depth which renders the construction of works easy. In many places, therefore, at once, the walls were either undermined, or demolished by the ram. But all the advantages which the nature of the place afforded to the besiegers, were amply counterbalanced by the invincible spirit of the besieged: night and day they employed themselves busily in repairing the shattered parts of the wall; and, stopping up the breaches that were made, fought the enemy with great spirit, and showed a wish to defend the walls by their arms rather than themselves by the walls. And they would certainly have protracted the siege to a length unexpected by the Romans, had not some exiles of Italian birth, who resided in Leucas, admitted a band of soldiers into the citadel: notwithstanding which, when those troops ran down from the higher ground with great tumult and uproar, the Leucadians, drawing up in a body in the forum, withstood them for a considerable time in regular fight. Meanwhile, the walls were scaled in many places; and the besiegers, climbing over the rubbish, entered the town through the breaches. And now the lieutenant-general himself surrounded the combatants with a powerful force. Being thus hemmed in, many were slain, the rest laid down their arms, and surrendered to the conqueror. In a few days after, on hearing of the battle at Cynoscephalæ, all the states of Acarnania made their submission to the lieutenant-general.

XVIII. About this time, fortune, depressing the same party in every quarter at once, the Rhodians, in order to recover from Philip the tract on the continent called Piræa, which had been in possession of their ancestors, sent thither their prætor, Pausistratus, with eight hundred Achæan foot, and about one thou-



sand nine hundred men, made up of auxiliaries of various nations. These were Gauls, Nisue-tans, Pisuetans, Tamians, Areans from Africa, and Laodiceanians from Asia. With this force Pausistratus seized by surprise Tendeba, in the territory of Stratonice, a place exceedingly convenient for his purpose. A reinforcement of one thousand Achæan foot, and one hundred horse, called out for the same expedition, came up at the very time, under a commander called Theoxenus. Dinocrates, the king's general, with design to recover the fort, marched his army first to Tendeba, and then to another fort called Astragôn, which also stood in the territory of Stratonice. Then, calling in all the garrisons, which were scattered in many different places, and the Thessalian auxiliaries from Stratonice itself, he proceeded to Alabanda, where the enemy lay. The Rhodians were no way averse from a battle, and the camps being pitched near each other, both parties immediately came into the field. Dinocrates placed five hundred Macedonians on his right wing, and the Agrians on his left; the centre he formed of the troops which he had drawn together out of the garrisons of the forts; these were mostly Carians; and he covered the flanks with the cavalry, and the Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries. The Rhodians had on the right wing the Achæans; on the left mercenary soldiers; and in the centre a chosen band of infantry, a body of auxiliaries composed of troops of various nations. The cavalry and what light-infantry they had, were posted on the wings. During that day both armies remained on the banks of a rivulet, which ran between them, and, after discharging a few javelins, they retired into their camps. Next day, being drawn up in the same order, they fought a more obstinate battle than could have been expected, considering the numbers engaged; for there were not more than three thousand infantry on each side, and about one hundred horse: but they were not only on an equality with respect to numbers, and the kind of arms which they used, but they also fought with equal spirit, and equal hopes. First, the Achæans, crossing the rivulet, made an attack on the Agrians; then the whole line passed the river, almost at full speed. The fight continued doubtful a long time: the Achæans, one thousand in number, drove back the one thousand eight hundred Agrians. Then the whole centre gave way. On their

right wing, composed of Macedonians, no impression could be made, so long as their phalanx preserved its order, each man clinging as it were to another: but when, in consequence of their flank being left exposed, they endeavoured to turn their spears against the enemy, who were advancing upon that side, they immediately broke their ranks. This first caused disorder among themselves; they then turned their backs, and at last, throwing away their arms, and flying with precipitation, made the best of their way to Bargylii. To the same place Dinocrates also made his escape. The Rhodians continued the pursuit as long as the day lasted, and then retired to their camp. There is every reason to believe, that, if the victors had proceeded with speed to Stratonice, that city would have been gained without a contest; but the opportunity for effecting this was neglected, and the time wasted in taking possession of the forts and villages in Peræa. In the meantime, the courage of the troops in garrison at Stratonice revived; and shortly after, Dinocrates, with the troops which had escaped from the battle, came into the town, which, after that, was besieged and assaulted without effect; nor could it be reduced until a long time after that, when Antiochus took it. Such were the events that took place in Thessaly, in Achaia, and in Asia, all about the same time.

XIX. Philip was informed that the Dardanians, expecting to make an easy prey of his kingdom, after the many shocks it had suffered, had passed the frontiers, and were spreading devastation through the upper parts; on which, though he was hard pressed in almost every quarter of the globe, fortune on all occasions defeating his measures, and those of his friends, yet, thinking it more intolerable than death to be expelled from the possession of Macedonia, he made hasty levies through the cities of his dominions; and, with six thousand foot and five hundred horse, surprised and defeated the enemy near Stobi in Pæonia. Great numbers were killed in the fight, and greater numbers of those who were scattered about in quest of plunder. As to such as found a road open for flight, they never thought of trying the chance of an engagement, but hastened back to their own country. After this enterprise, executed with a degree of success beyond what he met in the rest of his attempts, and which raised the drooping courage of his people, he retired

to Thessalonica. Seasonable as was the termination of the Punic war, in extricating the Romans from the danger of a quarrel with Philip, the recent triumph over Philip happened still more opportunely, when Antiochus, in Syria, was almost ready to commence hostilities. For besides that it was easier to wage war against them separately than against their combined strength, a violent insurrection had, a little before this time, broke out in Spain. Antiochus, though he had in the preceding summer reduced under his power all the states in Coele Syria belonging to Ptolemy, and retired into winter quarters at Antioch, yet allowed himself no rest. For resolving to exert the whole strength of his kingdom, he collected a most powerful force, both naval and military; and in the beginning of spring, sending forward by land his two sons, Arduus and Mithridates, at the head of the army, with orders to wait for him at Sardis, he himself set out by sea, with a fleet of one hundred decked ships, besides two hundred lighter vessels, barks and fly-boats, designing to attempt the reduction of all the cities under the dominion of Ptolemy along the whole coast of Caria and Cilicia; and, at the same time, to send troops and ships to the assistance of Philip, in the then subsisting war.

XX. The Rhodians have signalized their faithful attachment to the Roman people, and their affection for the whole race of the Greeks, by many honourable exertions, both on land and sea; but never was their gallantry more eminently conspicuous than on this occasion, when, nowise dismayed at the formidable magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to tell the king, that if he attempted to bring his forces beyond Nephelis, which is a promontory of Cilicia, remarkable for being a boundary mentioned in an old treaty with the Athenians, they would meet him there and oppose him, not out of any ill will, but because they would not suffer him to join Philip and obstruct the Romans, who were restoring liberty to Greece. At this time Antiochus was pushing on the siege of Coracesium by regular approaches; for, after he had got possession of Zephyrium, Solæ, Aphrodisias, and Corycus; and doubling Anemurium, another promontory of Cilicia, had taken Selinus; when all these, and the other fortresses on that coast, had, either through fear or inclination, submitted without resistance, Coracesium shut its gates, and gave

him a delay which he did not expect. Here he gave audience to the Rhodians, and although the purport of their embassy was such as might kindle passion in the breast of a king, yet he stifled his resentment, and answered, that "he would send ambassadors to Rhodes, and would give them instructions to renew the old treaties, made by him and his predecessors, with that state; and to assure them, that they need not be alarmed at his approach; that it would be in no respect detrimental or injurious either to them or their allies; for he was determined not to violate the friendship subsisting between himself and the Romans: and of this, his own late embassy to that people, and the senate's answers and decrees, so honourable to him, ought to be deemed sufficient proof." Just at that time his ambassadors happened to return from Rome, where they had been heard and dismissed with courtesy, as the juncture required; the event of the war with Philip being yet uncertain. While the king's ambassadors were haranguing to the above purpose, in an assembly of the people at Rhodes, a courier arrived with an account of the battle at Cynoscephalæ having finally decided the fate of the war. In consequence of this intelligence, the Rhodians, now freed from all apprehensions of danger from Philip, resolved to oppose Antiochus with their fleet. Nor did they neglect another object that required their attention; the protection of the freedom of the cities in alliance with Ptolemy, which were threatened with war by Antiochus. For, some they assisted with men, others by forewarning them of the enemy's designs; by which means, they enabled the Cauneans, Mindians, Halicarnassians, and Samians, to preserve their liberty. It were needless to attempt enumerating all the transactions, as they occurred in that quarter, when I am scarcely equal to the task of recounting those which immediately concern the war in which Rome was engaged.

XXI. At this time king Attalus, having fallen sick at Thebes, and been carried thence to Pergamus, died at the age of seventy-one, after he had reigned forty-four years. To this man fortune had given nothing which could lead him to form pretensions to a throne except riches. By a prudent, and, at the same time, a splendid use of these, he begat, in himself first, and then in others, an opinion, that he was not undeserving of a crown. Afterwards, having in one battle utterly defeated the



Gauls, which nation was then the more terrible to Asia, as having but lately made its appearance there, he assumed the title of king, and ever after supported a spirit equal to the dignity of the station. He governed his subjects with the most perfect justice, and was singularly faithful to his engagements with his allies, gentle and bountiful to his friends; his wife and four sons survived him; and he left his government established on such solid and firm foundations, that the possession of it descended to the third generation. While this was the posture of affairs in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, the war with Philip being scarcely ended, and the peace certainly not yet perfected, a desperate insurrection took place in the Farther Spain. Marcus Helvius was governor of that province. He informed the senate by letter, that "two chieftains, Colca and Luscinus, were in arms; that Colca was joined by seventeen towns, and Luscinus by the powerful cities of Cardo and Bardo; and that the people of the whole sea-coast, who had not yet manifested their disposition, were ready to rise on the first motion of their neighbours." On this letter being read by Marcus Sergius, city prætor, the senate decreed, that, as soon as the election of prætors should be finished, the one to whose lot the government of Spain fell, should, without delay, consult the senate respecting the commotions in that province.

XXII. About the same time the consuls came home to Rome, and, on their holding a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona, and demanding a triumph, in consideration of their successes against the enemy, Caius Atinius Labeo, and Caius Ursanius, plebeian tribunes, insisted, that "they should propose their claims of a triumph separately, for they would not suffer the question to be put on both jointly, lest equal honours might be conferred where the merits were unequal." Minucius urged, that they had both been appointed to the government of one province, Italy; and that, through the course of their administration, his colleague and himself had been united in sentiments and in counsels; to which Cornelius added, that, when the Boians were passing the Po, to assist the Insubrians and Cænomanians against him, they were forced to return to defend their own country, from Minucius ravaging their towns and lands. In reply the tribunes acknowledged, that the services performed in the war by Cornelius were so great, that "no more

doubt could be entertained respecting his triumph than respecting the praise to be given to the immortal gods." Nevertheless they insisted, that "neither he nor any other member of the community should possess such power and influence as to be able, after obtaining such honour for himself, to bestow the same on a colleague, who, in claiming it, had betrayed an entire want of modesty. The exploits of Quintus Minucius in Liguria were trifling skirmishes, scarcely deserving mention; and in Gaul he had lost great numbers of soldiers." They mentioned even military tribunes, Titus Juvencius and Cneius Labeo, the plebeian tribune's brother, who had fallen, together with many other brave men, both citizens and allies: and they asserted, that "pretended surrenders of a few towns and villages, fabricated for the occasion, had been made, without any pledge of fidelity being taken." These altercations between the consuls and tribunes lasted two days: at last the consuls, overcome by the obstinacy of the tribunes, proposed their claims separately.

XXIII. To Cneius Cornelius a triumph was unanimously decreed: and the inhabitants of Placentia and Cremona added to the applause bestowed on the consul, by returning him thanks, and mentioning, to his honour, that they had been delivered by him from a siege; and that very many of them, when in the hands of the enemy, had been rescued from captivity. Quintus Minucius just tried how the proposal of his claim would be received, and finding the whole senate averse from it, declared, that by the authority of his office of consul, and pursuant to the example of many illustrious men, he would triumph on the Alban mount. Caius Cornelius, being yet in office, triumphed over the Insubrian and Cænomanian Gauls. He produced a great number of military standards, and carried in the procession abundance of Gallic spoils in captured chariots. Many Gauls of distinction were led before his chariot, and along with them, some writers say, Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general. But what, more than all, attracted the eyes of the public, was, a crowd of Cremonians and Placentians, with caps of liberty on their heads, following his chariot. He carried in his triumph two hundred and thirty-seven thousand five hundred *asses*,<sup>1</sup> and of silver denariuses, stamped with a chariot, seventy-nine thousand.<sup>2</sup>

He distributed to each of his soldiers seventy *asses*,<sup>1</sup> to a horseman double that sum, to a centurion triple. Quintus Minucius, consul, triumphed on the Alban mount, over the Ligurian and Boian Gauls. Although this triumph was less respectable, in regard to the place and the fame of his exploits, and because all knew the expense was not issued from the treasury; yet, in regard of the number of standards, chariots, and spoils, it was nearly equal to the other. The amount of the money also was nearly equal. Two hundred and fifty-four thousand *asses*<sup>2</sup> were conveyed to the treasury, and of silver denariuses, stamped with a chariot, fifty-three thousand two hundred.<sup>3</sup> He likewise gave to the soldiers, horsemen, and centurions, the same sums that his colleague had given.

XXIV. After the triumph, the election of consuls came on. The persons chosen were Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Next day, the following were elected prætors; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Caius Lælius. Toward the close of this year, a letter came from Titus Quintius, with information that he had fought a pitched battle with Philip in Thessaly, and had totally defeated him. This letter was read by Sergius, the prætor, first in the senate, and then, by their direction, in a general assembly; and supplications of five days' continuance were decreed on account of those successes. Soon after, arrived the ambassadors, both from Titus Quintius and from the king. The Macedonians were conducted out of the city to the Villa Publica, where lodgings and every other accommodation were provided for them, and the senate met in the temple of Bellona. Not many words passed; for the Macedonians declared, that whatever terms the senate should prescribe, the king was ready to comply with them. It was decreed, that, conformably to ancient practice, ten ambassadors should be appointed, and that, in council with them, the general, Titus Quintius, should grant terms of peace to Philip; and a clause was added, that, in the number of these ambassadors, should be Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who in their consulships, had held the province of Macedonia. On the same day the inhabitants of Cossa

presented a petition, praying, that the number of their colonists might be enlarged; and an order was accordingly passed, that one thousand should be added to the list, with a provision, that no person should be admitted into that number, who, at any time since the consulate of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, had acted as an enemy to the state.

XXV. This year the Roman games were exhibited in the circus, and on the stage, by the curule ædiles, Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius Manlius Vulso, with an unusual degree of splendour, and were beheld with the greater delight, in consequence of the late successes in war. They were thrice repeated entire, and the plebeian games seven times. These were exhibited by Acilius Glabrio and Caius Lælius, who also, out of the money arising from fines, erected three brazen statues, to Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Lucius Furius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, having entered on the consulship, [Y. R. 556. B. C. 196.] when the distribution of the provinces came to be agitated, and the senate appeared disposed to vote Italy the province of both, petitioned for liberty to put that of Macedonia to the lot along with Italy. Marcellus, who of the two was the more eager for that province, by assertions that the peace was merely a feigned one, and that if the army were withdrawn thence, the king would renew the war, caused some perplexity in the minds of the senate. The consuls would probably have carried the point, had not Quintus Marcius Rex, and Caius Antinius Labeo, plebeian tribunes, declared, that they would enter their protest, unless they were allowed, before any farther proceeding, to take the sense of the people, whether it was their will and order that peace be concluded with Philip. The question was put to the people in the capitol, and every one of the thirty-five tribes voted on the affirmative side. The public found the greater reason to rejoice at the ratification of the peace with Macedonia, as melancholy news was brought from Spain; and a letter was made public, announcing that "the prætor, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, had been defeated in battle in the Hither Spain; that his army had been utterly routed and dispersed, and several men of distinction slain in the fight. That Tuditanus, having been grievously wounded, and carried out of the field, expired soon after." Italy was decreed the province of both consuls, in which they were to employ the same legions which



the preceding consuls had ; and they were to raise four new legions, that two might be in readiness to go wherever the senate should direct. Titus Quintius Flaminius was ordered to continue in the government of his province, with the army of two legions, then on the spot. The former prolongation of his command was deemed sufficient.

XXVI. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Lucius Apustius Fullo obtained the city jurisdiction ; Manlius Acilius Glabrio, that between natives and foreigners ; Quintus Fabius Buteo, Farther Spain ; Quintus Minucius Thermus, Hither Spain ; Caius Lælius, Sicily ; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Sardinia. To Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Minucius, to whom the government of the two Spains had fallen, it was decreed, that the consuls, out of the four legions raised by them, should give one each, together with four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the allies and Latine confederates ; and those prætors were ordered to repair to their provinces forthwith. This war in Spain broke out in the fifth year after the former had been ended, together with the Punic war. The Spaniards, now, for the first time, had taken arms in their own name, unconnected with any Carthaginian commander. Before the consuls stirred from the city, however, they were ordered, as usual, to expiate the reported prodigies. Lucius Julius Sequestrius, on the road to Sabinia, was killed by lightning, together with his horse. The temple of Feronia, in the Capenian district, was struck by lightning. At the temple of Moneta, the shafts of two spears took fire and burned. A wolf, coming in through the Esquiline gate, and running through the most frequented part of the city, down into the forum, passed thence through the Tuscan and Mælian streets ; and scarcely receiving a stroke, made its escape out of the Capenian gate. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the larger kinds.

XXVII. About the same time Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, who had held the government of Hither Spain before Sempronius Tuditanus, entered the city in ovation, pursuant to a decree of the senate, and carried in the procession one thousand five hundred and fifteen pounds weight of gold, twenty thousand of silver ; and in coin, thirty-four thousand five hundred and fifty denariuses. Lucius Stretinius, from the

Farther Spain, without making any pretensions to a triumph, carried into the treasury fifty thousand pounds weight of silver ; and out of the spoils taken, built two arches in the cattle-market, at the fronts of the temple of Fortune and Mother Matuta, and one of the great Circus ; and on these arches placed gilded statues. These were the principal occurrences during the winter. At this time Quintius was in quarters at Elatia. Among many requests, made to him by the allies, was that of the Bœotians, namely, that their countrymen, who had served in the army with Philip, might be restored to them. With this Quintius readily complied ; not because he thought them very deserving, but, at a time when there was reason to be apprehensive of the designs of Antiochus, he judged it advisable to conciliate every state in favour of the Roman interest. It quickly appeared how very little gratitude the Bœotians felt on the occasion : for they not only sent persons to give thanks to Philip for the restoration of their fellows, as if that compliment had been paid to him by Quintus and the Romans ; but, at the next election, raised to the office of Bœotarch a man named Brachyllas, for no other reason, than because he had been commander of the Bœotians serving in the army of Philip ; passing by Zeuxippus, Pisis-tratus, and the others, who had promoted the alliance with Rome. These men were both offended at the present and alarmed about the future consequences : for if such things were done when a Roman army lay almost at their gates, what would become of them when the Romans should have gone away to Italy, and Philip, from a situation so near, should support his own associates, and vent his resentment on those of the opposite party.

XXVIII. It was resolved, while they had the Roman army near at hand, to take off Brachyllas, who was the principal leader of the faction which favoured the king ; and they chose an opportunity for the deed, when, after having been at a public feast, he was returning to his house inebriated, and accompanied by some of his debauched companions, who, for the sake of merriment, had been admitted to the crowded entertainment. He was surrounded and assassinated by six men, of whom three were Italians and three Ætolians. His companions fled, crying out for help ; and a great uproar ensued among the people, who ran up and down, through all parts of the city, with lights : but the assassins made their escape

through the nearest gate. At the first dawn, a full assembly was called together in the theatre, by the voice of a crier, as if some discovery had been made. Many openly clamoured that Brachyllas was killed by those detestable wretches who accompanied him; but their private conjectures pointed to Zeuxippus, as author of the murder. It was resolved, however, that those who had been in company with him should be seized and examined. While they were under examination, Zeuxippus, with his usual composure, came into the assembly, for the purpose of averting the charge from himself; yet said, that people were mistaken in supposing that so daring a murder was the act of such effeminate wretches as those who were charged with it, urging many plausible arguments to the same purpose. By which behaviour he led several to believe, that, if he were conscious of guilt, he would never have presented himself before the multitude, or, uncalled upon, have made any mention of the murder. Others were convinced that he intended, by thus pushing impudently forward, to throw off all suspicion from himself. Soon after, those men who were innocent were put to the torture; and, as they knew the universal opinion, they gave information conformable to it, naming Zeuxippus and Pisistratus; but they produced no proof to show that they knew any thing of the matter. Zeuxippus, however, accompanied by a man named Stratonidas, fled by night to Tanagra; alarmed by his own conscience rather than by the assertion of men who were privy to no one circumstance of the affair. Pisistratus, despising the informers, remained at Thebes. A slave of Zeuxippus had carried messages backwards and forwards, and had been intrusted in the management of the whole business. From this man Pisistratus dreaded a discovery; and by that very dread forced him, against his will, to make one. He sent a letter to Zeuxippus, desiring him to "put out of the way the slave who was privy to their crime; for he did not believe him as well qualified for the concealment of the fact as he was for the perpetration of it." He ordered the bearer of this letter to deliver it to Zeuxippus as soon as possible; but he, not finding an opportunity of meeting him, put it into the hands of the very slave in question, whom he believed to be the most faithful to his master of any; and added, that it came from Pisistratus about business of the utmost consequence

to Zeuxippus. Struck by consciousness of guilt, the slave, after promising to deliver the letter, immediately opened it; and, on reading the contents, fled in a fright to Thebes. Zeuxippus, alarmed by this his flight, withdrew to Athens, where he thought he might live in exile with greater safety. Pisistratus, after being examined several times by torture, was put to death.

XXIX. The murder, and particularly the circumstance of Zeuxippus, one of the first men of the nation, having suborned such a deed, exasperated the Thebans, and all the Bœotians, to the most rancorous animosity against the Romans. To recommence a war, they had neither strength nor a leader: but they had recourse to private massacres, and cut off many of the soldiers, some as they came to lodge in their houses, others as they travelled from one cantonment to another on various business. Some were killed on the roads by parties lying in wait in lurking places; others were seduced and carried away to inns, which were left uninhabited, and there put to death. At last they committed these crimes, not merely out of hatred, but likewise from a desire of booty; for the soldiers on furlough generally carried money in their purses for the purpose of trading. At first, a few at a time; afterwards greater numbers used to be missed, until all Bœotia became notorious for those practices, and a soldier was more afraid to go beyond the bounds of the camp than into an enemy's country. Quintius then sent deputies round the states, to make inquiry concerning the murders committed. The greatest number of foot-soldiers were found about the lake called Copais; there the bodies were dug out of the mud, and drawn up out of the marsh, having had earthen jars or stones tied to them, so as to sink by the weight. Many deeds of this sort were discovered to have been perpetrated at Acrophia and Coronea. Quintius at first insisted that the persons guilty should be given up to him, and that, for five hundred soldiers (for so many had been cut off,) the Bœotians should pay five hundred talents.<sup>1</sup> Neither of these requisitions being complied with, and the states only making verbal apologies, declaring, that none of those acts had been authorised by the public; Quintius first sent ambassadors to Athens and Achaia, to satisfy the allies, that the war which he was about to



make on the Bœotians, was conformable to justice and piety; and then, ordering Publius Claudius to march with one-half of the troops to Acrophia, he himself, with the remainder, invested Coronea; and these two bodies, marching by different roads from Elatia, laid waste all the country through which they passed. The Bœotians, dismayed by these losses, while the terror became universal, sent ambassadors to the camp, who were refused admittance; and, just at this juncture, arrived the Achæans and Athenians. The Achæans had the greater influence as intercessors; and they were resolved, in case they could not procure peace for the Bœotians, to join them in the war. Through the mediation of the Achæans, however, the Bœotians obtained an audience of the Roman general; who, ordering them to deliver up the guilty, and to pay thirty talents<sup>1</sup> as a fine, granted them peace, and raised the siege.

XXX. A few days after this, the ten ambassadors arrived from Rome, in pursuance of whose counsel, peace was granted to Philip on the following conditions: "That all the Grecian states, as well those in Asia, as those in Europe, should enjoy liberty, and their own laws: That from such of them as were in the possession of Philip, he should withdraw his garrisons, particularly from the following places in Asia; Euromus, Pedasi, Bargylii, Iassus, Myrina, Abydus; and from Thassus and Perinthus, for it was determined that these likewise should be free: That with respect to the freedom of Cius, Quintius would write to Prusias, king of Bithynia, the resolutions of the senate, and of the ten ambassadors: That Philip should return to the Romans the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up all his decked ships, not excepting even the royal galley,—of a size almost unmanageable, being moved by sixteen banks of oars: That he should not keep more than five hundred soldiers, nor any elephant: That he should not wage war beyond the bounds of Macedonia without permission from the senate: That he should pay to the Roman people one thousand talents:<sup>2</sup> one half at present, the other by instalments, within ten years." Valerius Antias writes, that there was imposed on him an annual tribute of four thousand pounds weight of silver, for ten years, and an immediate payment of twenty

thousand pounds weight. The same author says, that an article was expressly inserted, that he should not make war on Eumenes, Attalus's son, who had lately come to the throne. For the performance of these conditions hostages were received, among whom was Demetrius, Philip's son. Valerius Antias adds, that the island of Ægina, and the elephants, were given as a present to Attalus, who was absent; to the Rhodians, Stratonice in Caria, and other cities which had been in the possession of Philip; and to the Athenians, the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros.

XXXI. While all the other states of Greece expressed their approbation of these terms of peace, the Ætolians, alone, in private murmurs, made severe strictures on the determination of the ten ambassadors. They said, "it consisted merely of an empty piece of writing varnished over with a fallacious appearance of liberty. For why should some cities be put into the hands of the Romans without being named, while others were particularized, and ordered to be enfranchised without such consignment; unless the intent was, that those in Asia, which, from their distant situation, were more secure from danger, should be free; but those in Greece, not being specified, should be made their property: Corinth, Chalcis, and Oreum; with Eretria, and Demetrius." Nor was this charge entirely without foundation: for there was some hesitation with respect to Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrius; because, in the decree of the senate in pursuance of which the ten ambassadors had been sent from Rome, all Greece and Asia, except these three, were expressly ordered to be set at liberty; but, with regard to these, ambassadors were instructed, that, whatever other measures the exigencies of the state might render expedient, the present they should determine to pursue in conformity to the public good and their own honour. Now they had every reason to believe, that Antiochus intended, as soon as he should be able to arrange his affairs at home, to pass into Europe; and they were willing to let these cities, the possession of which would be so advantageous to him, lie open to his attacks. Quintius, with the ten ambassadors, sailed from Elatia to Anticyra, and thence to Corinth. Here the plans they had laid down, were discussed. Quintius frequently urged, that "every part of Greece ought to be set at liberty, if they wished to refute the

cavils of the Ætolians ; if they wished, that sincere affection and respect for the Roman nation should be universally entertained : or if they wished to convince the world that they had crossed the sea with the design of liberating Greece, not of transferring the sovereignty of it from Philip to themselves." The Macedonians alleged nothing in opposition to the arguments made use of in favour of the freedom of the cities ; but " they thought it safer for those cities to remain, for a time, under the protection of Roman garrisons, than to be obliged to receive Antiochus for a master in the room of Philip." Their final determination was, that " Corinth be restored to the Achæans, but that the Roman force should continue in the citadel ; and that Chalcis and Demetrias be retained, until their apprehensions respecting Antiochus should cease."

XXXII. The stated solemnity of the Isthmian games was at hand. These have ever been attended by very numerous meetings, for two reasons : first, out of the universal fondness entertained by the Corinthians for shows, wherein are seen trials of skill in arts of every kind, besides contests in strength and swiftness of foot ; and secondly, because people can come thither from every quarter of Greece by means of one or other of the two opposite seas. But on this occasion, all were led, by an eager curiosity, to learn, what was thenceforward to be the state of Greece, and what their own condition ; while many at the same time not only formed opinions within themselves, but uttered their conjectures in conversation. The Romans took their seats, as spectators ; and a herald, preceded by a trumpeter, according to custom, advanced into the centre of the theatre, where notice of the commencement of the games is usually made, in a set form of words. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, he uttered aloud the following proclamation : THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINTIUS, THEIR GENERAL, HAVING SUBDUED PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DO HEREBY ORDER, THAT THE FOLLOWING STATES BE FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND RULED BY THEIR OWN LAWS : THE CORINTHIANS, PHOCIANS, AND ALL THE LOCRIANS ; THE ISLAND OF EUBŒA, AND THE MAGNESIANS ; THE THESSALIANS, PERRHÆBIANS, AND THE ACHÆANS OF PHTHIOTIS. He then read a list of all the states which had been under subjection to king Philip. The joy occasioned by hearing these words of the herald was

so great, that the people's minds were unable to conceive the matter at once. Scarcely could they believe, that they had heard them ; and they looked at each other with amazement, as if all were the illusion of a dream. Each inquired of others about what immediately concerned himself. Every one being desirous, not only of hearing, but of seeing, the messenger of liberty, the herald was called out again ; and he again repeated the proclamation. When they were thus assured of the reality of the joyful tidings, they raised such a shout, and clapping of hands, and repeated them so often, as clearly demonstrated, that of all earthly blessings none is more grateful to the multitude than liberty. The games were then proceeded through with hurry ; for neither the thoughts nor eyes of any attended to the exhibitions, so entirely had the single passion of joy preoccupied their minds, as to exclude the sense of all other pleasures.

XXXIII. But, when the games were finished, every one eagerly pressed towards the Roman general ; so that by the crowd rushing to one spot, all wishing to come near him, and to touch his right hand, and throwing garlands and ribands, he was in some degree of danger. He was then about thirty-three years of age ; and besides the vigour of youth, the grateful sensations excited by acknowledgments so eminently glorious to him, increased his strength. Nor did the general exultation last only for that day ; but, through the space of many days, was continually revived by sentiments and expressions of gratitude. " There was a nation in the world," they said, " which, at its own expense, with its own labour, and at its own risk, waged wars for the liberty of others. And this it performed, not merely for contiguous states, or near neighbours, or for countries that made parts of the same continent ; but even crossed the seas for the purpose, that no unlawful power should subsist on the face of the whole earth ; but that justice, right, and law, should every where have sovereign sway. By one sentence, pronounced by a herald, all the cities of Greece and Asia had been set at liberty. To have conceived hopes of this, argued a daring spirit ; to have carried it into effect, was a proof of the most consummate bravery and good fortune."

XXXIV. Quintius and the ten ambassadors then gave audience to the embassies of the several kings, nations, and states. First of all, the ambassadors of king Antiochus were called.



Their proceedings, here, were nearly the same as at Rome; a mere display of words unsupported by facts. But the answer given them was not ambiguous as formerly, during the uncertainty of affairs, and before the conquest of Philip; for the king was required in express terms to evacuate the cities of Asia, which had been in possession either of Philip or Ptolemy; not to meddle with the free cities, or any belonging to the Greeks. Above all it was insisted on, that he should neither come himself into Europe, nor transport an army thither. The king's ambassadors being dismissed, a general convention of the nations and states was immediately held; and the business was despatched with the greater expedition, because the resolutions of the ten ambassadors mentioned the several states by name. To the people of Orestis, a district of Macedonia, in consideration of their having been the first who came over from the side of the king, their own laws were granted. The Magnesians, Perhæbians, and Dolopians, were likewise declared free. To the nation of the Thessalians, besides the enjoyment of liberty, the Achæan part of Phthiotis was granted, excepting Phthiotian Thebes and Pharsalus. The Ætolians, demanding that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in conformity to the treaty, were referred to the senate: but the council united to these, by authority of a decree, Phocis and Locris, places which had formerly been annexed to them. Corinth, Triphyly, and Heræa, another city of Peloponnesus, were restored to the Achæans. The ten ambassadors were inclined to give Oreum and Eretria to king Eumenes, son of Attalus; but Quintius dissenting, the matter came under the determination of the senate, and the senate declared those cities free; adding to them Carystus. Lycus and Parthinia, Illyrian states which had been under subjection to Philip, were given to Pleuratus. Amynder was ordered to retain possession of the forts, which he had taken from Philip during the war.

XXXV. When the convention broke up, the ten ambassadors, dividing the business among them, set out by different routes to give liberty to the several cities within their respective districts. Publius Lentulus went to Barylii; Lucius Stertinius, to Hephæstia, Thasus, and the cities of Thrace; Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius, to king Antiochus; and Cneius Cornelius to Philip. The last of these,

after executing his commission with respect to smaller matters, asked Philip, whether he was disposed to listen to advice, not only useful but highly salutary. To which the king answered that he was, and would give him thanks besides, if he mentioned any thing conducive to his advantage. He then earnestly recommended to him, since he had obtained peace with the Romans, to send ambassadors to Rome to solicit their alliance and friendship; lest, in case of Antiochus pursuing any hostile measures, he might be suspected of lying in wait, and watching the opportunity of the times for reviving hostilities. This meeting with Philip was at Tempè in Thessaly; and on his answering that he would send ambassadors without delay, Cornelius proceeded to Thermopylæ, where all the states of Greece are accustomed to meet in general assembly on certain stated days. This is called the Pylæic assembly. Here he admonished the Ætolians, in particular, constantly and firmly to maintain the friendship established between them and the Romans; but some of the principal of these interrupted him with complaints, that the disposition of the Romans towards their nation was not the same since the victory, that it had been during the war; while others censured them with greater boldness, and in a reproachful manner asserted, that "without the aid of the Ætolians, the Romans could neither have conquered Philip, nor even have made good their passage into Greece." To such discourses the Roman forbore giving an answer, lest the matter might end in altercation, and only said, that if they sent ambassadors to Rome, every thing that was reasonable would be granted to them. Accordingly, they passed a decree for such mission, agreeable to his direction.—In this manner was the war with Philip concluded.

XXXVI. While these transactions passed in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, Etruria was near being converted into a scene of hostilities by a conspiracy among the slaves. To examine into and suppress this, Manius Acilius the prætor, whose province was the administration of justice between natives and foreigners, was sent at the head of one of the two city legions. A number of them, who were by this time formed in a body, he reduced by force of arms, killing and taking many. Some, who had been the ringleaders of the conspiracy, he scourged with rods, and then crucified; some he returned to their masters. The consuls

repaired to their provinces. Just as Marcellus entered the frontiers of the Boians, and while his men were fatigued with marching the whole length of the day, and as he was pitching his camp on a rising ground, Corolam, a chieftain of the Boians, attacked him with a very numerous force, and slew three thousand of his men; several persons of distinction fell in that tumultuary engagement: amongst others, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Junius Silanus, prefects of the allies; and Aulus Ogulnius and Publius Claudius, military tribunes in the second legion. The Romans, notwithstanding, had courage enough to finish the fortification of their camp, and to defend it, in spite of an assault made on it by the enemy, after their success in the field. Marcellus remained for some time in the same post, until the wounded were cured, and the spirits of his men revived, after such a disheartening blow. The Boians, a nation remarkably impatient of delay, and quickly disgusted at a state of inaction, separated, and withdrew to their several forts and villages. Marcellus then, suddenly crossing the Po, led his legions into the territory of Comum, where the Insubrians, after rousing the people of the country to arms, lay encamped. They attacked him on his march, and their first onset was so vigorous, as to make a considerable impression on his van. On perceiving which, and fearing lest, if his men should once give ground, they would be obliged to quit the field, he brought up a cohort of Marsians against the enemy, and ordered every troop of the Latine cavalry to charge them. The first and second charges of these having checked the fierceness of the assault, the other troops in the Roman line, resuming courage, advanced briskly on the foe. The Gauls no longer maintained the contest, but turned their backs and fled in confusion. Valerius Antias relates, that in that battle above forty thousand men were killed, five hundred and seven military standards taken, with four hundred and thirty-two chariots, and a great number of gold chains, one of which, of great weight, Claudius says, was deposited as an offering to Jupiter, in his temple in the capitol. The camp of the Gauls was taken and plundered the same day; and the town of Comum was reduced in a few days after. In a little time, twenty-eight forts came over to the consul. There is a doubt among writers, whether the consul led his legions, first against the

Boians, or against the Insubrians; so as to determine, whether the victory obtained at Comum obliterated the disgrace of the defeat by the Boians, or if that obliterated the honour arising from the present success.

XXXVII. Soon after those matters had passed with such variety of fortune, Lucius Furius Purpureo, the other consul, came into the country of the Boians, through the Sappinian tribe. He proceeded almost to the fort of Mutilus, when, beginning to apprehend that he might be inclosed between the Boians and Ligurians, he marched back by the road he came; and, making a long circuit, through an open and safe country, arrived at the camp of his colleague. After this junction of their forces, they overran the territory of the Boians, spreading devastation as far as the city of Felsina. This city, with the other fortresses, and almost all the Boians, excepting only the young men who kept arms in their hands for the sake of plunder, and were at that time skulking in remote woods, made submission. The army was then led away against the Ligurians. The Boians thought that the Romans, as supposing them at a great distance, would be the more careless in guarding their rear, and thereby afford an opportunity of attacking them unawares: with this expectation, they followed them by secret paths through the forests. They did not overtake them: and therefore, passing the Po suddenly in ships, they ravaged all the country of the Lævans and Libuans; whence, as they were returning with the spoil of the country, they fell in with the Roman army on the borders of Liguria. A battle was begun with more speed, and with greater fury, than if the parties had met with their minds prepared, and at an appointed time and place. This occurrence showed to what degree of violence anger can stimulate men: for the Romans were so intent on slaughter, that they scarcely left one of the enemy to carry the news of their defeat. On account of these successes, when the letters of the consuls were brought to Rome, a supplication for three days was decreed. Soon after, Marcellus came to Rome, and had a triumph decreed him by an unanimous vote of the senate. He triumphed, while in office, over the Insubrians and Comans. The claim of a triumph over the Boians, he left to his colleague, because his own arms had been unfortunate in that country; those of his colleague successful. Large quantities of spoils,



taken from the enemy, were carried in the procession in captured chariots, and many military standards; also, three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of brass,<sup>1</sup> two hundred and thirty-four thousand of silver denariuses,<sup>2</sup> stamped with a chariot. Eighty *asses*<sup>3</sup> were bestowed on each foot soldier, and thrice that value on each horseman and centurion.

XXXVIII. During that year, king Antiochus, after having spent the winter at Ephesus, took measures for reducing, under his dominion, all the cities of Asia, which had formerly been members of the empire. As to the rest, being either situated in plains, or having neither walls, arms, nor men in whom they could confide, he supposed they would, without difficulty, receive the yoke. But Smyrna and Lampsacus openly asserted their independence; yet if he complied with the claims of these, whom he feared, there would be reason to apprehend, that the rest of the cities in Ætolia and Ionia would follow the example of Smyrna; and those on the Hellespont that of Lampsacus. Wherefore he sent an army from Ephesus to invest Smyrna; and ordered the troops, which were at Abydos, to leave there only a small garrison, and to go and lay siege to Lampsacus. Nor was force the only means that he used to bring them to submission. By sending ambassadors, to make gentle remonstrances, and reprove the rashness and obstinacy of their conduct, he endeavoured to give them hopes, that they might soon obtain the object of their wishes; but not until it should appear clearly, both to themselves and to all the world, that they had gained their liberty through the kindness of the king, and not by any violent efforts of their own. In answer to which, they said, that "Antiochus ought neither to be surprised nor displeased, if they did not very patiently suffer the establishment of their liberty to be deferred to a distant period." He himself, with his fleet, set sail from Ephesus in the beginning of spring, and steered towards the Hellespont. His army he transported to Madytus, a city in the Chersonese, and there joined his land and sea forces together. The inhabitants having shut their gates, he invested the town; and when he was just bringing up his machines to the walls, it capitulated. This diffused such fear through the inhabitants of the other cities of the Cher-

sonese, as induced them to submit. He then came, with the whole of his united forces, to Lysimachia; which finding deserted, and almost buried in ruins, (for the Thracians had, a few years before, taken, sacked, and burned it.) he conceived a wish to rebuild a city so celebrated, and so commodiously situated. Accordingly, extending his care to every object at once, he set about repairing the walls and houses, ransomed some of the Lysimachians who were in captivity, sought out and brought home others, who had fled and dispersed themselves through the Chersonese and Hellespontus, enrolled new colonists, whom he invited by prospects of advantages, and used every means to repeople it fully. At the same time, to remove all fear of the Thracians, he went, in person, with one half of the land forces, to lay waste the nearest provinces of Thrace; leaving the other half, and all the crews of the ships, employed in the repairs of the place.

XXXIX. About this time Lucius Cornelius, who had been commissioned by the senate to accommodate the differences between the kings Antiochus and Ptolemy, stopped at Selymbria; and, of the ten ambassadors, Publius Lentulus from Baryglii, and Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius, from Thassus, came to Lysimachia. Hither came, likewise, Lucius Cornelius, from Selymbria, and, a few days after Antiochus, from Thrace. His first meeting with the ambassadors, and an invitation which he afterwards gave them, were friendly and hospitable; but when the business of their embassy, and the present state of Asia, came to be treated of, the minds of both parties were exasperated. The Romans did not scruple to declare, that every one of his proceedings, from the time when he set sail from Syria, was displeasing to the senate; and they required restitution to be made, to Ptolemy, of all the cities which had been under his dominion. "For, as to what related to the cities, which had been in the possession of Philip, and which Antiochus, taking advantage of a season when Philip's attention was turned to the war with Rome, had seized into his own hands, it would surely be an intolerable hardship, if the Romans were to have undergone such toils and dangers, on land and sea, for so many years, and Antiochus to appropriate to himself the prizes in dispute. But, though his coming into Asia might be passed over unnoticed by the Romans, as a

matter not pertaining to them, yet when he proceeded so far, as to pass over into Europe with all his land and naval forces, how much was this short of open war with the Romans? Doubtless, had he even passed into Italy, he would deny that intention."

XL. To this the king replied, that "for some time past he plainly perceived, that the Romans made it their business to inquire what ought to be done by king Antiochus; but how far they themselves ought to advance on land or sea they never considered. Asia was no concernment of the Romans, in any shape; nor had they any more right to inquire, what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus had to inquire, what the Roman people did in Italy. With respect to Ptolemy, from whom, they said, cities had been taken, there was a friendly connection subsisting between him and Ptolemy, and he was taking measures to effect speedily a connection of affinity also; neither had he sought to acquire any spoils from the misfortunes of Philip, nor had he come into Europe against the Romans, *but to recover the cities and lands of the Chersonese, which having been the property of Lysimachus*,<sup>1</sup> he considered as part of his own dominions; because, when Lysimachus was subdued, all things belonging to him became, by the right of conquest, the property of Seleucus. That, at times, when his predecessors were occupied by various cares of different kinds, Ptolemy first, and afterwards Philip, usurping the rights of others, possessed themselves of several of these places, as likewise of some of the nearest parts of Thrace, which were indubitably belonging to Lysimachus. To restore these to their ancient state, was the intent of his coming, and to build Lysimachia anew, (it having been destroyed by an inroad of the Thracians,) in order that his son, Seleucus, might have it for the seat of his empire."

XLI. These disputes had been carried on for several days, when a rumour reached them, but without any authority, that Ptolemy was dead; which prevented the conferences coming to any issue: for both parties made a secret of their having heard it; and Lucius Cornelius, who was charged with the embassy to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, requested to be allowed a short space of time, in which he could have a meeting with the latter; because

he wished to arrive in Egypt before any change of measures should take place in consequence of the new succession to the crown: while Antiochus believed, that if such an event had really happened, Egypt would be his own. Wherefore, having dismissed the Romans, and left his son Seleucus, with the land forces, to finish the rebuilding of Lysimachia; he sailed, with his whole fleet, to Ephesus; sent ambassadors to Quintus to treat with him about an alliance, and then, coasting along the shore of Asia, proceeded to Lycia. Having learned at Patara, that Ptolemy was living, he dropped the design of sailing to Egypt, but nevertheless steered towards Cyprus; and, when he had passed the promontory of Chelidonium, was detained some little time in Pamphylia, near the river Eurymedon, by a mutiny among his rowers. When he had sailed thence as far as the headlands, as they are called, of Sarus, such a dreadful storm arose as almost buried him and his whole fleet in the deep. Many ships were cast on shore; many swallowed so entirely in the sea, that not one man of their crews escaped to land. Great numbers of his men perished on this occasion; not only persons of mean rank, rowers and soldiers, but even of his particular friends in high stations. When he had collected the relics of the general wreck, being in no capacity of making an attempt on Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia, with his force greatly diminished since his departure. Here he ordered the ships to be hauled ashore, for the winter was now at hand, and proceeded to Antioch, where he intended to pass the winter.—In this posture stood the affairs of the kings.

XLII. At Rome, in this year, for the first time, were created offices called *triumviri epulonæ*; 'these were Caius Licinius Lucullus, who, as tribune, had proposed the law for their creation; Publius Manlius and Publius Porcius Læca. These triumvirs, as well as the pontiffs, were allowed by law the privilege of wearing the purple-bordered gown. The body of the pontiffs had this year a warm dispute with the city quæstors, Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Aurelius. Money was wanted; an order having been passed for making the last payment to private persons of that which had been raised for the support of the war: and the quæstors demanded it from the augurs

<sup>1</sup> Here is a chasm in the original, which is supplied from Polybius.

1 It was their office to regulate the feasts of the gods.



and pontiffs, because they had not contributed their share while the war subsisted. The priests in vain appealed to the tribunes; and the contribution was exacted for every year in which they had not paid. During the same year two pontiffs died, and others were substituted in their room: Marcus Marcellus, the consul, in the room of Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, who had been a prætor in Spain; and Lucius Valerius, in the room of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. An augur also, Quintius Fabius Maximus, died very young, before he had attained to any public office; but no augur was appointed in his place during that year. The consular election was then held by the consul Marcellus. The persons chosen were, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato. Then were elected prætors, Caius Fabricius Luscinius, Caius Atinius Labeo, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Læca. The curule ædiles, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Caius Flaminius, made a distribution to the people of one million pecks of wheat, at the price of two *asses*. This corn the Sicilians had brought to Rome, out of respect to Caius Flaminius and his father; and he gave share of the credit to his colleague. The Roman games were solemnized with magnificence, and exhibited thrice entire. The plebeian ædiles, Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus and Caius Scribonius, chief curio, brought many farmers of the public pastures to trial before the people. Three of these were convicted of misbehaviour; and out of the money accruing from fines imposed on them, they built a temple of Faunus in the island. The plebeian games were exhibited for two days, and there was a feast on occasion of the games.

XLIII. Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius, on the day of their entering into office, consulted the senate respecting the provinces; [Y. R. 557. B. C. 195.] who resolved, that "whereas the war in Spain was grown so formidable, as to require a consular army and commander; it was their opinion, therefore, that the consuls should either settle between themselves, or cast lots, for Hither Spain and Italy as their provinces. That he to whom Spain fell should carry with him two legions, five thousand of the Latine confederates, and five hundred horse; together with a fleet of twenty ships of war. That the other consul should raise two legions; for these would be

sufficient to maintain tranquillity in the province of Gaul, as the spirits of the Insubrians and Boians had been broken the year before." The lots gave Spain to Cato, and Italy to Valerius. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: to Caius Fabricius Luscinius fell the city jurisdiction; Caius Atinius Labeo obtained the foreign; Cneius Manlius Vulso, Sicily; Appius Claudius Nero, Farther Spain; Publius Porcius Læca, Pisa, in order that he might be at the back of the Ligurians; and Publius Manlius was sent into Hither Spain, as an assistant to the consul. Quintius was continued in command for the year, as apprehensions were entertained, not only of Antiochus and the Ætolians, but likewise of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon; and it was ordered that he should have two legions, for which, if there was any deficiency in their numbers, the consuls were ordered to raise recruits, and send them into Macedonia. Appius Claudius was permitted to raise, in addition to the legion which Quintius Fabius had commanded, two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The like number of new-raised foot and horse was assigned to Publius Manlius for Hither Spain; and the legion was given to him which had been under the command of Minucius, prætor. To Publius Porcius Læca, for Etruria, near Pisa, were decreed two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of the army in Gaul. Sempronius Longus was continued in command in Sardinia.

XLIV. The provinces being thus distributed, the consuls, before their departure from the city, proclaimed a sacred spring, which Aulus Cornelius Mammula, prætor, had vowed in pursuance of a vote of the senate, and an order of the people, in the consulate of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. It was celebrated twenty-one years after the vow had been made. About the same time, Caius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who died the year before. While people, in general, wondered that so little notice was taken of Spain being in arms, a letter was brought from Quintus Minucius, announcing that he had fought a pitched battle with the Spanish generals, Budar and Besasis, near the town of Tura, and had gained the victory: that twelve thousand of the enemy were slain; their general, Budar, taken; and the rest routed and dis-

persed." The reading of this letter allayed people's fears with respect to Spain, where a very formidable war had been apprehended. The whole anxiety of the public was directed towards king Antiochus, especially after the arrival of the ten ambassadors. These, after relating the proceedings with Philip, and the conditions on which peace had been granted him, gave information, that "there still subsisted a war of no less magnitude to be waged with Antiochus; that he had come over into Europe with a very numerous fleet and a powerful army; that, had not a delusive prospect of an opportunity of invading Egypt, raised by a more delusive rumour, diverted him to another quarter, all Greece would have quickly been involved in the flames of war. Nor would even the Ætolians remain quiet, a race by nature restless, and at that time full of anger against the Romans. That, besides, there was another evil, of a most dangerous nature, lurking in the bowels of Greece: Nabis, tyrant at present of Lacedæmon, but who would soon, if suffered, become tyrant of all Greece, equalling in avarice and cruelty all the tyrants most remarkable in history. For, if he were allowed to keep possession of Argos, which served as a citadel to awe the Peloponnesus, when the Roman armies should be brought home to Italy, Greece would reap no advantage from being delivered out of bondage to Philip; because, instead of that king, who, supposing no other difference, resided at a distance, she would have for a master, a tyrant close to her side."

XLV. On this intelligence being received from men of such respectable authority, and who had, besides, examined into all the matters which were reported, the senate, although they deemed the business relating to Antiochus the more important, yet, as the king had, for some reason or other, gone home into Syria, they thought that the affair respecting the tyrant required more immediate consideration. After debating, for a long time, whether they should judge the grounds which they had at present sufficient whereon to found a decree for a declaration of war, or whether they should empower Titus Quintius to act, in the case respecting Nabis the Lacedæmonian, in such manner as he should judge conducive to the public interest; they at length invested him with full powers. For they thought the business of such a nature, that whether expedited

or delayed, it could not very materially affect the general interest of the Roman people. It was deemed more important to endeavour to discover what line of conduct Hannibal and the Carthaginians would pursue, in case of a war breaking out with Antiochus. Persons of the faction which opposed Hannibal wrote continually to their several friends, among the principal men in Rome, that "messages and letters were sent by Hannibal to Antiochus, and that envoys came secretly from the king to him. That, as some wild beasts can never be tamed, so the Carthaginian's temper was irreclaimable and implacable. That he sometimes complained, that the state was debilitated by ease and indolence, and lulled by sloth into a lethargy, from which nothing could rouse it but the sound of arms." These accounts were deemed probable, when people recollected the former war being not only continued, but first set on foot, by the efforts of that single man. Besides, he had by a recent act provoked the resentment of many men in power.

XLVI. The order of judges possessed, at that time, absolute power in Carthage; and this was owing chiefly to their holding the office during life. The property, character, and life of every man was in their disposal. He who incurred the displeasure of one of that order, found an enemy in all of them; nor were accusers wanting in a court where the justices were disposed to condemn. While they were in possession of this despotism, (for they did not exercise their exorbitant power with due regard to the rights of others,) Hannibal was elected prætor; and he summoned the quæstor before him. The quæstor disregarded the summons, for he was of the opposite faction; and besides, as the practice was, that, after the quæstorship men were advanced into the order of judges, the most powerful of all, he already assumed a spirit suited to the authority which he was shortly to obtain. Hannibal, highly offended hereat, sent an officer to apprehend the quæstor: and, bringing him forth into an assembly of the people, he made heavy charges not against him alone, but on the whole order of judges; who, in the fulness of their arrogance and power, set at nought both the magistracy and the laws. Then, perceiving that his discourse was favourably attended to, and that the conduct of those men was offensive to the interest and freedom of the lowest classes, he proposed a law, and procured it to



be enacted, that the "judges should be elected annually; and that no person should hold the office two years successively." But, whatever degree of favour he acquired among the commons, by this proceeding, he roused, in a great part of the nobility, an equal degree of resentment. This was followed by another act, by which, while he served the people, he provoked personal enmity against himself. The public revenues were partly wasted through neglect, partly embezzled, and divided among some leading men and magistrates; insomuch, that there was not money sufficient for the regular annual payment of the tribute to the Romans, so that private persons seemed to be threatened with a heavy tax.

XLVII. When Hannibal had informed himself of the amount of the revenues arising from taxes and port duties, for what purposes they were issued from the treasury, how much was consumed by the ordinary expenses of the state, and how much lost by embezzlement; he asserted in an assembly of the people, that if payment were enforced of the money unapplied to public uses, the taxes might be remitted to the subjects; and that the state would still be rich enough to pay the tribute to the Romans: which assertion he proved to be true. But now those persons, who, for several years past, had maintained themselves by plundering the public, were greatly enraged; as if this were ravishing from them their own property, and not as dragging out of their hands their ill-gotten spoil. Accordingly, they laboured to draw down on Hannibal the vengeance of the Romans, who were seeking a pretext for indulging their hatred against him. A strenuous opposition was, however, for a long time made to this by Scipio Africanus, who thought it highly unbecoming the dignity of the Roman people to make themselves a party in the animosities and charges against Hannibal; to interpose the public authority among factions of the Carthaginians, not remaining content with having conquered that commander in the field, but to become as it were his prosecutors' in a judicial process, and preferring an action against

him. Yet at length the point was carried, that an embassy should be sent to Carthage to represent to the senate there, that Hannibal, in concert with king Antiochus, was forming plans for kindling a war. Three ambassadors were sent, Caius Servilius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Terentius Culleo. These, on their arrival, by the advice of Hannibal's enemies, ordered, that any who inquired the cause of their coming should be told, that they came to determine the disputes subsisting between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of Numidia; and this was generally believed. But Hannibal was not ignorant that he was the sole object aimed at by the Romans; and that, though they had granted peace to the Carthaginians, their war against him, individually, would ever subsist with unabated rancour. He therefore determined to give way to fortune and the times; and having already made every preparation for flight, he showed himself that day in the forum, in order to guard against suspicion; and, as soon as it grew dark, went in his common dress to one of the gates, with two attendants, who knew nothing of his intention.

XLVIII. Finding horses in readiness at a spot where he had ordered, he made a hasty journey by night through a district of the territory of Voca, and arrived, in the morning of the following day, at a castle of his own between Acholla and Thapsus. There a ship, ready fitted out and furnished with rowers, took him on board. In this manner did Hannibal leave Africa, lamenting the misfortunes of his country oftener than his own. He sailed over, the same day, to the island of Cercina, where he found in the port a number of merchant ships with their cargoes; and on landing was surrounded by a concourse of people, who came to pay their respects to him; on which he gave orders, that, in answer to any inquiries, it should be said that he was going ambassador to Tyre. Fearing, however, lest some of these ships might sail in the night to Thapsus or Acholla, and carry information of his being seen at Cercina, he ordered a sacrifice to be prepared, and the masters of the ships, with the merchants, to be invited to the entertainment, and that the sails and yards should be collected out of the ships to form a shade on shore for the company at supper, as it happened to be the middle of summer. The feast of the day was as sumptuous.

1 *Subscribere actioni* is to join the prosecutor as an assistant; and the prosecutors were obliged *calumniam jurare*, to swear that they did not carry on the prosecution through malice, or a vexatious design. Scipio, therefore, means to reprobate the interference of the Roman state, which would bring it into the situation of a common prosecutor in a court of justice.

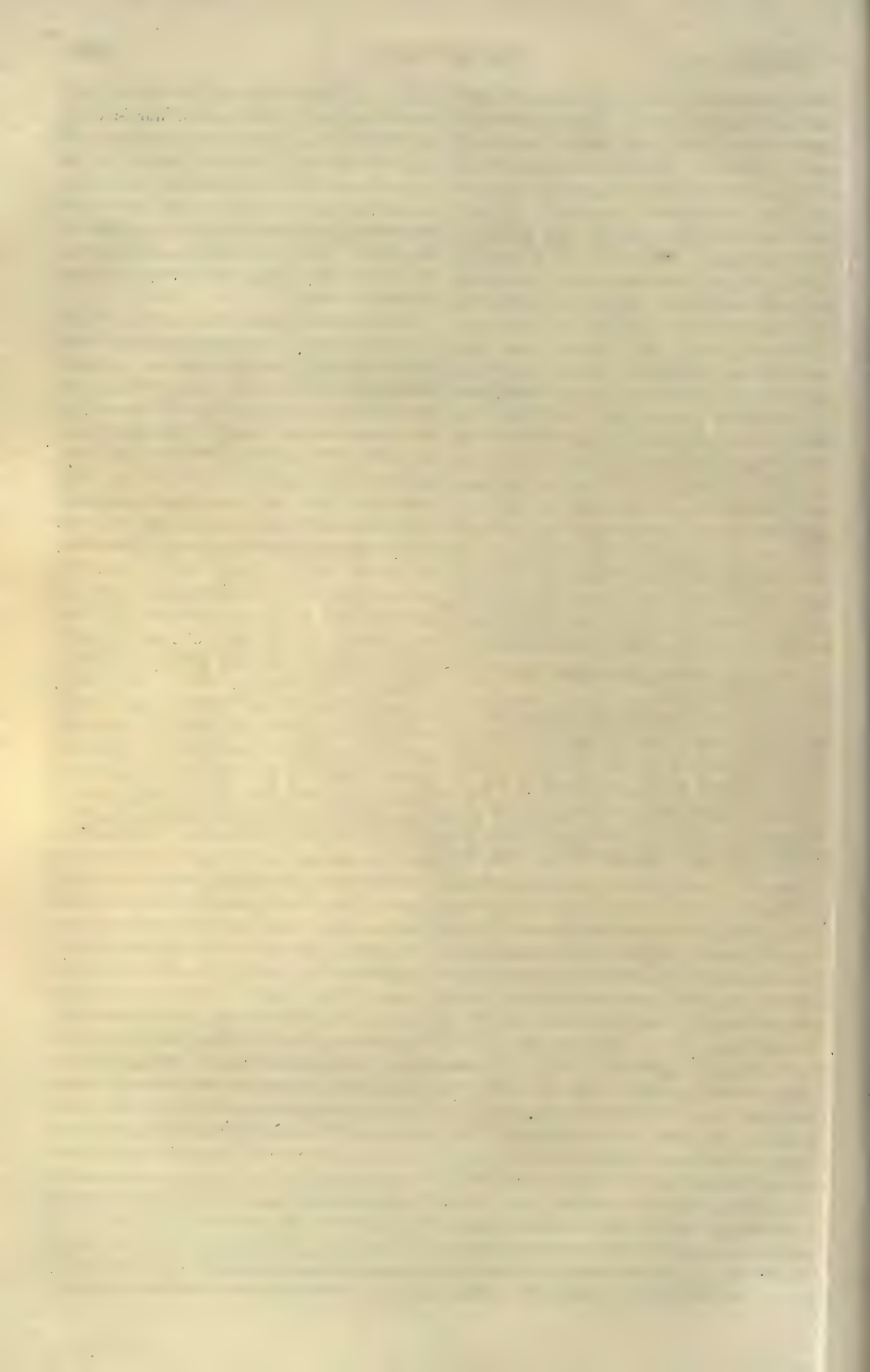
tuous, and the guests as numerous, as the time and circumstances allowed; and the entertainment was prolonged, with plenty of wine, until late in the night. As soon as Hannibal saw an opportunity of escaping the notice of those who were in the harbour, he set sail. The rest were fast asleep, nor was it early, next day, when they awoke, heavily sick from the preceding day's excess; and then, when it was too late, they set about replacing the sails in the ships, and fitting up the rigging, which employed several hours. At Carthage, those who were accustomed to visit Hannibal met in a crowd, at the porch of his house; and when it was publicly known that he was not to be found, the whole multitude assembled in the forum, eager to gain intelligence of the man who was considered as the first in the state. Some surmised that he had fled, as the case was; others, that he had been put to death through the treachery of the Romans; and there was visible in the expression of their countenances, that variety which might naturally be expected in a state divided into factions, whereof each supported a different interest. At length an account was brought, that he had been seen at Cercina.

XLIX. The Roman ambassadors represented to the council, that "proof had been laid before the senate of Rome, that formerly king Philip had been moved, principally by the instigation of Hannibal, to make war on the Roman people; and that lately, Hannibal had, besides, sent letters and messages to king An-

tiocus. That he was a man who would never be content, until he had excited war in every part of the globe. That such conduct ought not to be suffered to pass with impunity, if the Carthaginians wished to convince the Roman people that none of those things were done with their consent, or with the approbation of the state." The Carthaginians answered, that they were ready to do whatever the Romans required of them.

Hannibal, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Tyre; where, in consideration of his illustrious character, he was received by those founders of Carthage with every demonstration of respect, as if he were a native of the country, and here he staid a few days. He then sailed to Antioch; where, hearing that the king had already left the place, he procured an interview with his son, who was celebrating the anniversary games at Daphne, and who treated him with much kindness; after which, he set sail without delay. At Ephesus, he overtook the king, whose judgment was still wavering and undetermined respecting a war with Rome: but the arrival of Hannibal proved an incentive of no small efficacy to the prosecution of that design. At the same time, the inclinations of the Ætolians also became unfavourable to the continuance of their alliance with Rome, in consequence of the senate having referred to Quintius their ambassadors, who demanded Pharsalus and Leucas, and some other cities, in conformity to the first treaty.





THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXXIV.

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The Oppian law, respecting the dress of the women, after much debate, repealed, notwithstanding it was strenuously supported by Marcus Porcius Cato, consul. The consul's successes in Spain. Titus Quintius Flamininus finishes the war with the Lacedæmonians and the tyrant Nabis; makes peace with them, and restores liberty to Argos. Separate seats at the public games, for the first time, appointed for the senators. Colonies sent forth. Marcus Porcius Cato triumphs on account of his successes in Spain. Farther successes in Spain against the Boians and Insubrian Gauls. Titus Quintius Flamininus having subdued Philip, king of Macedonia, and Nabis the Lacedæmonian tyrant, and restored all Greece to freedom, triumphs for three days. Carthaginian ambassadors bring intelligence of the hostile designs of Antiochus and Hannibal.

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I. AMID the serious concerns of so many important wars, some scarcely ended, and others impending, an incident intervened, which may seem too trivial to be mentioned; but which, through the zeal of the parties concerned, occasioned a violent contest. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, plebeian tribunes, proposed to the people the repealing of the Oppian law. This law, which had been introduced by Caius Oppius, plebeian tribune, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, during the heat of the Punic war, enacted, that, "no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a garment of various colours, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, in a city, or any town, or any place nearer thereto than one mile; except on occasion of some public religious solemnity." Marcus and Publius Junius Brutus, plebeian tribunes, supported the Oppian law, and declared, that they would never suffer it to be repealed; while many of the nobility stood forth to argue for and against the motion proposed. The capitol was filled with crowds, who favoured or opposed the law; nor could the matrons be kept at home, either by advice or shame, nor even by the commands of their husbands; but beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men as they went

down to the forum, that in the present flourishing state of the commonwealth, when the public prosperity was daily increasing, they would suffer the women so far to partake of it, as to have their former ornaments of dress restored. This throng of women increased daily, for they arrived even from the country towns and villages; and had at length the boldness to come up to the consuls, prætors, and other magistrates, to urge their request. One of the consuls, however, they found inexorable—Marcus Porcius Cato, who, in support of the law proposed to be repealed, spoke to this effect:—

II. "If, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now, our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are, even here in the forum, spurned and trodden under foot; and because we are unable to withstand each separately, we now dread their collective body. I was accustomed to think it a fabulous and fictitious tale, that, in a certain island, the whole race of males was utterly extirpated by a conspiracy of the women." But the utmost danger may be apprehended equally from either sex, if you suffer cabals and secret consultations to be held: scarcely, indeed, can I



determine, in my own mind, whether the act itself, or the precedent that it affords, is of more pernicious tendency. The latter of these more particularly concerns us consuls, and the other magistrates: the former, you, my fellow-citizens. For, whether the measure proposed to your consideration be profitable to the state or not, is to be determined by you, who are to vote on the occasion. As to the outrageous behaviour of these women, whether it be merely an act of their own, or owing to your instigations, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, it unquestionably implies culpable conduct in magistrates. I know not whether it reflects greater disgrace on you, tribunes, or on the consuls: on you certainly, if you have brought these women hither for the purpose of raising tribunitian seditions; on us, if we suffer laws to be imposed on us by a secession of women, as was done formerly by that of the common people. It was not without painful emotions of shame, that I, just now, made my way into the forum through the midst of a band of women. Had I not been restrained by respect for the modesty and dignity of some individuals among them, rather than of the whole number, and been unwilling that they should be seen rebuked by a consul, I should not have refrained from saying to them, 'What sort of practice is this, of running out into public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands? Could not each have made the same request to her husband at home? Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private; and with other women's husbands, than with your own? Although if females would let their modesty confine them within the limits of their own rights, it did not become you, even at home, to concern yourselves about any laws that might be passed or repealed here.' Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands. We, it seems, suffer them, now, to interfere in the management of state affairs, and to thrust themselves into the forum, into general assemblies, and into assemblies of election. For, what are they doing, at this moment, in your streets and lanes? What, but arguing, some in support of the motion of tribunes; others, contending for the repeal of the law? Will you give the reins to their intractable nature, and then expect that them-

selves should set bounds to their licentiousness, and without your interference! This is the smallest of the injunctions laid on them by usage or the laws, all which, women bear with impatience: they long for entire liberty; nay, to speak the truth, not for liberty, but for unbounded freedom in every particular. For what will they not attempt, if they now come off victorious? Recollect all the institutions respecting the sex, by which our forefathers restrained their profligacy, and subjected them to their husbands; and yet, even with the help of all these restrictions, they can scarcely be kept within bounds. If, then, you suffer them to throw these off one by one, to tear them all asunder, and, at last, to be set on an equal footing with yourselves; can you imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? Suffer them once to arrive at an equality with you, and they will from that moment become your superiors.

III. "But, indeed, they only object to any new law being made against them: they mean to deprecate, not justice, but severity. Nay, their wish is, that a law which you have admitted, established by your suffrages, and found in the practice and experience of so many years to be beneficial, should now be repealed; and that by abolishing one law, you should weaken all the rest. No law perfectly suits the convenience of every member of the community: the only consideration is, whether, upon the whole, it be profitable to the greater part. If, because a law proves obnoxious to a private individual, it must therefore be cancelled and annulled, to what purpose is it for the community to enact laws, which those, whom they were particularly intended to comprehend, could presently repeal? Let us, however, inquire what this important affair is which has induced the matrons thus to run out into public in this indecorous manner, scarcely restraining from pushing into the forum and the assembly of the people. Is it to solicit that their parents, their husbands, children, and brothers, may be ransomed from captivity under Hannibal? By no means: and far be ever from the commonwealth so unfortunate a situation. Yet, when such was the case, you refused this to the prayers which, upon that occasion, their duty dictated. But it is not duty, nor solicitude for their friends; it is religion that has collected them together. They are about to receive the Idæan Mother, coming out of Phrygia from Pessinus. What motive, that even common decency will not allow to be

mentioned, is pretended for this female insurrection? Hear the answer; That we may shine in gold and purple; that, both on festival and common days, we may ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over vanquished and abrogated law, after having captured and wrested from you your suffrages; and that there may be no bounds to our expenses and our luxury. Often have you heard me complain of the profuse expenses of the women—often of those of the men; and that not only of men in private stations, but of the magistrates: and that the state was endangered by two opposite vices, luxury and avarice: those pests, which have ever been the ruin of every great state. These I dread the more, as the circumstances of the commonwealth grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases; as we have passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions; and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures: for I greatly fear that these matters will rather bring us into captivity, than we them. Believe me, those statues from Syracuse made their way into this city with hostile effect. I already hear too many commending and admiring the decorations of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing the earthen images of our Roman gods that stand on the fronts of their temples. For my part I prefer these gods,—propitious as they are, and I hope will continue, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions. In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cineas, made trial of the dispositions, not only of our men, but of our women also, by offers of presents: at that time the Oppian law, for restraining female luxury, had not been made: and yet not one woman accepted a present. What, think you, was the reason? That for which our ancestors made no provision by law on this subject: there was no luxury existing which might be restrained. As diseases must necessarily be known before their remedies, so passions come into being before the laws which prescribe limits to them. What called forth the Licinian law, restricting estates to five hundred acres, but the unbounded desire for enlarging estates? What the Cincian law, concerning gifts and presents, but that the plebeians<sup>1</sup> had

become vassals and tributaries to the senate? It is not therefore in any degree surprising, that no want of the Oppian law, or of any other, to limit the expenses of the women, was felt at that time, when they refused to receive gold and purple that was thrown in their way, and offered to their acceptance. If Cineas were now to go round the city with his presents, he would find numbers of women standing in the public streets to receive them.

IV. “There are some passions, the causes or motives of which I can no way account for. To be debarred of a liberty in which another is indulged, may perhaps naturally excite some degree of shame or indignation; yet, when the dress of all is alike, what inferiority in appearance can any one be ashamed of? Of all kinds of shame, the worst, surely, is the being ashamed of frugality or of poverty; but the law relieves you with regard to both; you want only that which it is unlawful for you to have. This equalization, says the rich matron, is the very thing that I cannot endure. Why do not I make a figure, distinguished with gold and purple? Why is the poverty of others concealed under this cover of a law, so that it should be thought, that, if the law permitted, they would have such things as they are not now able to procure. Romans, do you wish to excite among your wives an emulation of this sort, that the rich should wish to have what no other can have; and that the poor, lest they should be despised as such, should extend their expenses beyond their abilities? Be assured that when a woman once begins to be ashamed of what she ought not to be ashamed of, she will not be ashamed of what she ought. She who can, will purchase out of her own purse; she who cannot, will ask her husband. Unhappy is the husband, both he who complies with the request, and he who does not; for what he will not give himself, another will. Now, they openly solicit favours from other women's husbands; and, what is more, solicit a law and votes. From some they obtain them; although, with regard to you, your property, or your children, you would find it hard to obtain any thing from them. If the law ceases to limit the expenses of your wife, you yourself will never be able to limit them. Do not sup-

<sup>1</sup> Previous to the passing of the Cincian law, about ten years before this time, the advocates who pleaded in the courts received fees and presents: and as all or most of

these were senators, the plebeians are here represented as tributary to the senate. By the above law they were forbidden to receive either fees or presents.



pose that the matter will hereafter be in the same state in which it was before the law was made on the subject. It is safer that a wicked man should never be accused, than that he should be acquitted; and luxury, if it had never been meddled with, would be more tolerable than it will be, now, like a wild beast, irritated by having been chained, and then let loose. My opinion is, that the Oppian law ought, on no account, to be repealed. Whatever determination you may come to, I pray all the gods to prosper it."

V. After him the plebeian tribunes, who had declared their intention of protesting, added a few words to the same purport. Then Lucius Valerius, who made the motion, spoke thus in support of it:—"If private persons only had stood forth to argue for and against the proposition which we have submitted to your consideration, I for my part, thinking enough to have been said on both sides, would have waited in silence for your determination. But since a person of most respectable judgment, the consul, Marcius Porcius, has reprobated our motion, not only by the influence of his opinion, which, had he said nothing, would carry very great weight, but also in a long and laboured discourse, it becomes necessary to say a few words in answer. He has spent more words in rebuking the matrons, than in arguing against the measure proposed; and even went so far as to mention a doubt, whether the conduct which he censured in them, arose from themselves, or from our instigation. I shall defend the measure, not ourselves: for the consul threw out those insinuations against us, rather for argument's sake, than as a serious charge. He has made use of the terms cabal and sedition; and, sometimes, secession of the women: because the matrons had requested of you, in the public streets, that, in this time of peace, when the commonwealth is flourishing and happy, you would repeal a law that was made against them during a war, and in times of distress. I know that to declaim is an easy task: that strong expressions, for the purpose of exaggeration, are easily found; and that, mild as Marcus Cato is in his disposition, and gentle in his manners, yet in his speeches he is not only vehement, but sometimes even austere. What new thing, let me ask, have the matrons done in coming out into public in a body? Have they never before appeared in public? I

will turn over your own Antiquities,<sup>1</sup> and quote them against you. Hear now, how often they have done the same, and always to the advantage of the public. In the earliest period of our history, even in the reign of Romulus, when the capitol had been taken by the Sabines, and a pitched battle was fought in the forum, was not the fight stopped by the matrons running in between the two armies? When, after the expulsion of the kings, the legions of the Volscians, under the command of Marcius Coriolanus, were encamped at the fifth stone, did not the matrons turn away that army, which would have overwhelmed this city? Again, when the city was taken by the Gauls, whence was the gold procured for the ransom of it? Did not the matrons, by unanimous agreement, bring it into the public treasury? In the late war, not to go back to remote antiquity, when there was a want of money, did not the widows supply the treasury? And when new gods were invited hither to the relief of our distressed affairs, did not the matrons go out in a body to the sea shore to receive the Idaean Mother? The cases, he says, are dissimilar. It is not my purpose to produce similar instances; it is sufficient that I clear these women of having done any thing new. Now, what nobody wondered at their doing, in cases which concerned all in common, both men and women, can we wonder at their doing, in a case peculiarly affecting themselves? But what have they done? We have proud ears, truly, if, though masters disdain not the prayers of slaves, we are offended at being asked a favour by honourable women.

VI. "I come now to the question in debate, with respect to which the consul's argument is twofold: for, first, he is displeased at the thought of any law whatever being repealed; and then, particularly, of that law which was made to restrain female luxury. His mode of arguing, on the former head, in support of the laws in general, appeared highly becoming of a consul; and that, on the latter, against luxury, was quite conformable to the rigid strictness of his morals. Unless, therefore, I shall be able to point out to you which of his arguments, on both heads, are destitute of foundation, you may probably be led away by

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to a treatise by Cato, upon the antiquities of Italy, entitled "*Origines*," which is the word used here by Valerius.

error. For while I acknowledge, that of those laws which are instituted, not for any particular time, but for eternity, on account of their perpetual utility, not one ought to be repealed; unless either experience evince it to be useless, or some state of the public affairs render it such; I see, at the same time, that those laws which particular seasons have required, are mortal (if I may use the term), and changeable with the times. Those made in peace are generally repealed by war; those made in war, by peace; as in the management of a ship, some implements are useful in good weather, others in bad. As these two kinds are thus distinct in their nature, of which kind, do you think, is that law, which we now propose to repeal? Is it an ancient law of the kings, coeval with the city itself? Or, what is next to that, was it written in the twelve tables by the decemvirs, appointed to form a code of laws? Is it one, without which our ancestors thought that the honour of the female sex could not be preserved; and, therefore, we also have reason to fear, that, together with it, we should repeal the modesty and chastity of our females? Now, is there a man among you who does not know that this is a new law, passed not more than twenty years ago, in the consulate of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? And as, without it, our matrons sustained, for such a number of years, the most virtuous characters, what danger is there of their abandoning themselves to luxury on its being repealed? For, if the design of passing that law was to check the passions of the sex, there would be reason to fear lest the repeal of it might operate as an incitement to them. But the real reason of its being passed, the time itself will show. Hannibal was then in Italy, victorious at Cannæ, possessed of Tarentum, of Arpi, of Capua, and seemed ready to bring up his army to the city of Rome. Our allies had deserted us. We had neither soldiers to fill up the legions, nor seamen to man the fleet, nor money in the treasury. Slaves, who were to be employed as soldiers, were purchased on condition of their price being paid to the owners at the end of the war. The farmers of the revenues declared, that they would contract to supply corn and other matters, which the exigencies of the war required, to be paid for at the same time. We gave up our slaves to the oar, in numbers proportioned to our properties, and paid them out of our own pockets. All our gold and silver,

in imitation of the example given by the senators, we dedicated to the use of the public. Widows and minors lodged their money in the treasury. We were prohibited from keeping in our houses more than a certain quantity of wrought gold or silver, or more than a certain sum of coined silver or brass. At such a time as this, were the matrons so eagerly engaged in luxury and dress, that the Oppian law was requisite to repress such practices? When the senate, because the sacrifice of Ceres had been omitted, in consequence of all the matrons being in mourning, ordered the mourning to end in thirty days. Who does not clearly see, that the poverty and distress of the state requiring that every private person's money should be converted to the use of the public, enacted that law, with intent that it should remain in force so long only as the cause of enacting it should remain? For if all the decrees of the senate and orders of the people, which were then made to answer the necessities of the times, are to be of perpetual obligation, why do we refund their money to private persons? Why do we pay ready money to contractors for public services? Why are not slaves brought to serve in the army? Why do we not, private subjects, supply rowers as we did then?

VII. "Shall, then, every other class of people, every individual, feel the improvement in the state; and shall our wives alone reap none of the fruits of the public peace and tranquillity? Shall we men have the use of purple, wearing the purple-bordered gown in magistracies and priests' offices? Shall our children wear gowns bordered with purple? Shall we allow the privilege of such a dress to the magistrates of the colonies and borough towns, and to the very lowest of them here at Rome, the superintendents of the streets; and not only of wearing such an ornament of distinction while alive, but of being buried with it when dead; and shall we interdict the use of purple to women alone? And when you, the husband, may wear purple in your great coat, will you not suffer your wife to have a purple cloak? Shall the furniture of your house be finer than your wife's clothes? But with respect to purple, which will be worn out and consumed, I can see an unjust, indeed, but still sort of reason, for parsimony: but with respect to gold, in which, excepting the price of the workmanship, there is no waste, what motive can there be for denying it to them? It rather serves as



a useful fund for both public and private exigencies, as you have already experienced. He says there will be no emulation between individuals, when no one is possessed of it. But, in truth, it will be a source of grief and indignation to all, when they see those ornaments allowed to the wives of the Latine confederates which have been forbidden to themselves; when they see those riding through the city in their carriages, and decorated with gold and purple, while they are obliged to follow on foot, as if empire were seated in the country of the others, not in their own. This would hurt the feelings even of men, and what do you think must be its effect on those of weak women, whom even trifles can disturb? Neither offices of state, nor of the priesthood, nor triumphs, nor badges of distinction, nor military presents, nor spoils, can fall to their share. Elegance of appearance, and ornaments, and dress, these are the women's badges of distinction; in these they delight and glory; these our ancestors called the women's world. What other change in their apparel do they make, when in mourning, except the laying aside their gold and purple? And what, when the mourning is over, except resuming them? How do they distinguish themselves on occasion of public thanksgivings and supplications, but by adding unusual splendour to their dress? But then, if you repeal the Oppian law, should you choose to prohibit any of those particulars which the law at present prohibits, you will not have it in your power; your daughters, wives, and even the sisters of some, will be less under your control. The bondage of women is never shaken off without the loss of their friends; and they themselves look with horror on that freedom which is purchased with the loss of a husband or parent. Their wish is, that their dress should be under your regulation, not under that of the law; and it ought to be your wish to hold them in control and guardianship, not in bondage; and to prefer the title of father or husband to that of master. The consul just now made use of some invidious terms, calling it a female sedition and secession; because, I suppose, there is danger of their seizing the sacred mount, as formerly the angry plebeians did; or the Aventine. Their feeble nature must submit to whatever you think proper to enjoin; and, the greater power you possess, the more moderate ought you to be in the exercise of your authority."

VIII. Notwithstanding all these arguments

against the motion, the women next day poured out into public in much greater numbers, and, in a body beset the doors of the protesting tribunes; nor did they retire until the tribunes withdrew their protest. There was then no farther demur, but every one of the tribes voted for the repeal. Thus was this law annulled, in the twentieth year after it had been made. The consul Marcus Porcius, as soon as the business of the Oppian law was over, sailed immediately, with twenty-five ships of war, of which five belonged to the allies, to the port of Luna, where he ordered the troops to assemble; and having sent an edict along the sea-coast, to collect ships of every description at his departure from Luna, he left orders that they should follow him to the harbour of Pyrenæus, as he intended to proceed thence against the enemy with all the force that he could muster. They accordingly, after sailing by the Ligurian mountains and the Gallic bay, joined him there on the day appointed. From thence they went to Rhoda, and dislodged a garrison of Spaniards that were in that fortress. From Rhoda they proceeded with a favourable wind to Emporice, and there landed all the forces, excepting the crews of the ships.

IX. At that time, as at present, Emporiæ consisted of two towns, separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocæa, whence the Massilians also derive their origin; the other by Spaniards. The Greek town being open towards the sea, had but a small extent of wall, not above four hundred paces in circuit; but the Spanish town, being farther back from the sea, had a wall three thousand paces in circumference. A third kind of inhabitants was added by the deified Cæsar settling a Roman colony there, after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey. At present they are all incorporated in one mass; the Spaniards first, and, at length, the Greeks; having been admitted to the privilege of Roman citizens. Whoever had, at that period, observed the Greeks exposed on one side to the open sea, and on the other to the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike race, would have wondered by what cause they were preserved. Deficient in strength, they guarded against danger by regular discipline; of which, among even more powerful people, the best preservative is fear. That part of the wall which faced the country, they kept strongly fortified, having but one gate, at which some of the magistrates were continually on

guard. During the night, a third part of the citizens kept watch on the walls, posting their watches, and going their rounds, not merely from the force of custom, or in compliance with the law, but with as much vigilance as if an enemy were at their gates. They never admitted any Spaniard into the city, nor did they go outside the walls without precaution. The passage to the sea was open to every one; but, through the gate, next to the Spanish town, none ever passed, but in a large body; these were generally the third division, which had watched on the walls the preceding night. The cause of their going out was this: the Spaniards, ignorant of maritime affairs, were fond of trafficking with them, and glad of an opportunity of purchasing, for their own use, the foreign goods, which the others imported in their ships; and, at the same time, of finding a market for the produce of their lands. Sensible of the advantages resulting from a mutual intercourse, the Spaniards gave the Greeks free admittance into their city. Another thing, which contributed to their safety, was, being sheltered under the friendship of the Romans, which they cultivated with as much cordial zeal, though not possessed of equal abilities, as the Massilians. On this account they received the consul, and his army, with every demonstration of courtesy and kindness. Cato staid there a few days, until he could learn what force the enemy had, and where they lay; and, not to be idle during even that short delay, he spent the whole time in exercising his men. It happened to be the season of the year when people have the corn in their barns. He therefore ordered the purveyors not to purchase any corn, and sent them home to Rome, saying, that the war would maintain itself. Then, setting out from Emporiæ, he laid waste the lands of the enemy with fire and sword, spreading terror and desolation over the whole country.

X. At the same time, as Marcus Helvius was going home from farther Spain, with an escort of six thousand men, given him by the prætor, Appius Claudius, the Celtiberians, with a very numerous army, met him near the city of Illiturgi. Valerius says, that they had twenty thousand effective men; that twelve thousand of them were killed, the town of Illiturgi taken, and all the adult males put to the sword. Helvius, soon after, arrived at the camp of Cato; and as he had now no danger to apprehend from the enemy, in the country

II.

through which he was to pass, he sent back the escort to Farther Spain, and proceeded to Rome, where, on account of his successful services, he received the honour of an ovation. He carried into the treasury, of silver bullion, fourteen thousand pounds weight; of coined, seventeen thousand and twenty-three denariuses;<sup>1</sup> and Oscan<sup>2</sup> denariuses, twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-eight.<sup>3</sup> The reason for which the senate refused him a triumph was, because he fought under the auspices, and in the province, of another. As he had not come home until the second year after the expiration of his office, because after he had resigned the government of the province to Quintius Minucius, he was detained there, during the succeeding year, by a severe and tedious sickness, he entered the city in ovation, only two months before the triumph of his successor. The latter brought into the treasury thirty-four thousand eight hundred pounds weight of silver, seventy-eight thousand denariuses,<sup>4</sup> and of Oscan denariuses two hundred and seventy-eight thousand.<sup>5</sup>

XI. Meanwhile, in Spain, the consul lay encamped at a small distance from Emporiæ. Thither came three ambassadors from Bili-stages, chieftain of the Illegitians, one of whom was his son, representing, that "their fortresses were besieged, and that they had no hopes of being able to hold out, unless the Romans sent them succour. Five thousand men," they said, "would be sufficient;" and they added, that, "if such a force came to their aid, the enemy would evacuate the country." To this the consul answered, that "he was truly concerned for their danger and their fears; but that his army was far from being so numerous, as that, while there lay in his neighbourhood such a powerful force of the enemy with whom he daily expected a general engagement, he could safely diminish his strength by dividing his forces." The ambassadors, on hearing this, threw themselves at the consul's feet, and with tears conjured him "not to forsake them at such a perilous juncture. For, if rejected by the Romans, to whom could they apply? They had no other allies, no other hope on earth. They might have escaped the present hazard, if they had consented to forfeit their faith, and to conspire

1 5197. 14s.

2 Osca, now Huesca, was a city in Spain, remarkable for silver mines near it.

3 6597. 11s. 9½d. 4 2,4307. 11s. 3d. 5 8,8807. 6s. 9d.



with the rest ; but no menaces, no appearances of danger had been able to shake their constancy ; because they hoped to find in the Romans abundant succour and support. If there was no farther prospect of this ; if it was refused them by the consul, they called gods and men to witness, that it was contrary to their inclination, and in compliance with necessity, that they should change sides, to avoid such sufferings as the Sanguintines had undergone ; and that they would perish together with the other states of Spain, rather than alone."

XII. They were, that day, dismissed without any positive answer. During the following night, the consul's thoughts were greatly perplexed and divided. He was unwilling to abandon these allies, yet equally so to diminish his army, which might either oblige him to decline a battle, or render an engagement too hazardous. At length, he determined not to lessen his forces, lest he should suffer some disgrace from the enemy ; and therefore he judged it expedient, instead of real succour, to hold out hopes to the allies. For he considered that, in many cases, but especially in war, mere appearances have had all the effect of realities ; and that a person, under a firm persuasion that he can command resources, virtually has them ; that very prospect inspiring him with hope and boldness in his exertions. Next day he told the ambassadors, that "although he had many objections to lending a part of his forces to others, yet he considered their circumstances and danger more than his own." He then gave orders to the third part of the soldiers of every cohort, to make haste and prepare victuals, which they were to carry with them on board ships, which he ordered to be got in readiness against the third day. He desired two of the ambassadors to carry an account of these proceedings to Bilistages and the Ibergetians ; but, by kind treatment and presents, he prevailed on the chieftain's son to remain with him. The ambassadors did not leave the place until they saw the troops embarked on board the ships ; then reporting this at home, they spread, not only among their own people, but likewise among the enemy, a confident assurance of the approach of Roman succours.

XIII. The consul, when he had carried appearances as far as he thought sufficient, to create a belief of his intending to send aid, ordered the soldiers to be landed again from the ships ; and, as the season of the year now ap-

proached, when it would be proper to enter on action, he pitched a winter camp at the distance of a mile from Emporiæ. From this post he frequently led out his troops to ravage the enemy's country ; sometimes to one quarter, sometimes to another, as opportunity offered, leaving only a small guard in the camp. They generally began their march in the night, that they might proceed as far as possible, and surprise the enemy unawares ; by which practice, the new-raised soldiers gained a knowledge of discipline, and great numbers of the enemy were cut off ; so that they no longer dared to venture beyond the walls of their forts. When he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the enemy, and of his own men, he ordered the tribunes and the præfects, with all the horsemen and centurions, to be called together, and addressed them thus : "The time is arrived, which you have often wished for, when you might have an opportunity of displaying your valour. Hitherto you have waged war, rather as marauders than as regular troops ; you shall now meet your enemies face to face, in regular fight. Henceforward you will have it in your power, instead of pillaging country places, to rifle the treasures of cities. Our fathers, at a time when the Carthaginians had in Spain both commanders and armies, and they themselves had neither commander nor soldiers there, nevertheless insisted on its being an article of treaty, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of their empire. Now, when two prætors of the Romans, one of their consuls, and three armies are employed in Spain, and, for near ten years past, no Carthaginian has been in either of its provinces, yet we have lost that empire on the hither side of the Iberus. This it is your duty to recover by your valour and arms ; and to compel this nation, which is in a state rather of giddy insurrection than of steady warfare, to receive again the yoke which it has shaken off." After thus exhorting them, he gave notice, that he intended to march by night to the enemy's camp ; and then dismissed them to take refreshment.

XIV. At midnight, after having duly performed what related to the auspices, he began his march, that he might take possession of such ground as he chose, before the enemy should observe him. Having led his troops beyond their camp, he formed them in order of battle, and at the first light sent three cohorts close to

their very ramparts. The barbarians, surprised at the Romans appearing on their rear, ran hastily to arms. In the meantime, the consul observed to his men, "Soldiers, you have no room for hope, but in your own courage; and I have, purposely, taken care that it should be so. The enemy are between us and our tent; behind us, is an enemy's country. What is most honourable, is likewise safest: to place all our hopes in our own valour." He then ordered the cohorts to retreat, in order to draw out the barbarians by the appearance of flight. Every thing happened as he had expected. The enemy, thinking that the Romans retired through fear, rushed out of the gate, and filled the whole space between their own camp and the line of their adversaries. While they were hastily marshalling their troops, the consul, who had all his in readiness, and in regular array, attacked them before they could be properly formed. He caused the cavalry from both wings to advance first to the charge: but those on the right were immediately repulsed, and, retiring in disorder, spread confusion among the infantry also. On seeing this, the consul ordered two chosen cohorts to march round the right flank of the enemy, and show themselves on their rear, before the two lines of infantry should close. The alarm, which this gave the enemy, remedied the disadvantage occasioned by the cowardice of the cavalry, and restored the fight to an equality. But such a panic had taken possession of both the cavalry and infantry of the right wing, that the consul was obliged to lay hold of several with his own hand, and turn them about, with their faces to the enemy. As long as the fight was carried on with missile weapons, success was doubtful; and, on the right wing, where the disorder and flight had first began, the Romans with difficulty kept their ground. On their left wing, the barbarians were hard pressed in front; and looked back, with dread, at the cohorts that threatened their rear. But when, after discharging their iron darts and large javelins, they drew their swords, the battle, in a manner, began anew. They were no longer wounded by random blows from a distance, but closing foot to foot, placed all their hope in courage and strength.

XV. When the consul's men were now spent with fatigue, he reanimated their courage, by bringing up into the fight some subsidiary cohorts from the second line. These formed a new front, and being fresh themselves, and with

fresh weapons attacking the wearied enemy in the form of a wedge, by a furious onset they first made them give ground: and then, when they were once broken, put them completely to flight, and compelled them to seek their camp with all the speed they could make. When Cato saw the rout become general, he rode back to the second legion, which had been posted in reserve, and ordered it to advance in quick motion, and attack the camp of the enemy. If any of them, through too much eagerness, pushed forward beyond his rank, he himself rode up and struck them with his javelin, and also ordered the tribunes and centurions to chastise them. By this time the camp was attacked, though the Romans were kept off from the works by stones, poles, and weapons of every sort. But, on the arrival of the fresh legion, the assailants assumed new courage, and the enemy fought with redoubled fury in defence of their rampart. The consul attentively examined every place himself, that he might make his push where he saw the weakest resistance. At a gate on the left, he observed that the guard was thin, and thither he led the first-rank men and spearmen of the second legion. The party posted at the gate were not able to withstand their assault; while the rest, seeing the enemy within the rampart, abandoned the defence of the camp, and threw away their standards and arms. Great numbers were killed at the gates, being stopped in the narrow passages by the throng; and the soldiers of the second legion cut off the hindmost, while the rest were in search of plunder. According to the account of Valerius Antias, there were above forty thousand of the enemy killed on that day. Cato himself, who was not apt to be too sparing in his own praise, says that a great many were killed, but he specifies no number.

XVI. The conduct of Cato on that day is judged deserving of commendation in three particulars. First, in leading round his army so far from his camp and fleet, as to put the enemy between it and them, when he engaged, that his men might look for no safety but in their courage. Secondly, in throwing the cohorts on the enemy's rear. Thirdly, in ordering the second legion, when all the rest were disordered by the eagerness of their pursuit, to advance at a full pace to the gate of the camp, in compact and regular order under their standards. He delayed not to improve his victory; but having sounded a retreat, and brought back



his men laden with spoil, he allowed them a few hours of the night for rest; and then led them out to ravage the country. They spread their depredations the wider, as the enemy were dispersed in their flight; and this disaster, operating not less forcibly than the defeat of the preceding day, obliged the Spaniards of Emporiæ, and those of their neighbourhood, to make a submission. Many also, belonging to other states, who had made their escape to Emporizæ, surrendered; all of whom the consul received with kindness, and after refreshing them with victuals and wine, dismissed to their several homes. He quickly decamped thence, and wherever the army proceeded on its march, he was met by ambassadors, surrendering their respective states; so that, by the time when he arrived at Tarraco, all Spain on this side of Iberus was in a state of perfect subjection; and the Roman prisoners, and those of their allies and the Latine confederates, who, by various chances, had fallen into the hands of the enemies in Spain, were brought back by the barbarians, and presented to the consul. A rumour afterwards spread abroad, that Cato intended to lead his army into Turditania; and it was given out, with equal falsehood, that he meant to proceed to the remote inhabitants of the mountains. On this groundless, unauthenticated report, seven forts of the Bergistans revolted; but the Roman, marching thither, reduced them to subjection without much fighting. In a short time after, when the consul returned to Tarraco, and before he removed to any other place, the same persons revolted again. They were again subdued; but, on this second reduction, met not the same mild treatment; they were all sold by auction, to put an end to their continual rebellions.

XVII. In the meantime, the prætor, Publius Manlius, having received the army from Quintus Minucius, whom he had succeeded, and joined to it the old army of Appius Claudius Nero, from Farther Spain, marched into Turdetania. Of all the Spaniards, the Turdetanians are reckoned the least warlike; nevertheless, relying on their great numbers, they went to oppose the march of the Romans. One charge of the cavalry immediately broke their line; and, with the infantry, there was hardly any dispute. The veteran soldiers, well acquainted with the enemy, and their manner of fighting, effectually decided the battle. This engagement, however, did not terminate the

war. The Turdulans hired ten thousand Celtiberians, and prepared to carry on the war with foreign troops. The consul, meanwhile, alarmed at the rebellion of the Bergistans, and suspecting that the other states would act in like manner, when occasion offered, took away their arms from all the Spaniards, on this side of the Iberus; which proceeding affected them so deeply, that many laid violent hands on themselves, thinking, according to the notions of that fierce race, that, without arms, life was nothing. When this was reported to the consul, he summoned before him the senators of every one of the states, to whom he spoke thus: "It is not more our interest, than it is your own, that you should not rebel; since your insurrections have, hitherto, always drawn more misfortune on the Spaniards, than labour on the Roman armies. To prevent such things happening in future, I know but one method, which is, to put it out of your power to rebel. I wish to effect this in the gentlest way, and that you would assist me therein with your advice. I will follow none with greater pleasure, than what yourselves shall offer." They all remained silent; and then he told them, that he would give them a few days' time to consider the matter. They were again called together; but, even in the second meeting, they uttered not a word. On which, in one day, he razed the walls of all their fortresses; and, marching against those who had not yet submitted, he received, in every country as he passed through, the submission of all the neighbouring states. Segestica alone, a strong and opulent city, he reduced by a regular siege.

XVIII. Cato had greater difficulties to surmount, in subduing the enemy, than had those commanders who came first into Spain; for this reason, that the Spaniards, through disgust at the Carthaginian government, came over to their side; whereas, he had the task of enforcing their submission to slavery, in a manner, after they had been in full enjoyment of liberty. Besides, he found the whole province in a state of commotion; insomuch, that some were in arms, and others, because they refused to join in the revolt, were held besieged, and would not have been able to hold out, if they had not received timely succour. But so vigorous was the spirit and capacity of the consul, that there was no kind of business, whether great or small, which he did not himself attend to and perform; and he not only planned and ordered,

but generally executed in person such measures as were expedient; nor did he practise greater strictness and severity over any one than over himself. In spare diet, watching, and labour, he vied with the meanest of his soldiers; nor, excepting the honour of his post, and the command, had he any peculiar distinction above the rest of the army.

XIX. The Celtiberians, hired by the enemy as above mentioned, rendered the war in Turditanian difficult to the prætor, Publius Manlius. The consul, therefore, in compliance with a letter from the prætor, led his legions thither. The Celtiberians and Turditanians were lying in separate camps at the approach of the Romans, who began immediately to skirmish with the Turditanians, making attacks on their advanced guards; and they constantly came off victorious, though sometimes they engaged too rashly. The consul ordered some military tribunes to enter into a conference with the Celtiberians, and to offer them their choice of three proposals: first, to come over to the Romans, and receive double the pay for which they had agreed with the Turditanians: the second, to depart to their own homes, on receiving assurance, under the sanction of the public faith, that no resentment should be shown of their behaviour in joining the enemies of the Romans: the third was, that, if they were absolutely determined on war, they should appoint a day and place to decide the matter with him by arms. The Celtiberians desired a day's time for consideration; but numbers of the Turditanians mixing in their assembly, caused so great a confusion, as to prevent them from forming any resolution. Although it was uncertain whether there was to be war or peace with the Celtiberians, the Romans nevertheless, just as though the latter were determined on, brought provisions from the lands and forts of the enemy, and soon ventured to go within their fortifications, relying on private truces, as they would on a common intercourse established by authority. When the consul found that he could not entice the enemy to a battle, he first led out a number of cohorts, lightly accoutred, in regular order, to ravage a part of the country which was yet unhurt; then hearing that all the baggage of the Celtiberians was deposited at Saguntia, he proceeded thither to attack that town, but was unable, notwithstanding, to provoke them to stir. Paying, therefore, his own troops and those of Minucius, he left

the bulk of his army in the prætor's camp, and, with seven cohorts, returned to the Iberus.

XX. With that small force he took several towns. The Sidetonians, Ausetanians, and Suessetanians came over to his side. The Lacetanians, a remote and wild nation, still remained in arms; partly through their natural ferocity, and partly through consciousness of guilt, in having laid waste, by sudden incursions, the country of the allies, while the consul and his army were employed in the war with the Turditanians. He therefore marched to attack their capital, not only with the Roman cohorts, but also with the troops of the allies, who were justly incensed against them. The town was stretched out into considerable length, but had not proportionable breadth. At the distance of about four hundred paces from it he halted, and leaving there a party composed of chosen cohorts, he charged them not to stir from that spot until he himself should come to them; and then he led round the rest of the men to the farther side of the town. The greater part of his auxiliary troops were Suessetanians, and these he ordered to advance and assault the wall. The Lacetanians, knowing their arms and standards, and remembering how often they had themselves, with impunity, committed every kind of outrage and insult in their territory, how often defeated and routed them in pitched battles, hastily threw open a gate, and all, in one body, rushed out against them. The Suessetanians scarcely stood their shout, much less their onset; and the consul, on seeing this happen, just as he had foreseen, galloped back under the enemy's wall to his cohorts, brought them up quickly to that side, where all was silence and solitude, in consequence of the Lacetanians having sallied out on the Suessetanians, led them into the town, and took possession of every part of it before the return of its people; who, having nothing now left but their arms, soon surrendered themselves also.

XXI. The conqueror marched thence, without delay, to the fort of Vergium, which being now converted, almost entirely, into a receptacle of robbers and plunderers, incursions were made on the peaceable parts of the province. One of the principal inhabitants deserted out of the place to the consul, and endeavoured to excuse himself and his countrymen; alleging, that "the management of affairs was not in their hands; for the robbers, having gained admittance, had reduced the fort entirely under their



own power." The consul ordered him to return home, and pretend some plausible reason for having been absent; and then, "when he should see him advancing to the walls, and the robbers intent on making a defence, to seize the citadel with such men as favoured his party." This was executed according to his directions. The double alarm, from the Romans scaling the walls in front, and the citadel being seized on their rear, at once entirely confounded the barbarians. The consul, having taken possession of the place, ordered, that those who had secured the citadel should, with their relations, be set at liberty, and enjoy their property; the rest of the natives, he commanded the *quæstor* to sell; and he put the robbers to death. Having restored quiet, he settled the iron and silver mines on such a footing, that they produced a large revenue; and, in consequence of the regulations then made, the province daily increased in riches. On account of these services performed in Spain, the senate decreed a supplication for three days. During this summer, the other consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, fought a pitched battle with a body of the Boians in Gaul, near the forest of *Litinæ*, and gained a complete victory. We are told, that eight thousand of the Gauls were killed; the rest, desisting from farther opposition, retired to their several villages and lands. During the remainder of the season, the consul kept his army near the Po, at *Placentia* and *Cremona*, and repaired the buildings in these cities which had been ruined in the war.

XXII. While the affairs of Italy and Spain were in this posture, Titus Quintius had spent the winter in Greece, in such a manner, that, excepting the *Ætolians*, who neither had gained rewards of victory adequate to their hopes, nor were capable of being long contented with a state of quiet, all Greece, being in full enjoyment of the blessings of peace and liberty, were highly pleased with their present state; and they admired not more the Roman general's bravery in arms, than his temperance, justice, and moderation in success. And now, a decree of the senate was brought to him, containing a denunciation of war against *Nabis*, the *Lacedæmonian*. On reading it, Quintius summoned a convention of deputies from all the allied states, to be held, on a certain day, at *Corinth*. Accordingly, many persons of the first rank came together, from all quarters, forming a very full assembly, from which even

the *Ætolians* were not absent. He then addressed them in this manner:—"Although the Romans and Greeks, in the war which they waged against Philip, were united in affections and councils, yet they had each their separate reasons for entering into it. He had violated friendship with the Romans; first, by aiding our enemies, the *Carthaginians*; and then, by attacking our allies here: and, towards you, his conduct was such, that even if we were willing to forget our own injuries, those offered by him to you would be reason sufficient to make us declare war against him. But the business to be considered this day rests wholly on yourselves: for the subject which I propose to your consideration is, whether you choose to suffer *Argos*, which, as you know, has been seized by *Nabis*, to remain under his dominion; or whether you judge it reasonable, that a city of such high reputation and antiquity, seated in the centre of Greece, should be restored to liberty, and placed in the same state with the rest of the cities of *Peloponnesus* and of Greece. This question, as you see, merely respects yourselves; it concerns not the Romans in any degree, excepting so far as the one city being left in subjection to tyranny hinders their glory, in having liberated Greece, from being full and complete. If, however, you are not moved by regard for that city, nor by the example, nor by the danger of the contagion of that evil spreading wider, we, for our parts, shall rest content. On this subject I desire your opinions, resolved to abide by whatever the majority of you shall determine."

XXIII. When the Roman general had ended his discourse, the several deputies proceeded to give their opinions. The ambassador of the Athenians extolled, to the utmost of his power, and expressed the greatest gratitude for the kindness of the Romans towards Greece, "in having, when applied to for assistance, brought them succours against Philip; and now, without being applied to, voluntarily offering assistance against the tyrant *Nabis*." He at the same time severely censured the conduct of some, who, in their discourses, "deprecated those kindnesses, and propagated evil surmises of the future, when it would better become them rather to return thanks for the past." It was evident that this was pointed at the *Ætolians*: wherefore Alexander, deputy of that nation, began with inveighing against the Athenians, who, having formerly been the most strenuous supporters of liberty, now betrayed

the general cause, for the sake of recommending themselves by flattery. He then complained that "the Achæans, formerly soldiers of Philip, and lately on the decline of his fortune, deserters from him, had regained possession of Corinth, and were aiming at the possession of Argos; while the Ætolians, who had first opposed their arms to Philip, who had always been allies of the Romans, and who had stipulated by treaty, that on the Macedonian being conquered, the lands and cities should be theirs, were defrauded by Echinus and Pharsalus." He charged the Romans with insincerity, because, "while they made empty professions of establishing universal liberty, they held forcible possession of Demetrias and Chalcis; though, when Philip hesitated to withdraw his garrisons from those places, they always urged against him, that the Grecians would never be free, while Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth were in the hands of others. And lastly, that they named Argos and Nabis merely as a pretext for remaining in Greece, and keeping their armies there. Let them carry home their legions; and the Ætolians were ready to undertake, either that Nabis should voluntarily evacuate Argos, on terms; or they would compel him by force of arms to comply with the unanimous judgment of Greece."

XXIV. This arrogant speech called up, first, Aristæus, prætor of the Achæans, who said:—"Forbid it, Jupiter, supremely good and great, and imperial Juno, the tutelary deity of Argos, that that city should lie as a prize between the Lacedæmonian tyrant and the Ætolian plunderers, under such unhappy circumstances, that its being retaken by us should be productive of more calamitous consequences than its capture by him. Titus Quintius, the sea lying between us, does not secure us from those robbers; what then will become of us, should they procure themselves a stronghold in the centre of Peloponnesus? They have nothing Grecian but the language, as they have nothing human but the shape. They live like beasts of prey, and are, in their manners and rites, more brutally savage than any barbarians. Wherefore, Romans, we beseech you, not only to recover Argos from Nabis, but also to establish the affairs of Greece on such a footing, as to leave these countries in a state of security from the robberies of the Ætolians." The rest concurring in these censures on the Ætolians, the Roman general said, that "he had,

himself, intended to have answered them, but that he perceived all so highly incensed against those people, that the general resentment required rather to be appeased than irritated. Satisfied, therefore, with the sentiments entertained of the Romans; and of the Ætolians, he would simply put this question: What was the general opinion concerning war with Nabis, in case of his refusing to restore Argos to the Achæans?" Every one voted for war; whereupon, he recommended to them, to send in their shares of auxiliary troops, each state in proportion to its ability. He even sent an ambassador to the Ætolians; rather to make them disclose their sentiments, in which he succeeded, than with any hope of obtaining their concurrence. He gave orders to the military tribunes, to bring up the army from Elatia. To the ambassadors of Antiochus, who, at this time, proposed to treat of an alliance, he answered, that "he could say nothing on the subject in the absence of the ten ambassadors. They must go to Rome, and apply to the senate."

XXV. As soon as the troops arrived from Elatia, Quintius put himself at their head, and began his march toward Argos. Near Cleone he was met by the prætor, Aristæus, with ten thousand Achæan foot and one thousand horse; and having joined forces, they pitched their camp at a small distance from thence. Next day they marched down into the plains of Argos, and fixed their post about four miles from that city. The commander of the Lacedæmonian garrison was Pythagoras, the tyrant's son-in-law, and his wife's brother; who, on the approach of the Romans, posted strong guards in both the citadels, for Argos has two, and in every other place that was commodious for defence, or exposed to danger. But, while thus employed, he could by no means dissemble the dread inspired by the approach of the Romans; and, to the alarm from abroad, was added an insurrection within. There was an Argive, named Damocles, a youth of more spirit than prudence, who held conversations, with proper persons, on a design of expelling the garrison; at first, with the precaution of imposing an oath, but afterwards, through his eager desire to add strength to the conspiracy, he trusted to people's sincerity with too little reserve. While he was in conference with his accomplices, an officer, sent by the commander of the garrison, summoned him to ap-



pear before him and this convinced him that his plot was betrayed; on which, exhorting the conspirators, who were present, to take arms with him, rather than be tortured to death, he went on with a few companions towards the forum, crying out to all who wished the preservation of the state, to follow him: he would lead them to liberty, and assert its cause. He could prevail on none to join him; for they saw no prospect of any attainable advantage, and much less any support on which they could rely. While he exclaimed in this manner, the Lacedæmonians surrounded him and his party, and put them to death. Many others were afterwards seized, the greater part of whom were executed, and the remaining few thrown into prison. During the following night, great numbers, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes, came over to the Romans.

XXVI. These men affirmed, that if the Roman army had been at the gates, the commotion would not have ended without effect: and that, if the camp was brought nearer, the townsmen would not remain inactive. Quintius, therefore, sent some horsemen and infantry, lightly accoutred, who, meeting at the Cylarabis, a place of exercise, less than three hundred paces from the city, a party of Lacedæmonians, who sallied out of a gate, engaged them, and, without much difficulty, drove them back into the town; and the Roman general encamped on the very spot where the battle was fought. There he passed one day, watching if any new commotion might arise; but perceiving that the inhabitants were quite disheartened, he called a council to determine whether he should lay siege to Argos. All the deputies of Greece, except Aristæus, were of one opinion, that, as that city was the sole object of the war, with it the war should commence. This was by no means agreeable to Quintius; but he listened, with evident marks of approbation, to Aristæus, arguing in opposition to the joint opinion of all the rest; while he himself added, that "as the war was undertaken in favour of the Argives, against the tyrant, what could be less proper than to leave the enemy in quiet, and lay siege to Argos? For his part, he was resolved to point his arms against the main object of the war, Lacedæmon and Nabis." He then dismissed the meeting, and sent out light-armed cohorts to collect forage. Whatever was ripe in the adjacent country, they reaped, and brought

together; and what was green they trod down and destroyed, to prevent its being of use to the enemy. He then proceeded over Mount Parthenius, and, passing by Tygæa, encamped on the third day at Caryæ; where he waited for the auxiliary troops of the allies, before he entered the enemy's territory. Fifteen hundred Macedonians came from Philip, and four hundred horsemen from Thessaly; and now the Roman general had no occasion to wait for more auxiliaries, having abundance; but he was obliged to stop for supplies of provisions, which he had ordered the neighbouring cities to furnish. He was joined also by a powerful naval force: Lucius Quintius came from Leucas, with forty ships as did eighteen ships of war from the Rhodians; and king Eumenes was cruising among the Cyclades, with ten decked ships, thirty barks, and smaller vessels of various sorts. Of the Lacedæmonians themselves, also, a great many, who had been driven from home by the cruelty of the tyrants, came into the Roman camp, in hopes of being reinstated in their country; for the number was very great of those who had been banished by the several despots, during many generations, since they first got Lacedæmon into their power. The principal person among the exiles was Agesipolis, to whom the crown of Lacedæmon belonged in right of his birth; but who had been driven out when an infant by Lycurgus, after the death of Cleomenes, the first tyrant of Lacedæmon.

XXVII. Although Nabis was inclosed between such powerful armaments on land and sea, and who on a comparative view of his own and his enemy's strength, could scarcely conceive any degree of hope; yet neglected not preparing for a defence, but brought, from Crete, a thousand chosen young men of that country, in addition to a thousand whom he had before; he had, besides, under arms, three thousand mercenary soldiers, and ten thousand of his countrymen, with the peasants, who were vassals to the proprietors of land.<sup>1</sup> He fortified the city with a ditch and rampart; and to prevent any intestine commotion, curbed the people's spirits by fear, punishing them with extreme severity. As he could not hope for good wishes towards a tyrant, and had reason to suspect some designs against his person, he drew out all his forces to a field

<sup>1</sup> These were the Helotes, kept in a state of slavery.

called Dromos (the course), and ordered the Lacedæmonians to be called to an assembly without their arms. He then formed a line of armed men round the place where they were assembled, observing briefly, "that he ought to be excused, if, at such a juncture, he feared and guarded against every thing that might happen; and that, if the present state of affairs subjected any to suspicion, it was their advantage to be prevented from attempting any design, rather than to be punished for the attempt: he therefore intended," he said, "to keep certain persons in custody, until the storm, which then threatened, should blow over; and would discharge them as soon as the country should be clear of the enemy, from whom the danger would be less, when proper precaution was taken against internal treachery." He then ordered the names of about eighty of the principal young men to be called over, and as each answered to his name, he put them in custody. On the night following they were all put to death. Some of the Ilotans, or Helotes, a race of rustics, who have been vassals even from the earliest times, being charged with an intention to desert, they were driven with stripes through all the streets, and put to death. The terror which this excited so enervated the multitude, that they gave up all thoughts of any attempt to effect a revolution. He kept his forces within the fortifications, knowing that he was not a match for the enemy in the field; and, besides, he was afraid to leave the city, while all men's minds were in a state of such suspense and uncertainty.

XXVIII. Quintius, having finished every necessary preparation, decamped; and, on the second day, came to Sellasia, on the river Œnus, on the spot where it is said Antigonus, king of Macedonia, fought a pitched battle with Cleomenes, tyrant of Lacedæmon. Being told that the ascent from thence was through a difficult and narrow pass, he made a short circuit by the mountains, sending forward a party to make a road, and came, by a broad and open passage, to the river Eurotas, where it flows almost immediately under the walls of the city. Here, the tyrant's auxiliary troops attacked the Romans, while they were forming their camp; together with Quintius himself, (who, with a division of cavalry and light troops, had advanced beyond the rest,) and threw all into fright and confusion; for they had not expected any impediment on their whole march: they

II.

had met no kind of molestation, passing, as it were, through the territory of friends. The disorder lasted a considerable time, the infantry calling for aid on the cavalry, and the cavalry, on the infantry, each relying on the others more than on themselves. At length, the foremost ranks of the legions came up; and no sooner had the cohorts of the vanguard taken part in the fight, than those who had lately spread terror round them were driven back into the city. The Romans, retiring so far from the wall as to be out of the reach of weapons, stood there for some time in battle array; and then, none of the enemy coming out against them, retired to their camp. Next day Quintius led on his army in regular order along the bank of the river, passed the city, to the foot of the mountain of Menelaus, the legionary cohorts marching in front, and the cavalry and light-infantry bringing up the rear. Nabis kept his mercenary troops, on whom he placed his whole reliance, in readiness, and drawn up in a body, within the walls, intending to attack the rear of the enemy; and, as soon as the last of their troops passed by, these rushed out of the town, from several places at once, with as great fury as the day before. The rear was commanded by Appius Claudius, who having, beforehand, prepared his men to expect such an event, that they might not be disconcerted when it happened, instantly made his troops face about, and presented an entire front to the enemy. A regular engagement, therefore, took place, as if two complete lines had encountered, and it lasted a considerable time; but, at length, Nabis's troops betook themselves to flight, which would have been attended with less dismay and danger, if they had not been closely pressed by the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the ground. These made dreadful havoc, and dispersing them entirely, obliged the greater part to throw away their arms. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and, afterwards, when he had utterly laid waste all the pleasant and thickly-inhabited country round the city, the enemy not venturing out of the gates, he removed his camp to the river Eurotas. From thence he sent out parties that ravaged the valley lying under Taygetus, and the country reaching as far as the sea.

XXIX. About the same time, Lucius Quintius got possession of the towns on the sea-coast; of some by their voluntary surrender, of others, by fear or force. Then, learning



that the Lacedæmonians made Gythium the repository of all their naval stores, and that the Roman camp was at no great distance from the sea, he resolved to attack that town with his whole force. It was, at that time, a place of considerable strength; well furnished with great numbers of native inhabitants and settlers from other parts, and with every kind of warlike stores. Very seasonably for Quintius, at the commencement of an enterprise of no easy nature, king Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet joined him. - The vast multitude of seamen, collected out of the three fleets, finished in a few days all the works requisite for the siege of a city so strongly fortified, both on the land side and on that next the sea. Covered galleries were soon brought up; the wall was undermined, and, at the same time, shaken with battering rams. By the frequent shocks given with these, one of the towers was thrown down, and, by its fall, the adjoining wall on each side was laid flat. The Romans, on this, attempted to force in, both on the side next the port, to which the approach was more level than to the rest, hoping to divert the enemy's attention from the more open passage, and, at the same time, to enter the breach caused by the falling of the wall. They were near effecting their design of penetrating into the town, when the assault was suspended by a proposal of a capitulation; which, however, came to nothing. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas commanded there, with equal authority. Dexagoridas had sent to the Roman general the proposal of surrendering; and, after the time and the mode of proceeding had been agreed on, he was slain as a traitor by Gorgopas, and the defence of the city was maintained with redoubled vigour by this single commander. The farther prosecution of the siege would have been much more difficult, had not Titus Quintius arrived with a body of four thousand chosen men. He showed his army in order of battle, on the brow of a hill at a small distance from the city; and, on the other side, Lucius Quintius plied the enemy hard with his engines, both on the quarter of the sea, and of the land; on which Gorgopas was compelled to follow the plan, which, in the case of another, he had punished with death. After stipulating for liberty to carry away the soldiers whom he had there as a garrison, he surrendered the city to Quintius. Previous to the surrender of Gythium, Pythagoras, who commanded at Argos, left that

place, intrusting the defence of the city to Timocrates of Pellene; and, with a thousand mercenary soldiers, and two thousand Argives, came to Lacedæmon and joined Nabis.

XXX. Although Nabis had been greatly alarmed at the first arrival of the Roman fleet, and the loss of the towns on the sea coast, yet, as long as Gythium was held by his troops, the small degree of hope which that afforded had helped to quiet his apprehensions; but when he heard that Gythium too was given up to the Romans, and saw that he had no room for any kind of hope on the land, where every place round was in the hands of the enemy, and that he was totally excluded from the sea, he found himself under the necessity of yielding to fortune. He first sent an officer, with a wand of parley, into the Roman camp, to learn whether permission would be given to send ambassadors. This being consented to, Pythagoras came to the general, with no other commission than to propose a conference between that commander and the tyrant. A council was summoned on the proposal, and every one present agreeing in opinion that a conference should be granted, a time and place were appointed. They came, with moderate escorts, to some hills in the interjacent ground; and leaving their cohorts there, in posts open to the view of both parties, they went down to the place of meeting; Nabis attended by a select party of his life-guards; Quintius by his brother, king Eumenes, Sosilaus, the Rhodian, Aristæus, prætor of the Achæans, and a few military tribunes.

XXXI. Then the tyrant, having the choice given him to speak either before or after the Roman, began thus: "Titus Quintius, and you who are present, if I could collect from my own reflections the reason of your having either declared or actually made war against me, I should have waited in silence the issue of my destiny. But in the present state of things, I could not repress my desire of knowing, before I am ruined, the cause for which my ruin is resolved on. And in truth, if you were such men as the Carthaginians are represented,—men who considered the obligation of faith, pledged in alliances, as in no degree sacred, I should not wonder if you were the less scrupulous with respect to your conduct towards me. But, instead of that, when I look at you, I perceive that you are Romans: men who allow treaties to be the most solemn of religious acts, and faith, pledged therein, the strongest of human

ties. Then, when I look back at myself, I am confident I am one who, as a member of the community, am, in common with the rest of the Lacedæmonians, included in a treaty subsisting with you, of very ancient date; and likewise have, lately, during the war with Philip, concluded anew, in my own name, a personal friendship and alliance with you. But I have violated and cancelled that treaty, by holding possession of the city of Argos. In what manner shall I defend this? By the consideration of the fact, or of the time: The consideration of the fact furnishes me with a twofold defence: for, in the first place, in consequence of an invitation from the inhabitants themselves, and of their voluntary act of surrender, I accepted the possession of that city, and did not seize it by force. In the next place, I accepted it, when the city was in league with Philip, not in alliance with you. Then the consideration of the time acquits me, for this reason; that when I was in actual possession of Argos, you entered into an alliance with me, and stipulated that I should send you aid against Philip, not that I should withdraw my garrison from that city. In this dispute, therefore, so far as it relates to Argos, I have unquestionably the advantage, both from the equity of the proceeding, as I gained possession of a city which belonged not to you, but to your enemy; and as I gained it by its own voluntary act, and not by forcible compulsion; and also from your own acknowledgment; since, in the articles of our alliance, you left Argos to me. But then, the name of tyrant, and my conduct, are strong objections against me: that I call forth slaves to a state of freedom; that I carry out the indigent part of the populace, and give them settlements in lands. With respect to the title by which I am styled, I can answer thus: That, let me be what I may, I am the same now that I was at the time when you yourself, Titus Quintius, concluded an alliance with me. I remember, that I was then styled king by you; now, I see, I am called tyrant. If, therefore, I had since altered the style of my office, I might be chargeable with fickleness: as you chose to alter it, the charge falls on you. As to what relates to the augmenting the number of the populace, by giving liberty to slaves, and the distribution of lands to the needy: on this head too, I might defend myself on the ground of a reference to the time of the facts charged. These mea-

asures, of what complexion soever they are, I had practised before you formed friendship with me, and received my aid in the war against Philip. But, if I did the same things, at this moment, I would not say to you, how did I thereby injure you, or violate the friendship subsisting between us? but, I would insist, that in so doing, I acted agreeably to the practice and institutions of my ancestors. Do not estimate what is done at Lacedæmon, by the standard of your own laws and constitution. I need not compare every particular: you are guided in your choice of a horseman, by the quantity of his property; in your choice of a foot soldier, by the quantity of his property; and your plan is, that a few should abound in wealth, and that the body of the people should be in subjection to them. Our lawgiver did not choose that the administration of government should be in the hands of a few, such as you call a senate; or that this or that order of citizens should have a superiority over the rest: but he proposed, by equalizing the property and dignity of all, to multiply the number of those who were to bear arms for their country. I acknowledge that I have enlarged on these matters, beyond what consists with the conciseness customary with my countrymen, and that the sum of the whole might be comprised in few words: that, since I first commenced a friendship with you, I have given you no just cause of displeasure."

XXXII. The Roman general answered: "We never contracted any friendship or alliance with you, but with Pelops, the right and lawful king of Lacedæmon; whose authority, while the Carthaginian, Gallic, and other wars, succeeding one another, kept us constantly employed, the tyrants, who after him held Lacedæmon under forced subjection, usurped into their own hands, as did you also during the late war with Macedonia. For what could be less consistent with propriety, than that we, who were waging war against Philip, in favour of the liberty of Greece, should contract friendship with a tyrant, and a tyrant who carried his violence and cruelty towards his subjects to as great an excess as any that ever existed? But, even supposing, that you had not either seized or held Argos by iniquitous means, it would be incumbent on us, when we are giving liberty to all Greece, to reinstate Lacedæmon also in its ancient freedom, and the enjoyment of its own laws,



which you just now spoke of, as if you were another Lycurgus. Shall we take pains to make Philip's garrisons evacuate Tassus and Bargylli; and shall we leave Lacedæmon and Argos, those two most illustrious cities, formerly the lights of Greece, under your feet, that their continuance in bondage may tarnish our title of deliverers of Greece? But the Argives took part with Philip: we excuse you from taking any concern in that cause, so that you need not be angry with them on our behalf. We have received sufficient proof, that the guilt of that proceeding is chargeable on two only, or, at most, three persons, and not on the state; just, indeed, as in the case of the invitation given to you and to your army, and your reception in the town, not one step was taken by public authority. We know, that the Thessalians, Phocians, and Locrians, to a man, unanimously joined in espousing the cause of Philip: and when, notwithstanding this, we have given liberty to all the rest of Greece, how, I ask you, can you suppose we shall conduct ourselves towards the Argives, who are acquitted of having publicly authorised misconduct? You said, that your inviting slaves to liberty, and the distribution of lands among the indigent, were objected to you as crimes; and crimes, surely, they are, of no small magnitude. But what are they in comparison with those atrocious deeds, that are daily perpetrated by you and your adherents, in continual succession? Show us a free assembly of the people, either at Argos or Lacedæmon, if you wish to hear a true recital of the crimes of the most abandoned tyranny. To omit all other instances of older date, what a massacre did your son-in-law, Pythagoras, make at Argos almost before my eyes? What another did you yourself perpetrate, when I was on the borders of Laconia? Now, give orders, that the persons whom you took out of the midst of an assembly, and committed to prison, after declaring, in the hearing of all your countrymen, that you would keep them in custody, be produced in their chains that their wretched parents may know that they are alive, and have no cause for their mourning. Well, but you say, though all these things were so, Romans, how do they concern you? Can you say this to the deliverers of Greece; to people who crossed the sea in order to deliver it, and have maintained a war, on sea and land, to effect its deliverance? Still you tell us, you have not directly violated

the alliance, or the friendship established between us. How many instances must I produce of your having done so? But I will not go into a long detail; I will bring the matter to a short issue. By what acts is friendship violated? Most effectually by these two: by treating our friends as foes; and by uniting yourself with our enemies. Now, which of these has not been done to you? For Messene, which had been united to us in friendship, by one and the same bond of alliance with Lacedæmon, you, while professing yourself our ally, reduced to subjection by force of arms, though you knew it was in alliance with us; and you contracted with Philip, our professed enemy, not only an alliance, but even an affinity, through the intervention of his general, Philocles: and waging actual war against us, with your piratical ships, you made the sea round Malea unsafe, and you captured and slew more Roman citizens almost than Philip himself; and it was less dangerous for our ships to bring supplies for our armies by the coast of Macedonia, than by the promontory of Malea. Cease, therefore, to vaunt your good faith, and the obligations of treaties; and, dropping your affectation of popular sentiments, speak as a tyrant, and as an enemy."

XXXIII. Aristæus then began, at first to advise, and afterwards even to beseech Nabis, while it was yet in his power, and while the state of affairs permitted, to consider what was best for himself and his interests. He then mentioned the names of several tyrants in the neighbouring states who had resigned their authority, and restored liberty to their people, and afterwards lived to old age, not only in safety, but with the respect of their countrymen. After this conversation had passed, the approach of night broke up the conference. Next day Nabis said, that he was willing to cede Argos, and withdraw his garrison, since such was the desire of the Romans, and to deliver up the prisoners and deserters; and if they demanded any thing farther, he requested that they would set it down in writing that he might deliberate on it with his friends. Thus the tyrant gained time for consultation, and Quintius also, on his part, called a council, to which he summoned the chiefs of the allies. The greatest part were of opinion, that "they ought to persevere in the war until the tyrant should be stripped of all power; otherwise the liberty of Greece would never be secure. That it would

have been much better never to have entered on the war than to drop it after it was begun ; for this would be a kind of approbation of his tyrannical usurpation, and which would establish him more firmly, as giving the countenance of the Roman people to his ill-acquired authority, while the example would quickly spirit up many in other states to plot against the liberty of their countrymen." The wishes of the general himself tended rather to peace ; for he saw, that, as the enemy was shut up in the town, nothing remained but a siege, and that must be very tedious. For it was not Gythium that they must besiege, though even that place had been gained by capitulation, not by assault ; but Lacedæmon, a city most powerful in men and arms. The only hope which they could have formed was, that, on the first approach of their army, dissensions and insurrections might have been raised within ; but, though the standards had been seen to advance almost to the gates, not one person had stirred. To this he added, that " Villius the ambassador, returning from Antiochus, brought intelligence, that nothing but war was to be expected from that quarter ; and that the king had come over into Europe with a much more powerful armament by sea and land than before. Now, if the army should be engaged in the siege of Lacedæmon, with what other forces could the war be maintained against a king of his great power and strength ?" These arguments he urged openly ; but he was influenced by another motive which he did not avow, his anxiety lest one of the new consuls should be appointed to the province of Greece ; and then the honour of terminating the war, in which he had proceeded so far, must be yielded to a successor.

XXXIV. Finding that he could not, by opposition make any alteration in the sentiments of the allies, by pretending to go over to their opinion, he led them all into a concurrence in his scheme. " Be it so," said he, " and may success attend us : let us lay siege to Lacedæmon, since that is your choice. However, as a business so slow in its progress, as you know the besieging of cities to be, very often wears out the patience of the besiegers sooner than that of the besieged, you ought, before you proceed a step farther, to consider, that we must pass the winter under the walls of Lacedæmon. If this tedious enterprise brought only toil and danger, I would recommend to you to prepare your minds and bodies to support these. But,

in the present case, vast expenses also will be requisite for the construction of works, for machines and engines, sufficient for the siege of so great a city, and for procuring stores of provisions for the winter to serve you and us : therefore, to prevent your being suddenly disconcerted, or shamefully deserting an enterprise which you had engaged in, I think it will be necessary for you to write home to your respective states, and learn what degree of spirit and of strength each possesses. Of auxiliary troops I have sufficient number, and to spare ; but the more numerous we are, the more numerous will be our wants. The country of the enemy has nothing left but the naked soil. Besides, the winter is at hand, which will render it difficult to convey what we may stand in need of from distant places." This speech first turned their thoughts to the domestic evils prevailing in their several states ; the indolence of those who remained at home ; the envy and misrepresentations to which those who served abroad were liable ; the difficulty of procuring unanimity among men in a state of freedom ; the emptiness of the public treasury, and people's backwardness to contribute out of their private property. These considerations wrought such a sudden change in their inclinations, that they gave full power to the general, to do whatever he judged conducive to the general interest of the Roman people and their allies.

XXXV. Then Quintius, consulting only his lieutenant-generals and military tribunes, drew up the following conditions on which peace should be made with Nabis : " That there should be a suspension of arms for six months, between Nabis on one part, and the Romans, king Eumenes, and the Rhodians on the other. That Titus Quintius and Nabis should immediately send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the peace might be ratified by authority of the senate. That, whatever day a written copy of these conditions should be delivered to Nabis, on that day should the armistice commence ; and, within ten days after, his garrisons should be withdrawn from Argos, and all other towns in the territory of the Argives ; all which towns should be entirely evacuated, restored to freedom, and in that state delivered to the Romans. That no slave, whether belonging to the king, the public, or a private person, be removed out of any of them ; and if any had been removed before, that they be faithfully restored to their owners. That he



should give up the ships, which he had taken from the maritime states; and should not have any other than two barks; and these to be navigated with no more than sixteen oars.

That he should restore to all the states, in alliance with the Roman people, the prisoners and deserters in his hands; and to the Messenians, all the effects that could be discovered, and which the owners could prove to be their property. That he should, likewise, restore to the exiled Lacedæmonians their children, and their wives, who chose to follow their husbands; provided that no woman should be obliged, against her will, to go with her husband into exile. That such of the mercenary soldiers of Nabis as had deserted him, and gone either to their own countries, or to the Romans, should have all their effects faithfully returned to them. That he should hold possession of no city in the island of Crete; and that such as were then in his possession, should be given up to the Romans. That he should not form any alliance, or wage war, with any of the Cretan states, or with any other. That he should withdraw all his garrisons from those cities, which he should give up, and which had put themselves, and their country, under the dominion and protection of the Roman people; and should take care that, in future, neither he, nor any of his subjects, should give them any disturbance. That he should not build any town or fort in his own, or any other territory. That, to secure the performance of these conditions he should give five hostages, such as the Roman general should choose, and among them his own son: and should pay, at present, one hundred talents of silver; and fifty talents, annually, for eight years."

XXXVI. These articles were put into writing, and sent into Lacedæmon, the camp having been removed, and brought nearer to the town. The tyrant saw nothing in them that gave him much satisfaction, excepting that, beyond his hopes, no mention had been made of reinstating the exiles. But what mortified him most of all, was, the depriving him of his shipping, and of the maritime towns: for the sea had been a source of great profit to him; his piratical vessels having continually infested the whole coast from the promontory of Malea. Besides, he found in the young men of those towns, recruits for his army, who made by far the best of his soldiers. Though he discussed those conditions in private with his confidential

friends, yet, as the ministers in the courts of kings, faithless in other respects, are particularly so with respect to the concealing of secrets, they soon became the subject of common conversation. The public, in general, expressed not so great a disapprobation of the whole of the terms, as did individuals, of the articles particularly affecting themselves. Those who had the wives of the exiles in marriage, or had possessed themselves of any of their property, were provoked, as if they were to lose what was their own, and not to make restitution of what belonged to others. The slaves, who had been set at liberty by the tyrant, perceived plainly, not only that their enfranchisement would be annulled, but that their servitude would be much more severe than it had been before, when they should be again put under the power of their incensed masters. The mercenary soldiers saw, with uneasiness, that, in consequence of a peace, their pay would cease; and they knew also, that they could not return among their own countrymen, who detested not tyrants more than they did their abettors.

XXXVII. They at first spoke of these matters, in their circles, with murmurs of discontent; and afterwards, suddenly ran to arms. From which tumultuous proceeding, the tyrant perceived that the passions of the multitude were of themselves inflamed as highly as he could wish; he, therefore, immediately ordered a general assembly to be summoned. Here he explained to them the terms which the Romans strove to impose, to which he falsely added others, more severe and humiliating. While on the mention of each particular, sometimes the whole assembly, sometimes different parties, raised a shout of disapprobation, he asked them, "What answer they wished him to give; or what they would have him do?" On which all, as it were with one voice, cried out, "To give no answer, to continue the war;" and they began, as is common with a multitude, every one to encourage the rest, to keep up their spirits, and cherish good hopes, observing, that "fortune favours the brave." Animated by these expressions, the tyrant assured them, that Antiochus, and the Ætolians, would come to their assistance; and that he had, in the meantime, a force abundantly sufficient for the maintenance of a siege. Every thought of peace vanished from their minds, and unable to contain themselves longer in quiet, they ran out in

parties against the advanced guards of the enemy. The sally of these few skirmishers, and the weapons which they threw, immediately demonstrated to the Romans, beyond a doubt, that the war was to continue. During the four following days, several slight encounters took place, without any certain advantage; but, on the fifth day after, in a kind of regular engagement, the Lacedæmonians were beaten back into the town, in such a panic, that several Roman soldiers, pressing close on their rear, entered the city through open spaces, not secured with a wall, of which, at that time, there were several.

XXXVIII. Then Quintius, having, by this repulse, effectually checked the sallies of the enemy, and being fully convinced that he had now no alternative, but must besiege the city, sent persons to bring up all the marine forces from Gythium; and, in the mean time, rode himself, with some military tribunes, round the walls, to take a view of the situation of the place. In former times, Sparta had no wall; of late, the tyrants had built walls, in the places where the ground was open and level; but the higher places, and those more difficult of access, they secured by placing guards of soldiers instead of fortifications. When he had sufficiently examined every circumstance, he resolved on making a general assault; and, for that purpose, surrounded the city with all his forces, the number of which, Romans and allies, horse and foot, naval and land forces, all together, amounted to fifty thousand men. Some brought scaling-ladders, some firebrands, some other matters, wherewith they might either assail the enemy, or strike terror. The orders were, that on raising the shout, all should advance at once, in order that the Lacedæmonians, being alarmed at the same time in every quarter, might be at a loss where, first, to make head, or whether to bring aid. The main force of his army he formed in three divisions, and ordered one to attack on the side of the Phœbeum, another on that of the Dictynneum, and the third near a place called Heptagoniæ, all which are open places without walls. Though surrounded on all sides by such a violent alarm, the tyrant, at first, attentive to every sudden shout and hasty message, either ran up himself, or sent others, wherever the greatest danger pressed; but afterwards, he was so stunned by the horror and confusion that prevailed all around, as to become incapable either of giving proper direc-

tions, or of hearing what was said, and to lose, not only his judgment, but almost his reason.

XXXIX. For some time the Lacedæmonians maintained their ground against the Romans, in the narrow passes: and three armies, on each side, fought, at one time, in different places. Afterwards, when the heat of the contest increased, the combatants were, by no means, on an equal footing: for the Lacedæmonians fought with missile arms, against which, the Roman soldiers, by means of their large shields, easily defended themselves, and many of their blows either missed, or were very weak; for, the narrowness of the place causing them to be closely crowded together, they neither had room to discharge their weapons with a previous run, which gives great force to them, nor clear and steady footing while they made their throw. Of those, therefore, discharged against the front of the Romans, none pierced their bodies, few even their shields: but several were wounded, by those who stood on higher places, on each side of them; and presently, when they advanced a little, they were hurt unawares, both with javelins, and tiles also thrown from the tops of the houses. On this they raised their shields over their heads; and joining them so close together as to leave no room for injury from such random casts, or even for the insertion of a javelin, by a hand within reach, they pressed forward under cover of this tortoise fence. For some time the narrow streets, being thronged with the soldiers of both parties, considerably retarded the progress of the Romans; but when once, by gradually pushing back the enemy they gained the wider passes, the impetuosity of their attack could no longer be withstood. While the Lacedæmonians, having turned their backs, fled precipitately to the higher places, Nabis, being utterly confounded, as if the town were already taken, began to look about for a way to make his escape. Pythagoras, through the whole affair, displayed the spirit and conduct of a general, and was now the sole means of saving the city from being taken. For he ordered the buildings nearest to the wall to be set on fire; and these being instantly in a blaze, those who, on another occasion, would have brought help to extinguish the fire, now helping to increase it, the roofs tumbled on the Romans; and not only fragments of the tiles, but also the half-burned timber reached the soldiers: the flames spread wide, and the



smoke caused a degree of terror even greater than the danger. In consequence, the Romans who were without the city, and were just then advancing to the assault, retired from the wall; and those who were within, fearing lest the fire, rising behind them, should put it out of their power to rejoin the rest of the army, began to retreat. Whereupon Quintius, seeing how matters stood, ordered a general retreat to be sounded.—Thus, after they had almost mastered the city, they were obliged to quit it, and return to their camp.

XL. Quintius, conceiving greater hopes from the fears of the enemy, than from the immediate effect of his operations, kept them in a continual alarm during the three succeeding days; sometimes harassing them with assaults, sometimes inclosing several places with works, so as to leave no passage open for flight. These menaces had such an effect on the tyrant that he again sent Pythagoras to solicit peace. Quintius, at first, rejected him with disdain, ordering him to quit the camp; but afterwards, on his suppliant entreaties, and throwing himself at his feet, he admitted him to an audience in form. The purport of his discourse, at first, was, an offer of implicit submission to the will of the Romans; but this availed nothing, being considered as nugatory and indecisive. The business was, at length, brought to this issue, that a truce should be made on the conditions delivered in writing a few days before, and the money and hostages were accordingly received. While the tyrant was kept shut up by the siege, the Argives, receiving frequent accounts, one after another, that Lacedæmon was on the point of being taken, and having themselves resumed courage on the departure of Pythagoras, with the strongest part of his garrison, looked now with contempt on the small number remaining in the citadel; and, being headed by a person named Archippus, drove the garrison out. They gave Timocrates, of Pellene, leave to retire, with solemn assurance of sparing his life, in consideration of the mildness which he had shown in his government. In the midst of their rejoicing for this event, Quintius arrived, after having granted peace to the tyrant, dismissed Eumenes and the Rhodians from Lacedæmon, and sent back his brother, Lucius Quintius, to the fleet.

XLI. The Nemean games, the most celebrated of all the Roman festivals, and their most splendid public spectacle, had been omitted,

at the regular time, on account of the disasters of the war: the state, now, in the fulness of their joy, ordered them to be celebrated on the arrival of the Roman general and his army; and appointed the general, himself, president of the games. Many circumstances concurred to render their happiness complete: their countrymen, whom Pythagoras, lately, and, before that, Nabis, had carried away, were brought home from Lacedæmon; those who on the discovery of the conspiracy by Pythagoras, and when the massacre was already begun, had fled from home, now returned; they saw their liberty restored, after a long interval, and beheld, in their city, the Romans, the authors of its restoration, whose only view, in making war on the tyrant, was the support of their interest. The freedom of the Argives was, also, solemnly announced, by the voice of a herald, on the very day of the Nemean games. Whatever pleasure the Achæans felt on Argos being reinstated in the general council of Achaia, it was, in a great measure, allayed by Lacedæmon being left in slavery, and the tyrant close at their side. As to the Ætolians, they loudly railed at that measure in every meeting. They remarked, that “the war with Philip was not ended until he evacuated all the cities of Greece. But Lacedæmon was left to the tyrant, while the lawful king, who had been, at the time, in the Roman camp, and others, the noblest of the citizens, must live in exile: so that the Roman nation was become a partizan of Nabis’s tyranny.” Quintius led back his army to Elatia, whence he had set out to the Spartan war. Some writers say, that the tyrant’s method of carrying on hostilities was not by sallies from the city, but that he encamped in the face of the Romans; and that, after he had declined fighting a long time, waiting for succours from the Ætolians, he was forced to come to an engagement, by an attack which the Romans made on his foragers, when being defeated in that battle, and beaten out of his camp, he sued for peace, after fifteen thousand of his men had been killed, and more than four thousand made prisoners.

XLII. Nearly at the same time, arrived at Rome a letter from Titus Quirtilius, with an account of his proceedings at Lacedæmon; and another, out of Spain from Marcus Porcius, the consul; whereupon the senate decreed a supplication, for three days, in the name of each. The other consul, Lucius Valerius,

as his province had remained quiet since the defeat of the Boians at the wood of Litana, came home to Rome to hold the elections. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, were elected consuls. The fathers of these two had been consuls in the first year of the second Punic war. The election of prætors was then held, and the choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, two Cneius Corneliiuses Merenda, and Blasio, Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and Titus Juvencius Thalna. As soon as the elections were finished, the consul returned to his province. The inhabitants of Ferentinum, this year, laid claim to a privilege unheard of before; that Latines, giving in their names for a Roman colony, should be deemed citizens of Rome. Some colonists, who had given in their names for Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, assumed, on that ground, the character of Roman citizens; but the senate determined that they were not.

XLIII. In the beginning of the year, [Y. R. 558. B. C. 194.] wherein Publius Scipio Africanus, a second time, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, two ambassadors from the tyrant Nabis came to Rome. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Apollo, outside the city. They entreated that a peace might be concluded on the terms settled with Quintius, which was granted. When the question was put concerning the provinces, the majority of the senate were of opinion, that, as the wars in Spain and Macedonia were at an end, Italy should be the province of both the consuls; but Scipio contended that one consul was sufficient for Italy, and that Macedonia ought to be decreed to the other; that "there was every reason to apprehend a dangerous war with Antiochus, for he had already, of his own accord, come into Europe; and how did they suppose he would act in future, when he should be encouraged to a war on one hand, by the Ætolians, avowed enemies of their state, and stimulated, on the other, by Hannibal, a general famous for his victories over the Romans?" While the consular provinces were in dispute, the prætors cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Cneius Domitius; the foreign, to Titus Juvencius: Farther Spain, to Publius Cornelius; Hither Spain, to Sextus Digitius; Sicily, to Cneius Cornelius Blasio; Sardinia, to Cnei-

us Cornelius Merenda. It was resolved, that no new army should be sent into Macedonia, but that the one which was there should be brought home to Italy by Quintius, and disbanded; that the army which was in Spain, under Marcus Porcius Cato, should likewise be disbanded; that Italy should be the province of both the consuls, for the defence of which they should raise two city legions; so that, after the disbanding of the armies, mentioned in the resolution of the senate, the whole military establishment should consist of eight Roman legions.

XLIV. A sacred spring had been celebrated, in the preceding year during the consulate of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius; but Publius Licinius, one of the pontiffs, having made a report, first, to the college of pontiffs, and afterwards, by their direction, to the senate, that it had not been duly performed, a vote was passed, that it should be celebrated anew, under the direction of the pontiffs; and that the great games, vowed together with it, should be exhibited at the usual expense; that the sacred spring should be deemed to comprehend all the cattle born between the calends of March, and the day preceding the calends of May, in the year of the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Then followed the election of censors. Sextus Ælius Pætus, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, being created censors, named as prince of the senate the consul Publius Scipio, whom the former censors likewise had appointed. They passed by only three senators in the whole, none of whom had enjoyed the honour of a curule office. They obtained, on another account, the highest degree of credit with that body; for, at the celebration of the Roman games, they ordered the curule ædiles to set apart places for the senators, distinct from those of the people, whereas, hitherto, all the spectators used to sit promiscuously. Of the knights, also, very few were deprived of their horses; nor was severity shown towards any rank of men. The gallery of the temple of Liberty, and the Villa Publica, were repaired and enlarged by the same censors. The sacred spring, and the votive games, were celebrated, pursuant to the vow of Servius Sulpicius Galba, when consul. While every one's thoughts were engaged by the shows then exhibited, Quintus Pleminius, who, for the many crimes against gods and men com-



mitted by him at Loeri, had been thrown into prison, procured men who were to set fire by night, to several parts of the city at once, in order that, during the general consternation, which such a disturbance would occasion, the prison might be broken open. But some of the accomplices discovered the design, and the affair was laid before the senate. Pleminius was thrown into the dungeon, and there put to death.

XLV. In this year colonies of Roman citizens were settled at Puteoli, Vulturnum, and Liternum; three hundred men in each place. The lands allotted to them had formerly belonged to the Campanians. Colonies of Roman citizens were likewise established at Salernum and Buxentum. The commissioners for conducting these settlements were, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, then consul, Marcus Servilius, and Quintus Minucius Thermus. Other commissioners, also, Decius Junius Brutus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Marcus Helvius, led a colony of Roman citizens to Sipontum, into a district which had belonged to the Arpinians. To Tempa, likewise, and to Croto, colonies of Roman citizens were led out. The lands of Tempa had been taken from the Bruttians, who had formerly expelled the Greeks from them. Croto was possessed by Greeks. In ordering these establishments, there were named, for Croto,—Cneius Octavius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, and Caius Pletorius; for Tempa,—Lucius Cornelius Merula, and Caius Saloniæ. Several prodigies were observed at Rome that year, and others reported, from other places. In the forum, comitium, and capitol, drops of blood were seen, and several showers of earth fell, and the head of Vulcan was surrounded with a blaze of fire. It was reported, that a stream of milk ran in the river at Interamna; that, in some reputable families at Ariminum, children were born without eyes and nose; and one, in the territory of Picenum, that had neither hands nor feet. These prodigies were expiated according to an order of the pontiffs; and the nine days' festival was celebrated, in consequence of a report from Adria, that a shower of stones had fallen in that neighbourhood.

XLVI. In Gaul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, proconsul, in a pitched battle near Mediolanum, completely overthrew the Insubrian Gauls, and the Boians; who, under the command of Dorulacus, had crossed the Po, to

rouse the Insubrians to arms. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain. About this time his colleague, Marcus Porcius Cato, triumphed over Spain. He carried in the procession twenty-five thousand pounds weight of unwrought silver, one hundred and three thousand silver denariuses,<sup>1</sup> five hundred and forty of Oscan silver,<sup>2</sup> and one thousand four hundred pounds weight of gold. Out of the booty, he distributed to each of his soldiers two hundred and seventy *asses*;<sup>3</sup> double that sum to each centurion, and triple to each horseman. Tiberius Sempronius, consul, proceeding to his province, led his legions, first, into the territory of the Boians. At this time Boiorix their chieftain, with his two brothers, after having drawn out the whole nation into the field to renew the war, pitched his camp on level ground, with an evident intention to fight the enemy, in case they should pass the frontiers. When the consul understood what a numerous force, and what a degree of resolution the enemy had, he sent an express to his colleague, requesting him, "if he thought proper, to hasten to join him;" adding, that "he would act on the defensive, and defer engaging in battle, until his arrival." The same reason which made the consul wish to decline an action, induced the Gauls, whose spirits were raised by the backwardness of their antagonists, to bring it on as soon as possible, that they might finish the affair before the two consuls should unite their forces. However, during two days, they did nothing more than stand in readiness for battle, if any should come out against them. On the third, they advanced furiously to the rampart, and assaulted the camp on every side at once. The consul immediately ordered his men to take arms, and kept them quiet, under arms, for some time; both to add to the foolish confidence of the enemy, and to arrange his troops at the gates, through which each party was to sally out. The two legions were ordered to march by the two principal gates; but, in the very pass of the gates, the Gauls opposed them in such close bodies as to stop up the way. The fight was maintained a long time in these narrow passes; nor were their hands or swords much employed in the business, but pushing with their shields and bodies, they pressed against each other, the Romans struggling to force their way out, the Gauls to break into the

camp, or, at least, to hinder the Romans from issuing forth. However, neither party could make the least impression on the other, until Quintus Victorius, a first centurion, and Caius Atinius, a military tribune, the former of the second, the latter of the fourth legion, had recourse to an expedient often tried in desperate cases; snatching the standards from the officers who carried them, and throwing them among the enemy. In the struggle to recover the standards, the men of the second legion, first made their way out of the gate.

XLVII. These were now fighting on the outside of the rampart, the fourth legion still entangled in the gate, when a new alarm arose on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broke in by the Quæstorian gate, and had slain the quæstor, Lucius Postumius, surnamed Tympanus, with Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius, præfects of the allies, who made an obstinate resistance; and also, near two hundred soldiers. The enemy were masters of that part of the camp, until a cohort of those which are called Extraordinaries, sent by the consul to defend the Quæstorian gate, killed some who had got within the rampart, drove out the rest, and opposed others who were attempting to break in. About the same time, the fourth legion, and two cohorts of Extraordinaries, burst out of the gate; and thus there were three battles, in different places, round the camp; while the various kinds of shouts raised by them, called off the attention of the combatants from the fight in which they themselves were immediately engaged, to the dangers which threatened their friends. The battle was maintained until mid-day with equal strength, and with nearly equal hopes. At length, the fatigue and heat so far got the better of the soft relaxed bodies of the Gauls, who are incapable of enduring thirst, as to make most of them give up the fight; and the few, who stood their ground, were attacked by the Romans, routed, and driven to their camp. The consul then gave the signal for retreat, which the greater part obeyed; but some, eager to continue the fight, and hoping to get possession of the camp, pressed forward to the rampart, on which the Gauls, despising their small number, rushed out in a body. The Romans were then routed in turn, and compelled, by their own fear and dismay, to retreat to their camp, which they had refused to do at

the command of their general. Thus both parties experienced in turn, the vicissitudes of flight and victory. The Gauls, however, had eleven thousand killed, the Romans but five thousand. The Gauls retreated into the heart of their country, and the consul led his legions to Placentia. Some writers say, that Scipio, after joining his forces to those of his colleague, over-ran and plundered the country of the Boians and Ligurians, as far as the woods and marshes suffered him to proceed; others that, without having effected any thing material, he returned to Rome to hold the elections.

XLVIII. Titus Quintus passed the entire winter season of this year at Elatia, where he had established the winter-quarters of his army, in adjusting political arrangements, and reversing the measures which had been introduced in the several states under the arbitrary domination of Philip and his deputies, while they crushed the rights and liberties of others, in order to augment the power of those who formed a faction in their favour. Early in the spring he came to Corinth, where he had summoned a general convention. Ambassadors having attended from every one of the states, so as to form a numerous assembly, he addressed them in a long speech, in which, beginning from the first commencement of friendship between the Romans and the nation of the Greeks, he enumerated the proceedings of the commanders who had been in Macedonia before him, and likewise his own. His whole narration was heard with the warmest approbation, until he came to make mention of Nabis; and then they expressed their opinion, that it was utterly inconsistent with the character of the deliverer of Greece to have left seated, in the centre of one of its most respectable states, a tyrant, who was not only insupportable to his own country, but a terror to all the states in his neighbourhood. Whereupon Quintus, who well knew their sentiments on the occasion, freely acknowledged, that "if the business could have been accomplished without the entire destruction of Lacedæmon, no mention of peace with the tyrant ought ever to have been listened to; but that, as the case stood, when it was not possible to crush him without involving the city in utter ruin, it was judged more eligible to leave Nabis in a state of debility, stripped of almost every kind of power to do injury, than to suffer the city, which must



have perished in the very process of its delivery being effectuated, to sink under remedies too violent for its support."

XLIX. To the recital of matters past, he subjoined, that "his intention was to depart shortly for Italy, and to carry with him all his troops; that they should hear, within ten days, of the garrisons having evacuated Demetrias; and that Chalcis, the citadel of Corinth, should instantly be delivered up to the Achæans: that all the world might know which deserved better the character of deceivers, the Romans or the Ætolians, who had spread insinuations, that when the cause of liberty was intrusted to the Romans, it was put into dangerous hands, and that they had only changed masters, being subjugated now to the Romans, as formerly to the Macedonians. But they were men who never scrupled what they either said or did. The rest of the nations, he advised, to form their estimate of friends from deeds, not from words; and to satisfy themselves whom they ought to trust, and against whom they ought to be on their guard; to use liberty with moderation: for, when regulated by prudence, it was productive of happiness both to individuals and to states; but, when pushed to excess, it became not only obnoxious to others, but precipitated the possessors of it themselves into dangerous rashness and extravagance. He recommended, that those at the head of affairs, and all the several ranks of men in each particular state, should cultivate harmony between themselves; and that all should direct their views to the general interest of the whole. For, while they acted in concert, no king or tyrant would ever be able to overpower them: but discord and dissension gave every advantage to the arts of an adversary; as the party worsted in a domestic dispute generally chose to unite with foreigners, rather than submit to a countryman of their own. He then exhorted them, as the arms of others had procured their liberty, and the good faith of foreigners had returned it safe into their hands, to apply now their own diligent care to the watching and guarding of it; that the Roman people might perceive that those on whom they had bestowed liberty were deserving of it, and that their kindness was not ill placed."

L. On hearing these admonitions, such as parental tenderness might dictate, every one present shed tears of joy; and so great were their transports, that they affected his feelings

to such a degree as to interrupt his discourse. For some time a confused noise prevailed, all together expressing their approbation, and charging each other to treasure up those expressions in their minds and hearts, as if they had been uttered by an oracle. Then silence ensuing, he requested of them to make diligent search for such Roman citizens as were in servitude among them, and to send them into Thessaly to him, within two months; observing, that "it would not redound to their honour, if, in a land restored to liberty, its deliverers should remain in servitude." This was answered with a shout of applause; and they acknowledged, as an obligation added to the rest, his reminding them of the discharge of a duty so indispensably incumbent on their gratitude. There was a vast number of these who had been made prisoners in the Punic war, and sold by Hannibal when their countrymen refused to ransom them. That they were very numerous, is proved by what Polybius says, that this business cost the Achæans one hundred talents,<sup>1</sup> though they had fixed the price to be paid for each captive, to the owner, so low as five hundred denariuses.<sup>2</sup> For, at that rate, there were one thousand two hundred in Achaia. Calculate now, in proportion to this, how many were probably in all Greece.

LI. Before the convention broke up, they saw the garrison march down from the citadel of Corinth, proceed forward to the gate, and depart. The general followed them, accompanied by the whole assembly, who, with loud acclamations, blessed him as their preserver and deliverer. At length, taking leave of these, and dismissing them, he returned to Elatia by the same road through which he came. He thence sent Appius Claudius, lieutenant-general, with all the troops, ordering him to march through Thessaly and Epirus, and to wait for him at Oricum, where he intended to embark the army for Italy. He also wrote to his brother, Lucius Quintius, lieutenant-general, and commander of the fleet, to collect thither transport ships from all the coasts of Greece. He himself proceeded to Chalcis; and, after sending away the garrisons, not only from that city, but likewise from Oreum and Eretria, he held there a congress of the Eubœan states, whom he reminded of the condition in which he had found their affairs, and of that in which he was

leaving them; and then dismissed the assembly. He then proceeded to Demetrias, and removed the garrison. Accompanied by all the citizens, as at Corinth and Chalcis, he pursued his route into Thessaly, where the states were not only to be set at liberty, but also to be reduced from a state of utter anarchy and confusion, into some tolerable form; for they had been thrown into disorder, not only through the faults of the times, and the arbitrary acts of the king and his adherents, but also through the restless disposition of the nation, who, from the earliest times, even to our days, have never conducted any election, or assembly, or council, without dissensions and tumult. He chose both senators and judges, with regard, principally, to their property, and vested the chief share of power in that part of the state which was more particularly interested in its safety and tranquillity.

LII. When he had completed these regulations in Thessaly, he went on, through Epirus, to Oricum, whence he intended to take his passage; all the troops being transported thence to Brundisium. From this place to the city, they passed the whole length of Italy, in a manner, like a triumph; the captured effects which they brought with them forming a train as large as that of the troops themselves. When they arrived at Rome, the senate assembled outside the city, to receive from Quintius a recital of his services; and, with high satisfaction, voted him a triumph, which he had so justly merited. His triumph lasted three days. On the first day were carried in procession, armour, weapons, brazen and marble statues, of which he had taken greater numbers from Philip, than from the states of Greece. On the second, gold and silver wrought, unwrought, and coined. Of unwrought silver, there were eighteen thousand pounds weight; and, of wrought, two hundred and seventy thousand; consisting of many vessels of various sorts, most of them engraved, and several of exquisite workmanship; also a great many others made of brass; and, besides these, ten shields of silver. The coined silver amounted to eighty-four thousand of the Attic coin, called Tetradrachmus, containing each of silver, about the weight of four denarii.<sup>3</sup> Of gold there were three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds, and one shield of massy gold: and of the gold

coin called Philippics, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen.<sup>4</sup> On the third day were carried golden crowns, presented by the several states, in number one hundred and fourteen; then the victims. Before his chariot went many illustrious captives with the hostages, among whom were Demetrius, son of king Philip, and Armenes, a Lacedæmonian, son of the tyrant Nabis. Then Quintius himself rode into the city, followed by a numerous body of soldiers, as the whole army had been brought home from the province. Among these he distributed two hundred and fifty *asses*<sup>5</sup> to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Those who had been redeemed from captivity added to the grandeur of the procession, walking after him with their heads shaven.

LIII. In the latter part of this year Quintus Ælius Tubero, plebeian tribune, in pursuance of a decree of senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered that, "two Latine colonies should be settled, one in Bruttium, the other in the territory of Thurium." For making these settlements, commissioners were appointed, who were to hold the office for three years; for Bruttium, Quintus Nævius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes; and for the district of Thurium, Cneius Manlius, Quintus Ælius, and Lucius Apustius. The assemblies of election to these two appointments were held in the capitol by Cneius Domitius, city prætor. Several temples were dedicated this year: one of Juno Sospita, in the herb market, vowed and contracted for four years before, in the time of the Gallic war, by Cneius Cornelius, consul; and the same person, now censor, performed the dedication. Another of Faunus, the building of which had been agreed for two years before, and a fund formed for it out of fines estreated by the ædiles, Caius Scribonius and Cneius Domitius; the latter of whom, now city prætor, dedicated it. Quintus Marcius Ralla, constituted commissioner for the purpose, dedicated the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, on the Quirinal Hill. Publius Sempronius Sophus had vowed this temple ten years before, in the Punic war; and, being afterwards censor, had employed persons to build it. Caius Servilius, duumvir, also dedicated a temple of Jupiter, in the island. This had been vowed in the Gallic war, six years before, by Lucius Furius Purpureo, who



afterwards, when consul, contracted for the building.—Such were the transactions of that year.

LIV. Publius Scipio came home from his province of Gaul to choose new consuls; and the people, in assembly, elected Lucius Cornelius Merula, and Quintus Minucius Thermus. Next day, were chosen prætors, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Caius Scribonius, Marcus Valerius Messala, Lucius Porcius Licinus, and Caius Flaminius. The curule ædiles of this year, Caius Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius, first exhibited the Megalesian games, in which were introduced performances on the stage. At the Roman games, celebrated by these ædiles, the senators, for the first time, sat separate from the people, which, as every innovation usually does, gave occasion to various observations. Some considered this as “an honour, shown at length to that most respectable body, and which ought to have been done long before,” while others contended, that “every addition made to the grandeur of the senate was a diminution of the dignity of the people; and that all such distinctions as tended to set the orders of the state at a distance from each other, were equally subversive of liberty and concord. During five hundred and fifty-eight years,” they asserted, “all the spectators had sat promiscuously: what reason then had now occurred, on a sudden, that should make the senators disdain to have the commons intermixed with them, or make the rich scorn to sit in company with the poor? It was an unprecedented gratification of pride and over-bearing vanity, never even desired, or certainly not assumed, by the senate of any other nation.” It is said, that even Africanus himself at last became sorry for having proposed that matter in his consulship: so difficult is it to bring people to approve of any alteration of ancient customs; they are always naturally disposed to adhere to old practices, unless experience evidently proves their inexpediency.

L.V. In the beginning of the year, which was the consulate of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, such frequent reports of earthquakes were brought, that people grew weary, not only of the matter itself, but of the religious rites enjoined in consequence; for neither could the senate be convened, nor the business of the public be transacted, the consuls were so constantly employed in sacrifices

and expiations. At last, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; and, in pursuance of their answer, a supplication was performed during three days. People offered prayers at all the shrines, with garlands on their heads. An order was published, that all the persons belonging to one family should pay their worship together; and the consuls, by direction of the senate, published an edict, that, on any day whereon religious rites should be ordered, in consequence of the report of an earthquake, no person should report another earthquake on that day. Then the consuls first, afterwards the prætors, cast lots for their provinces. Cornelius obtained Gaul; Minucius, Liguria; Caius Scribonius, the city jurisdiction; Marcus Valerius, the foreign; Lucius Cornelius, Sicily; Lucius Porcius, Sardinia; Caius Flaminius, Hither Spain; and Marcus Fulvius, Farther Spain.

LVI. While the consuls supposed, that, for that year, they should have no employment in the military line, a letter was brought from Marcus Cincius, who was commander at Pisæ, announcing, that “twenty thousand armed Ligurians, in consequence of a conspiracy of that whole nation, formed in the meetings of their several districts, had first wasted the lands of Luna, and then passing through the territory of Pisæ, had overrun the whole sea-coast.” In consequence of this intelligence, the consul Minucius, whose province Liguria was, by direction of the senate, mounted the rostrum, and published orders, that “the two legions, enlisted the year before, should, on the tenth day from that, attend him at Arretium;” and mentioned his intention of levying two legions for the city in their stead. [Y. R. 559. B. C. 193.] He likewise gave notice to the magistrates and ambassadors of such of the allies, and of the Latine confederates, as were bound to furnish soldiers, to attend him in the capitol. Of these he wrote out a list, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, proportioning the contingent of each state to the number of its young men, and ordered those present to go directly from the spot to the gate of the city; and, in order to expedite the business, to proceed to their homes to raise the

1 It was not customary to levy recruits from all the states of the allies at once, but from a certain number of them at a time: so that they all furnished supplies in their turn, except when a pressing exigency demanded an extraordinary force.

men. To Fulvius and Flaminius were assigned equal numbers of men, to each three thousand Roman foot, and a reinforcement of one hundred horse, with five thousand foot of the Latine allies, and two hundred horse; and orders were given to those prætors, to disband the old troops immediately on their arrival in their provinces. Although great numbers of the soldiers belonging to the city legions had made application to the plebeian tribunes, to take cognizance of the cases of such men as claimed exemption from the service, on account either of having served out their time, or of bad health; yet a letter from Tiberius Sempronius banished all thoughts of such proceeding; for he sent an account, that "fifteen thousand of the Ligurians had come into the lands of Placentia, and wasted them with fire and sword, to the very walls of that city and the bank of the Po; and that the Boian nation also appeared disposed to renew hostilities." In consequence of this information, the senate passed a vote, that "there was a Gallic tumult subsisting, and that it would be improper for the plebeian tribunes to take cognizance of the claims of the soldiers, so as to prevent their attending, pursuant to the proclamation;" and they added an order, that the Latine confederates, who had served in the army of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and had been discharged by those consuls, should re-assemble, on whatever day and in whatever place of Etruria the consul Lucius Cornelius should appoint; and that the consul Lucius Cornelius, on his way to his province, should enlist, arm, and carry with him all such persons as he should think fit, in the several towns and countries through which he was to pass, and should have authority to discharge such of them, and at such times, as he might judge proper.

LVI. After the consuls had finished the levies, and were gone to their provinces, Titus Quintius demanded, that "the senate should receive an account of the regulations which he, in concert with the ten ambassadors, had settled; and, if they thought proper, ratify them by their authority." He told them, that "it would facilitate this business, if they were first to give audience to the ambassadors, who had come from all parts of Greece, and a great part of Asia, and to those from the two kings." These embassies were introduced to the senate, by the city prætor Caius Scribonius, and all received kind answers. As the discussion of

the affair with Antiochus required too much time, it was referred to the ten ambassadors, some of whom had conferred with the king in Asia, or at Lysimachia. Directions were given to Titus Quintius, that, in conjunction with these, he should hear what the king's ambassadors had to say, and should give them such answer as comported with the dignity and interest of the Roman people. At the head of the embassy were Menippus and Hegesianax; the former of whom said, that "he could not conceive what intricacy there was in the business of their embassy, as they came simply to ask friendship, and conclude an alliance. Now, there were three kinds of treaties, by which kings and states formed friendships with each other: one, when terms were dictated to a people vanquished in war; for after every thing has been surrendered to him who has proved superior in war, he has the sole power of judging and determining what share shall remain to the vanquished, and what they shall forfeit. The second, when parties, equally matched in war, conclude a treaty of peace and friendship on terms of equality; for then demands are proposed and restitution made, reciprocally, in a convention; and if, in consequence of the war, confusion has arisen with respect to any parts of their properties, the matter is adjusted on the footing either of ancient right or of the mutual convenience of the parties. The third kind was, when parties who had never been foes, met to form a friendly union by a social treaty: these neither dictate nor receive terms, for that is the case between a victor and a party vanquished. As Antiochus came under this last description, he wondered, he said, at the Romans taking upon them to dictate terms to him; and to prescribe, which of the cities of Asia they chose should be free and independent, which tributary, and which of them the king's troops and the king himself should be prohibited to enter. This might be a proper method of concluding a peace with Philip, who was their enemy, but not of making a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, their friend."

LVIII. To this Quintius answered: "Since you choose to deal methodically, and enumerate the several modes of contracting amity, I also will lay down two conditions, without which, you may tell your king, that he must not expect to contract any friendship with the Romans. One, that, if he does not choose that we should concern ourselves in the affairs of the cities



in Asia, he must refrain from interfering, in any particular, with the affairs of Europe. The other, that if he does not confine himself within the limits of Asia, but passes over into Europe, the Romans will think themselves at full liberty to maintain the friendships which they have already formed with the states of Asia, and also to contract new ones." On this Hegesianax exclaimed, that "such propositions were highly improper to be listened to, as their tendency was to exclude Antiochus from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonese,—places which his great-grandfather, Seleucus, had acquired with great honour, after vanquishing Lysimachus in war, and killing him in battle, and had left to his successors; and part of which, after they had been seized by the Thracians, Antiochus had, with equal honour, recovered by force of arms; as well as others which had been deserted,—as Lysimachia, for instance, he had repeopled, by calling home the inhabitants;—and several, which had been destroyed by fire, and buried in ruins, he had rebuilt at a vast expense. What kind of resemblance was there, then, in the cases of Antiochus being ejected from possessions so acquired, so recovered; and of the Romans refraining from intermeddling with Asia, to which they never had any claim? Antiochus wished to obtain the friendship of the Romans; but he wished it on terms that would redound to his honour, not to his shame." In reply to this, Quintius said,—“Since honour is the point on which our disquisitions turn, and which, indeed, with a people who held the first rank among the nations of the world, and with so great a king, ought to be the sole, or at least the primary object of regard; tell me, I pray you, which do you think more honourable, to wish to give liberty to all the Grecian cities in every part of the world; or to make them slaves and vassals? Since Antiochus thinks it conducive to his glory, to reduce to slavery those cities, which his great-grandfather held by the right of arms, but which his grandfather or father never occupied as their property; while the Roman people, having undertaken the patronage of the liberty of the Greeks, deem it incumbent on their faith and constancy not to abandon it. As they have delivered Greece from Philip, so they intend to deliver, from Antiochus, all the states of Asia which are of the Grecian race. For colonies were not sent into Æolia and Ionia to be enslaved

to kings; but with design to increase the population, and to propagate that ancient race in every part of the globe.”

LIX. Hegesianax hesitating, as he could not deny, that the cause, which professed the bestowing of liberty, carried a more honourable semblance than one that pointed to slavery, Publius Sulpicius, who was the eldest of the ten ambassadors, said,—“Let us cut the matter short. Choose one of the two conditions clearly propounded just now by Quintius; or cease to speak of friendship.” But Menippus replied: “We neither will, nor can, accede to any proposition, which tends to lessen the dominions of Antiochus.” Next day, Quintius brought into the senate-house all the ambassadors of Greece and Asia, in order that they might learn the dispositions entertained by the Roman people, and by Antiochus, towards the Grecian states. He then acquainted them with his own demands, and those of the king; and desired them to “assure their respective states, that the same disinterested zeal and courage, which the Roman people had displayed in defence of their liberty against the encroachments of Philip, they would, likewise, exert against those of Antiochus, if he should refuse to retire out of Europe.” On this, Menippus earnestly besought Quintius and the senate, “not to be hasty in forming their determination, which, in its effects, might disturb the peace of the whole world; to take time to themselves, and allow the king time for consideration; that, when informed of the conditions proposed, he would consider them, and either obtain some relaxation in the terms, or accede to them.” Accordingly, the business was deferred entire; and a resolution passed, that the same ambassadors should be sent to the king, who had attended him at Lysimachia,—Publius Sulpicius, Publius Villius, and Publius Ælius.

LX. Scarcely had these begun their journey, when ambassadors from Carthage brought information, that Antiochus was evidently preparing for war, and that Hannibal was employed in his service; which gave reason to fear, that the Carthaginians might take arms at the same time. Hannibal, on leaving his own country, had gone to Antiochus, as was mentioned before, and was held by the king in high estimation, not so much for his other qualifications, as because, to a person who had long been revolving schemes for a war with Rome, there could not be any fitter counsellor to confer with on such a sub-

ject. His opinion was always one and the same: that Italy should be made the seat of the war: because "Italy would supply a foreign enemy both with men and provisions; but, if it were left in quiet, and the Roman people were allowed to employ the strength and forces of Italy, in making war in any other country, no king or nation would be able to cope with them." He demanded, for himself, one hundred decked ships, ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. "With this force," he said, "he would first repair to Africa; and he had confident hopes, that he should be able to prevail on the Carthaginians to revive hostilities. If they should hesitate, he would raise a war against the Romans in some part of Italy. That the king ought to cross over into Europe with all the rest of his force, and keep his army in some part of Greece; not to pass over immediately into Italy, but to be in readiness to do so; which would be sufficient to give the war a formidable appearance, and impress a terrifying notion of its magnitude."

LXI. When he had brought the king to agree in his opinion, he judged it necessary to predispose the minds of his countrymen in favour of the design; but he durst not send a letter, lest it might, by some accident, be intercepted, and his plans by that means be discovered. He had found at Ephesus a Tyrian called Aristo, and in several less important commissions, had discovered him to possess a good degree of ingenuity. This man he now loaded with presents and promises of rewards, which were confirmed by the king himself, and sent him to Carthage with messages to his friends. He told him the names of the persons to whom they were to be delivered, and furnished him with secret tokens, by which they would know, with certainty, that the messages came from him. On this Aristo's appearing at Carthage, the reason of his coming was not discovered by Hannibal's friends sooner than by his enemies. At first, they spoke of the matter publicly, in their circles and at their tables; and at last some persons declared in the senate, that "the banishment of Hannibal answered no purpose, if, while resident in another country, he was still able to propagate designs for changing the administration, and disturbing the quiet of the state by his intrigues. That a Tyrian stranger, named Aristo, had come with a commission from Hannibal and king Antiochus; that certain men daily held

secret conferences with him, and caballed in private, the consequences of which would soon break out, to the ruin of the public." This produced a general outcry, that Aristo ought to be summoned, and examined respecting the reason of his coming; and if he did not disclose it, to be sent to Rome, with ambassadors accompanying him; that they had already suffered enough of punishment in atonement of the headstrong rashness of one individual; that the faults of private citizens should be at their own risk, and the state should be preserved free, not only from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it." Aristo, being summoned, contended for his innocence; and urged, as his strongest defence, that he had brought no letter to any person whatever: but he gave no satisfactory reason for his coming, and was chiefly embarrassed to obviate the charge of conversing solely with men of the Barcine faction. A warm debate ensued; some earnestly pressing, that he should be immediately seized as a spy, and kept in custody; while others insisted, that there were not sufficient grounds for such violent measures; that "putting strangers into confinement, without reason, was a step that afforded a bad precedent; for doubtless the same treatment would be retaliated on the Carthaginians at Tyre, and other marts, where they frequently traded." They came to no determination that day. Aristo practised on the Carthaginians an artifice suited to their own genius; for having early in the evening hung up a written tablet, in the most frequented place of the city, over the tribunal where the magistrates daily sat, he went on board his ship at the third watch, and fled. Next day, when the suffetes had taken their seats to administer justice, the tablet was observed, taken down, and read. Its contents were, that "Aristo came not with a private commission to any person, but with a public one to the elders;" by this name they called the senate. The imputation being thus thrown on the state, less pains were taken in searching into the suspicions harboured of a few individuals: however, it was determined, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to represent the affair to the consuls and the senate, and at the same time, to complain of injuries received from Masinissa.

LXII. When Masinissa observed, that the Carthaginians were looked on with jealousy by others, and were full of dissensions among themselves; the nobles being suspected by



the senate, on account of their conferences with Aristo, and the senate by the people, in consequence of the information given by the same Aristo, he thought that, at such a conjuncture, he might successfully encroach on their rights; and accordingly he laid waste their country, along the sea-coast, and compelled several cities, which were tributary to the Carthaginians, to pay their taxes to him. This tract they call *Emporia*; it forms the shore of the lesser *Syrtis*, and has a fertile soil; one of its cities is *Leptis*, which paid a tribute to the Carthaginians of a talent a-day. At this time, *Masinissa* not only ravaged that whole tract, but, with respect to a considerable part of it, disputed the right of possession with the Carthaginians; and when he learned that they were sending to Rome, both to justify their conduct, and, at the same time, to make complaints of him, he likewise sent ambassadors to Rome, to aggravate the suspicions entertained of them, and to manage the dispute about the right to the taxes. The Carthaginians were heard first, and their account of the Tyrian stranger gave the senate no small uneasiness, as they dreaded being involved in war with *Antiochus* and the Carthaginians at the same time. What contributed chiefly to strengthen a suspicion of evil designs, was, that though they had resolved to seize *Aristo*, and send him to Rome, they had not placed a guard either on himself or his ship. Then began the controversy with the king's ambassadors, on the claims of the territory in dispute. The Carthaginians supported their cause, by insisting, that "it must belong to them, as being within the limits which *Scipio*, after conquering the country, had fixed as the boundaries of the Carthaginian territory; and also, by the acknowledgment of the king, who, when he was going in pursuit of *Aphir*, a fugitive from his kingdom, then hovering about *Cyrene*, with a party of *Numidians*, had solicited as a favour, a passage through that very district, as being confessedly a part of the Carthaginian dominions." The *Numidians* insisted, "that they were guilty of misrepres-

entation, with respect to the limits fixed by *Scipio*; and if a person chose to recur to the real origin of their property, what title had the Carthaginians to call any land in Africa their own: foreigners and strangers, to whom had been granted as a gift, for the purpose of building a city, as much ground as they could encompass with the cuttings of a bull's hide? Whatever acquisitions they had made beyond *Byrsa*, their original settlement, they held by fraud and violence: for, in relation to the land in question, so far were they from being able to prove uninterrupted possession, from the time when it was first acquired, that they cannot even prove that they ever possessed it for any considerable time. As occasions offered, sometimes they, sometimes the kings of *Numidia*, had held the dominion of it; and the possession of it always fell to the party which had the stronger army. They requested the senate to suffer the matter to remain on the same footing on which it stood before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans, or the king of *Numidia* their friend and ally; and to interfere, so as to hinder whichever party was able, from keeping possession."—The senate resolved to tell the ambassadors of both parties, that they would send persons into Africa to determine, on the spot, the controversy between the people of Carthage and the king. They accordingly sent *Publius Scipio Africanus*, *Caius Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Marcus Minucius Rufus*; who, after viewing the ground, and hearing what could be said on both sides, left every thing as they found it, without giving any opinion. Whether they acted in this manner from their own judgment, or in pursuance of directions received at home, is by no means certain; but, thus much is most certain, that, as affairs were circumstanced, it was highly expedient to leave the dispute undecided: for, had the case been otherwise, *Scipio* alone, either from his own knowledge of the business, or the influence which he possessed, and to which he had a just claim, on both parties, could, with a nod, have ended the controversy.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXXV.

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Publius Scipio Africanus sent ambassador to Antiochus ; has a conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus. Preparations of the Romans for war with Antiochus. Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, instigated by the Ætolians, makes war on the Achæans ; is put to death by a party of the Ætolians. The Ætolians violating the treaty of friendship with the Romans, invite Antiochus, who comes, with a small force, into Greece, and, in conjunction with them, takes several towns, and the whole island of Eubœa. The Achæans declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians.

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I. In the beginning of the same year, Sextus Digitius, prætor in the Hither Spain, fought with those states, which after the departure of Marcus Cato, had recommenced hostilities, a great number of battles, but none deserving of particular mention ; and all so unfavourable to him, that he scarcely delivered to his successor half the number of men that he had received. In consequence of this, every state in Spain would certainly have resumed new courage, and have taken up arms, had not the other prætor, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, been successful in several engagements on the other side of the Iberus ; and, by these means, diffused such a general terror, that no less than fifty towns came over to his side. These exploits Scipio performed in his prætorship. Afterwards, when proprætor, as the Lusitanians, after ravaging the farther province, were returning home, with an immense booty, he attacked them on their march, and continued the engagement from the third hour of the day to the eighth, before any advantage was gained on either side. He was inferior to the enemy in number of men, but he had the advantage of them in other respects : with his troops formed in a compact body, he attacked a long train, encumbered with multitudes of cattle ; and with his soldiers fresh, engaged men, fatigued by a long march ; for the enemy had set out at the third watch, and besides travelling the remainder of

the night, had continued their rout to the third hour of the day ; nor had they been allowed any rest, as the battle immediately succeeded the march. Wherefore, though at the beginning they retained some vigour of body and mind, and, at first, threw the Romans into disorder, yet, after some time, the fight became equal. In this critical situation the proprætor made a vow to celebrate games in honour of Jupiter, in case he should defeat and cut off the enemy. The Romans then made a more vigorous push, which the Lusitanians could not withstand, but in a little time, turned their backs. The victors pursued them briskly, killed no less than twelve thousand of them, and took five hundred and forty prisoners, most of whom were horsemen. There were taken, besides, an hundred and thirty-four military standards. Of the Roman army, but seventy-three men were lost. The battle was fought at a small distance from the city of Ilipa. Thither Publius Cornelius led back his victorious army, amply enriched with spoil ; all which was exposed to view under the walls of the town, and permission given to the owners to claim their effects. The remainder was put into the hands of the quaestor to be sold, and the money produced by the sale was distributed among the soldiers.

II. At the time when these occurrences happened in Spain, Caius Flaminius, the prætor, had not yet set out from Rome : therefore he



and his friends took pains to represent, in the strongest colours, both the successes and the misfortunes experienced there ; and he laboured to persuade the senate, that, as a very formidable war had blazed out in his province, and he was likely to receive from Sextus Digitius a very small remnant of an army, and that, too, terrified and disheartened, they ought to decree one of the city legions to him, in order that, when he should have united to it the soldiers levied by himself, pursuant to decree, he might select from the whole number three thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. He said, that "with such a legion as that, (for very little confidence could be placed on the troops of Sextus Digitius), he should be able to manage the war." But the elder part of the senate insisted, that "decrees of the senate ought not to be passed on every groundless rumour, fabricated by private persons for the purpose of humouring magistrates ; and that no intelligence should be deemed authentic except it were either written by the pretors, from their provinces, or brought by their deputies. If there was a tumultuous commotion in Spain, they advised a vote, that tumultuary soldiers should be levied by the prætor in some other country than Italy." The senate's intention was that such description of men should be raised in Spain. Valerius Antias says, that Caius Flaminius sailed to Sicily for the purpose of levying troops, and that, on his voyage thence to Spain, being driven by a storm to Africa, he enlisted there many stragglers who had belonged to the army of Publius Africanus ; and that, to the levies made in those two provinces, he added a third in Spain.

III. In Italy the war, commenced by the Ligurians, grew daily more formidable. They now invested Pisæ, with an army of forty thousand men ; for multitudes flocked to them continually, led by the favourable reports of their proceedings, and the expectation of booty. The consul, Minucius, came to Aretium, on the day which he had fixed for the assembling of the troops. Thence he led them, in order of battle, towards Pisæ ; and though the enemy had removed their camp to the other side of the river, at the distance of no more than three miles from the place, the consul marched into the city, which evidently owed its preservation to his coming. Next day, he also encamped on the opposite shore, about a mile from the enemy ; and by sending out parties from that post, to

attack those of the enemy, protected the lands of the allies from their depredations. He did not think it prudent to hazard a general engagement, because his troops were raw, composed of many different kinds of men, and not yet sufficiently acquainted with each other, to act together with confidence. The Ligurians depended so much on their numbers, that they not only came out and offered battle, willing to risk every thing on the issue of it ; but from their superfluity of men, they sent out many parties along the frontiers, to plunder ; and whenever a large quantity of cattle, and other prey, was collected, there was an escort always in readiness to convey it into their forts and towns.

IV. While the operations remained at a stand, at Pisæ, the other consul, Lucius Cornelius Merula, led his army through the extreme borders of the Ligurians, into the territory of the Boians, where the mode of proceeding was quite the reverse of that which took place in the war of Liguria. The consul offered battle ; the enemy refused to fight ; and the Romans, when they could not urge them to it, went out in parties to plunder, while the Boians chose to let their country be utterly wasted with fire and sword, without opposition, rather than venture an engagement in defence of it. When the ravage was completed, the consul quitted the enemy's lands, and marched towards Mutina, in a careless manner as through a tract where no hostility was to be apprehended. The Boians, when they learned that the Roman had withdrawn beyond their frontiers, followed him as secretly as possible, watching an opportunity for an ambuscade ; and, having gone by his camp in the night, took possession of a defile through which the Romans were to pass. But they were not able to effect this without being discovered ; and the consul, who usually began his march late in the night, now waited until day, lest, in the disorderly fight likely to ensue, darkness might increase the confusion ; and though he did not stir before it was light, yet he sent forward a troop of horse to explore the country. On receiving intelligence from them of the number and situation of the enemy, he ordered the baggage to be heaped together in the centre, and the veterans to throw up a rampart round it ; and then, with the rest of the army in order of battle, he advanced towards the enemy. The Gauls did the same, when they found that their stratagem was detected, and that they were to

engage in a fair and regular battle, where success must depend on valour alone.

V. The battle began about the second hour. The left brigade of the allies, and the extraordinaries, formed the first line, and were commanded by two lieutenants-general of consular dignity, Marcus Marcellus and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been consul the year before. The present consul was sometimes employed in the front of the line, sometimes in keeping back the legions in reserve, that they might not, through eagerness for fighting, come up to the attack, until they received the signal. He ordered the two Minuciuses, Quintus and Publius, military tribunes, to lead off the cavalry of the legions into open ground, at some distance from the line; and "when he should give them the signal, to charge the enemy through the clear space." While he was thus employed, a message came from Tiberius Sempronius Longus, that the extraordinaries could not support the onset of the Gauls; that great numbers had already fallen; and that partly through weariness, partly through fear, the ardour of the survivors was much abated. He recommended it therefore to the consul, if he thought proper, to send up one or other of the two legions, before the army suffered disgrace. The second legion was accordingly sent, and the extraordinaries were ordered to retire. By the legion coming up, with its men fresh, and the ranks complete in their numbers, the fight was renewed with vigour. The left wing was withdrawn out of the action, and the right took its place in the van. The intense heat of the sun discomposed the Gauls, whose bodies were very ill qualified to endure it: nevertheless, keeping their ranks close, and leaning sometimes on each other, sometimes on their bucklers, they withstood the attack of the Romans; which, when the consul observed, in order to break their ranks, he ordered Caius Livius Salinator, commander of the allied cavalry, to charge them at full speed, and the legionary cavalry to remain in reserve. This shock of the cavalry first confused and disordered, and at length entirely broke the line of the Gauls; yet it did not make them fly. That was prevented by their officers, who, when they quitted their posts, struck them on the back with their spears, and compelled them to return to their ranks: but the allied cavalry, riding in among them, did not suffer them to recover their order. The consul exhorted his

soldiers to "continue their efforts a little longer, for victory was within their reach; to press the enemy, while they saw them disordered and dismayed; for, if they were suffered to recover their ranks, they would enter on a fresh battle, the success of which must be uncertain." He ordered the standard-bearers to advance with the standards, and then, all exerting themselves at once, they at length forced the enemy to give way. As soon as they turned their backs, and fled precipitately on every side, the legionary cavalry was sent in pursuit of them. On that day, fourteen thousand of the Boians were slain; one thousand and ninety-two taken—as were seven hundred and twenty-one horsemen, and three of their commanders, with two hundred and twelve military standards, and sixty-three chariots. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of themselves, or their allies, were lost above five thousand men, twenty-three centurions, four prefects of the allies, and two military tribunes of the second legion, Marcus Genucius and Marcus Marcus.

VI. Letters from both the consuls arrived at Rome nearly at the same time. That of Lucius Cornelius gave an account of the battle fought with the Boians at Mutina; that of Quintus Minucius, from Pisæ, mentioned, that "the holding of the elections had fallen to his lot, but that affairs in Liguria were in such a critical posture, that he could not leave that country without bringing ruin on the allies, and material injury on the commonwealth. He therefore advised, that if the senate thought proper, they should direct his colleague, (as in his province the fate of the war was determined,) to repair to Rome to hold the elections. He said, if Cornelius should object to this, because that employment had not fallen to his lot, he would certainly do whatever the senate should order; but he begged them to consider carefully, whether it would not be less injurious to the public, that an interregnum should take place, than that the province should be left by him in such a state." The senate gave directions to Caius Scribonius to send two deputies of senatorian rank to the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to communicate to him the letter, sent by his colleague to the senate, and to acquaint him, that if he did not come to Rome to elect new magistrates, the senate were resolved, rather than Quintus Minucius should be called away from a war, in which no progress



had been made to suffer an interregnum to take place. The deputies sent, brought back his answer, that he would come to Rome, to elect new magistrates. The letter of Lucius Cornelius, which contained an account of the battle with the Boians, occasioned a debate in the senate; for Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in private letters to many of the members, had written, "that they might thank the fortune of the Roman people, and the bravery of the soldiers, for the success of their arms. That the conduct of the consul had been the cause of a great many men being lost, and of the enemy's army, which might have been entirely cut off, making its escape. That what made the loss of men the greater, was, the reinforcements, necessary to support them when distressed, coming up too late from the reserve; and that, what enabled the enemy to slip out of their hands, was, the signal being given too tardily to the legionary cavalry, and their not being allowed to pursue the fugitives." It was agreed, that no resolution should be hastily passed on the subject; and the business was accordingly adjourned until there should be a fuller meeting.

VII. Another concern demanded their attention. The public was heavily distressed by usurious practices; and although avarice had been restricted by many laws, respecting usury, yet these had been evaded by a fraudulent artifice, of transferring the securities to subjects of some of the allied states, who were not bound by those laws, by which means usurers, freed from all restraint, overwhelmed their debtors under accumulated loads. On considering of the best method for putting a stop to this evil, the senate decreed, that a certain day should be fixed on for it: the next approaching festival of the infernal deities; and that any of the allies who should from that day, lend money to the Roman citizens, should register the transaction; and that all proceedings respecting such money, lent after that day, should be regulated by the laws of whichever of the two states the debtor should choose. In some time after, when the great amount of debt, contracted through this kind of fraud, was discovered, by means of the registries, Marcus Sempronius, plebeian tribune, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered, that all proceedings relative to money lent, between Roman citizens and subjects of any of the allied states, or Latine confederacy, should

be regulated by the same laws as those wherein both parties were Roman citizens. Such were the transactions in Italy, civil and military. In Spain the war was far from being so formidable, as the exaggerations of report had represented it. In Hither Spain, Caius Flaminius took the town of Ilucia, in the country of the Oretanians, and then marched his army into winter-quarters. Several engagements took place during the winter, but none deserving of particular mention, the adversaries being rather bands of robbers, than regular soldiers; and yet the success was various, and some men were lost. More important services were performed by Marcus Fulvius. He fought a pitched battle near the town of Toletum, against the Vaccæans, Vectonians, and Celtiberians: routed and dispersed their combined forces, and took prisoner their king, Hilermus.

VIII. While this passed in Spain, the day of election drawing near, Lucius Cornelius, consul, left Marcus Claudius, lieutenant-general, in command of the army, and came to Rome. After representing in the senate the services which he had performed, and the present state of the province, he expostulated with the conscript fathers on their not having ordered a thanksgiving to the immortal gods, when so great a war was so happily terminated by one successful battle: and then demanded, that the same might be decreed, and also a triumph to himself. But, before the question was put, Quintus Metellus, who had been consul and dictator, said, that, "letters had been brought at the same time from the consul, Lucius Cornelius, to the senate, and from Marcus Marcellus, to a great part of the senators; which letters contradicted each other, and for that reason the consideration of the business had been adjourned, in order that it might be debated when the writers of those letters should be present. He had expected, therefore, that the consul, who knew that the lieutenant-general had written something to his disadvantage, would, when he was coming home, have brought him to Rome; especially, as the command of the army would, with more propriety, have been committed to Tiberius Sempronius, who was already invested with authority, than to the lieutenant-general. As the case stood at present, it appeared as if the latter was kept out of the way, designedly, lest he might assert in person, the same things which he had written in his letters; and, face to

face, either substantiate his charges, or, if his allegations were ill-founded, be convicted of misrepresentation, so that the truth would be clearly discovered. For this reason he was of opinion, that the senate should not, at present, assent to either of the decrees demanded by the consul." The latter, nevertheless, persisted in putting the question, on a thanksgiving being ordered, and himself allowed to ride into the city in triumph: but two plebeian tribunes, Marcus and Caius Titinius, declared, that they would enter their protest, if the senate passed any decree on the subject.

IX. In the preceding year, Sextus Ælius Pætus, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, were created censors. Cornelius now closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated, was a hundred and forty-three thousand seven hundred and four. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell in this year, and the Tiber overflowed the lower parts of the city; by which inundation some buildings near the Flumentan gate, were laid in ruins. The Cœlimontan gate was struck by lightning, as was the wall on each side of it, in several places. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and on the Aventine, showers of stones fell. From Capua, a report was brought that a very large swarm of wasps flew into the forum, and pitched on the temple of Mars; that they had been carefully collected, and burnt. On account of these prodigies, the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books; the nine days' festival was celebrated, a supplication proclaimed, and the city purified. At the same time, Marcus Portius Cato dedicated a chapel to Maiden Victory, near the temple of Victory, two years after he had vowed it. During this year, a Latine colony was established in the Thurian territory by commissioners appointed for the purpose, Cneius Manlius Vulso, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Quintus Ælius Tubero, who had proposed the order for its settlement. There went out thither, three thousand foot and three hundred horsemen; a very small number in proportion to the quantity of land lying waste. Thirty acres might have been given to each footman, and sixty to a horseman, but, by the advice of Apustius, a third part was reserved, that they might afterwards, when they should judge proper, send out thither a new colony. The footmen received twenty acres each, the horsemen forty.

X. The year was now near a close, and with regard to the election of consuls, the

heat of competition was kindled to a degree beyond what was ever known before. The candidates, both patrician and plebeian, were many and powerful: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, and who had lately come home from Spain, where he had gained great honour by his exploits; Lucius Quintius Flamininus, who had commanded the fleet in Greece, and Cneius Manlius Vulso; these were the patricians. Then there were, of plebeian rank, Caius Lælius, Cneius Domitius, Caius Livius Salinator, and Manius Acilius. The eyes of all men were turned on Quintius and Cornelius; for, being both patricians, they sued for one place; and they were both of them recommended by high and recent renown in war. Above every thing else, the brothers of the candidates, the two most illustrious generals of the age, increased the violence of the struggle. Scipio's fame was the more splendid, and in proportion to its greater splendour, the more obnoxious to envy. Quintius's was the more recent, as he had triumphed in the course of that very same year. Besides, the former had now for almost ten years, been continually in people's sight; which circumstance, by the mere satiety which it creates, diminishes the reverence felt for great characters. He had been a second time consul, after the final defeat of Hannibal, and also censor. All Quintius's claims to the favour of the public were fresh and new; since his triumph, he had neither asked nor received any thing from the people; "he solicited," he said, "in favour of his own brother, not of a half-brother; in favour of his lieutenant-general, and partner in the administration of the war; his brother having conducted the operations by sea, while he did the same on land." Such were the arguments by which he carried his point. His brother was preferred to the brother of Africanus, though supported by the whole Cornelian family, and while one of the same family presided at the election, and notwithstanding the very honourable testimony given by the senate, in his favour, when he judged him to be the best man in the state: and as such, appointed him to receive the Idæan Mother into the city, when she was brought from Pessinus. Lucius Quintius and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus were elected consuls; so that, not even with respect to the plebeian consul, could Africanus prevail; for he employed his interest in favour of Caius Lælius. Next day were



elected prætors, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Fulvius Centumalus, Aulus Atilius Seranus, Marcus Bæbius Tampilus, Lucius Valerius Tappus, and Quintus Salonius Sarra. The ædiles of this year, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus, distinguished themselves highly : they prosecuted to conviction many of the farmers of the public pastures, and with the money accruing from the fines, placed gilded shields in the upper part of the temple of Jupiter. They built one colonnade, on the outside of the gate Tergemina, to which they added a wharf on the Tiber : and another, reaching from the Frontinal gate to the altar of Mars, to serve as a passage into the field of Mars.

XI. For a long time, nothing worth recording had occurred in Liguria ; but, towards the end of this year, the Roman affairs there were twice brought into great peril ; for the consul's camp being assaulted, was with difficulty, saved from falling into the enemy's hands ; and a short time after, as the Roman army was marching through a defile, the Ligurians seized on the opening through which they were to pass. The consul, when he found that passage stopped up, faced about, resolved to return by the way he came : but the entrance behind, also, was occupied by a party of the enemy, and the disaster of Caudium not only occurred to the memory of the Romans, but was, in a manner, represented to their eyes. The consul had, among his auxiliary troops, about eight hundred Numidian horsemen, whose commanding officer undertook, to force a passage with his troops, on whichever side the consul should choose. He only desired to be told, on which part the greater number of villages lay ; for, on them he meant to make an attack ; and the first thing he intended doing was, to set fire to the houses, in order that the alarm, which this should occasion, might induce the Ligurians to quit their posts in the defile, and hasten to different quarters to the relief of their friends. The consul highly commended his zeal, and gave him assurance of ample rewards. The Numidians mounted their horses, and began to ride up to the advanced posts of the enemy, but without making any attack. Nothing could appear, on the first view, more contemptible. Both men and horses were of a small size, and thin make, the riders unaccoutred, and unarmed, excepting that they carried javelins in their hands ; and the horses without bridles, and awkward in

their gait, running with their necks stiff, and their heads stretched out. The contempt, conceived from their appearance, they took pains to increase ; sometimes falling from their horses, and making themselves objects of derision and ridicule. The consequence was, that the enemy, who at first had been alert, and ready on their posts, in case of an attack, now, for the most part, laid aside their arms, and sitting down, amused themselves with looking at them. The Numidians often rode up, then galloped back, but still contrived to get nearer to the pass, as if they were unable to manage their horses, and were carried away against their will. At last, setting spurs to them, they broke out through the midst of the enemy's posts, and getting into the open country, set fire to all the houses near the road. The nearest village was soon in flames, while they ravaged all around with fire and sword. At first the sight of the smoke, then the shouts of the affrighted inhabitants, at last the old people and children, who fled for shelter, created great disorder in the camp. In consequence of which the whole of their army, without plan, and without command, ran off, each to take care of his own ; the camp was, in a moment, deserted ; and the consul, delivered from the blockade, made good his march to the place whither he intended to go.

XII. But neither the Boians nor the Spaniards, though professed enemies at that time, were such bitter and inveterate foes to the Romans as the nation of the Ætolians. These, after the departure of the Roman armies from Greece, had, for some time, entertained hopes, that Antiochus would come and take possession of Europe, without opposition ; and that neither Philip nor Nabis would continue quiet. But, seeing no active measures begun, in any quarter, they resolved, lest their designs might be damped by delay, to set on foot some plan of disturbance ; and, with this view, they summoned a general assembly at Naupactum. Here Thoas, their prætor, after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the Romans, and the present state of Ætolia, and asserting, that "of all the nations and states of Greece, they were treated with the greatest indifference, after the victory which they themselves had been the means of obtaining," moved, that ambassadors should be sent to each of the kings ; not only to sound their dispositions, but, by such incentives as suited the tem-

per of each, to urge them to a war with Rome. Damocritus was sent to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, the prætor's brother, to Antiochus. To the Lacedæmonian tyrant, Damocritus represented, that, "by the maritime cities being taken from him, his government was left quite destitute of strength; for from them he used to draw supplies of soldiers, as well as of ships and seamen. He was now pent up, almost within the walls of his capital, while he saw the Achæans domineering over the whole Peloponnesus. Never would he have another opportunity of recovering his rights, if he neglected to improve the one that now offered. There was no Roman army in Greece, nor would the Romans deem Gythium, or the other towns on the coast of Laconia, sufficient cause for transporting their legions a second time into that country." These arguments were used for the purpose of provoking the passions of Nabis; in order that when Antiochus should come into Greece, the other, conscious of having infringed the treaty of amity with Rome, by injuries offered to its allies, might unite himself with him. Nicander endeavoured to rouse Philip, by arguments somewhat similar; and he had more copious matter for discourse, as the king had been degraded from a more elevated state than the tyrant, and had sustained greater losses. Besides these topics, he introduced the ancient renown of the Macedonian kings, and the victorious arms of that nation, displayed through every quarter of the globe. "The plan which he proposed," he said, "was free from any danger, either in the commencement, or in the issue. For he did not advise that Philip should stir until Antiochus should have come into Greece, with an army; and, considering that, without the aid of Antiochus, he had maintained a war so long against the combined forces of the Romans and Ætolians, with what possible force could the Romans withstand him, when joined by Antiochus, and supported by the aid of the Ætolians, who, on the former occasion, were more dangerous enemies than the Romans?" He added the circumstance of Hannibal being general; "a man born a foe to the Romans, who had slain greater numbers, both of their commanders and soldiers, than were left surviving." Such were the incitements held out to Philip by Nicander. Dicæarchus addressed other arguments to Antiochus. In the first place, he told him, that "although the Romans reaped

the spoils of Philip, the honour of the victory over him was due to the Ætolians; that, to the Ætolians alone, the Romans were obliged for having gained admittance into Greece, and that the same people supplied them with the strength which enabled them to conquer." He next set forth the numerous forces, both horse and foot, which they were willing to furnish to Antiochus, for the purpose of the war; what quarters they would assign to his land forces, what harbours for his ships. He then asserted whatever falsehoods he pleased, respecting Philip and Nabis; that "both were ready to recommence hostilities, and would greedily lay hold on the first opportunity of recovering what they had lost in war." Thus did the Ætolians labour, in every part of the world, to stir up war against the Romans. Of the kings, however, one refused to engage in the business, and the other engaged in it too late.

XIII. Nabis immediately despatched emissaries, through all the towns on the coast, to sow dissensions among the inhabitants: some of the men in power he brought over to his party by presents; others, who more firmly adhered to the alliance with Rome, he put to death. The charge of protecting all the Lacedæmonians, on the coast, had been committed by Titus Quintius to the Achæans; they therefore instantly sent ambassadors to the tyrant, to remind him of his treaty with the Romans, and to warn him against violating a peace which he had so earnestly sued for. They also sent succours to Gythium which he had already besieged, and ambassadors to Rome to make known these transactions. King Antiochus having, this winter, solemnized the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy, king of Egypt, at Raphia, in Phœnicia, returned thence to Antioch, and came, towards the end of the season, through Cilicia; after passing mount Taurus, to the city of Ephesus. Early in the spring, he sent his son Antiochus thence into Syria, to guard the remote frontiers of his dominions, lest, during his absence, any commotion might arise behind him; and then he marched himself, with all his land-forces, to attack the Pisidians, inhabiting the country near Sida. At this time, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, the Roman ambassadors, who were sent to Antiochus, as above mentioned, having received orders to wait on Eumenes, first came to Elæa, and thence went up to Pergamus, where that monarch kept his court.



Eumenes, was very desirous of war being undertaken against Antiochus, for he thought, that if peace continued, a king, so much superior in power, would be a troublesome neighbour; but that, in case of hostilities, he would prove no more a match for the Romans, than Philip had been; and that, either he would be entirely removed out of the way, or, should peace be granted to him, after a defeat he (Eumenes) might reasonably expect, that a great deal of what should be taken from Antiochus, would fall to his own share; so that, in future, he might be very well able to defend himself against him, without any aid from his ally; and even if any misfortune were to happen, it would be better for him, in conjunction with the Romans, to undergo any turn of fortune, than, standing alone, either suffer himself to be ruled by Antiochus, or, on refusal, be compelled to submission by force of arms. Therefore, with all his influence, and every argument which he could devise, he urged the Romans to a war.

XIV. Sulpicius, falling sick, staid at Pergamus. Villius, on hearing that the king was carrying on war in Pisidia, went on to Ephesus, and, during a few days that he halted in that city, took pains to procure frequent interviews with Hannibal, who happened to be there at the time. His design was merely to discover his intentions, if possible, and to remove his apprehensions of danger threatening him from the Romans. No other business, of any kind, was mentioned at these meetings; yet they accidentally produced an important consequence, as effectually as if it had been intentionally sought; the lowering Hannibal in the esteem of the king, and rendering him more obnoxious to suspicion in every matter. Claudius, following the history written in Greek by Acilius, says, that Publius Africanus was employed in this embassy, and that it was he who conversed with Hannibal at Ephesus. He even relates one of their conversations, in which Scipio asked Hannibal, "What man it was, whom he thought the greatest captain?" who answered, "Alexander, king of Macedonia; because, with a small band, he defeated armies whose numbers were beyond reckoning; and because he carried his victorious arms through the remotest boundaries of the world, the merely visiting of which, would be a task which no other man could hope to accomplish." Scipio then asked, "to whom he gave the se-

cond place?" and he replied to Pyrrhus; for he first taught the method of encamping; and besides, no one ever showed more exquisite judgment, in choosing his ground, and disposing his posts; while he also possessed the art of conciliating esteem to such a degree, that the nations of Italy wished him, though a foreign prince, to hold the sovereignty among them, rather than the Romans, who had so long possessed the dominion of that part of the world." On his proceeding to ask, "the name of him whom he esteemed the third?" Hannibal replied, "myself beyond doubt." On this Scipio, smiling, said, "What would you have said if you had conquered me?" "Then," replied the other, "I would have placed Hannibal, not only before Alexander and Pyrrhus, but before every other commander that ever lived." This answer, conveying, with a turn of Punic artifice, an indirect compliment, and an unexpected kind of flattery, was highly grateful to Scipio, as it set him apart from the crowd of commanders, beyond competition, as if his abilities were not to be estimated.

XV. From Ephesus, Villius proceeded to Apamea, whither Antiochus, on hearing of the coming of the Roman delegates, came to meet him. In this congress, at Apamea, the debates were similar to those which passed at Rome, between Quintius and the king's ambassadors; and the conferences were broken off, by news arriving of the death of Antiochus the king's son, who as just now mentioned, had been sent into Syria. This youth was greatly lamented and regretted at court; for he had given such specimens of his character, as afforded evident proof, that had a longer life been allotted him, he would have displayed the talents of a great and just prince. The more he was beloved and esteemed by all, the stronger were the suspicions excited by his death; that his father, thinking that his heir shared too largely of the public favour, while he himself was declining in old age, had him taken off by poison, by some eunuchs, a kind of people, who recommend themselves to kings, by the perpetration of such foul deeds. People mentioned also, as another motive for that clandestine act of villany, that, as he had given Lysimachia to his son Seleucus, he had no establishment of the like kind, which he could give to Antiochus, for the purpose of banishing him also to a distance, under pretext of doing him honour. Nevertheless,

an appearance of deep mourning was maintained in the court for several days; and the Roman ambassador, lest his presence at that time might be troublesome, retired to Pergamus. The king, dropping the prosecution of the war which he had begun, went back to Ephesus; and there, keeping himself shut up in the palace, under colour of grief, held secret consultations with a person called Minio, who was his principal favourite. Minio was utterly ignorant of the state of all foreign nations; and, accordingly, estimating the strength of the king from his successes in Syria or Asia, he was confident that Antiochus had superiority from the merits of his cause, and that the demands of the Romans were highly unreasonable; imagining also, that he would prove the more powerful in war. As the king wished to avoid farther debate with the envoys, either because he had found no advantage to result from the former conference, or because he was too much discomposed by recent grief, Minio undertook to say whatever was requisite for his interest, and persuaded him to invite for that purpose the ambassadors from Pergamus.

XVI. By this time Sulpicius had recovered his health; both himself and Villius, therefore, came to Ephesus. Minio apologized for the king not being present, and the business was entered upon. Then Minio, in a studied speech, said, "I find, Romans, that you profess very specious intentions, (the liberating of the Grecian states,) but your actions do not accord with your words. You lay down one rule for Antiochus, and follow another yourselves. For, how are the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus better entitled to the character of Greeks, than the Neapolitans, Rhegians, and Tarentines, from whom you exact tribute, and ships, in pursuance of a treaty? Why do you send yearly to Syracuse, and other Grecian cities of Sicily, a prætor, vested with sovereign power, and attended by his rods and axes? You can, certainly, allege no other reason than this, that, having conquered them in war, you imposed these terms on them. Admit, then, on the part of Antiochus, the same reason with respect to Smyrna and Lampsacus, and the cities belonging to Ionia and Æolia. Conquered by his ancestors, they were subjected to tribute and taxes, and he only reclaims an ancient right. Answer him on these heads, if you mean a fair discussion, and do not merely seek a pretence for war." Sulpicius answered,

"Antiochus has shown some modesty in choosing, that since no other arguments could be produced in his favour, any other person should utter these rather than himself. For, what similarity is there in the cases of those states which you have brought into comparison? From the Rhegians, Neapolitans, and Tarentines, we require what they owe us by treaty, in virtue of a right invariably exercised, in one uniform course, since they first came under our power; a right always asserted, and never interrupted. Now, can you assert, that, as these states have, neither of themselves, or through any other, ever refused conforming to the treaty, so the Asiatic states, since they once came under the power of Antiochus's ancestors, have been held in uninterrupted possession by your reigning kings; and that some of them have not been subject to the dominion of Philip, some to that of Ptolemy; and that others have not, for many years, maintained themselves in a state of independence, their title to which was not called in question? For, if the circumstance of their having been once subject to a foreigner, when crushed under the severity of the times, conveys a right to enforce that subjection again after a lapse of so many generations, what can be said of our having delivered Greece from Philip, but that we have laboured in vain; and that his successors may reclaim Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole nation of Thessaly? But why do I plead the cause of those states, which it would be fitter that both we and the king should hear pleaded by themselves?"

XVII. He then desired, that the deputies of those states should be called, for they had been prepared beforehand, and kept in readiness by Eumenes, who reckoned, that every share of strength that should be taken away from Antiochus, would become an accession to his own kingdom. Many of them were introduced; and, while each enforced his own complaints, and sometimes demands, some reasonable, many unreasonable, they changed the debate into a mere altercation. The ambassadors, therefore, without conceding or carrying any one point, returned to Rome, and left every thing in the same unsettled state in which they found it. On their departure the king held a council, on the subject of a war with Rome, in which all the members vied with each other in the violence of their harangues; for every one thought, that the greater acrimony he showed toward the



Romans, the greater share of favour he might expect to obtain. One inveighed against the insolence of their demands, in which they presume to impose terms on Antiochus, the greatest king in Asia, as they would on the vanquished Nabis. "Although to Nabis they left absolute power over his own country, and its capital, Lacedæmon, yet they insist on the impropriety of Smyrna and Lampsacus yielding obedience to Antiochus."—Others said, that "to so great a monarch, those cities were but a trivial ground of war, scarcely worth mention; but unjust pretensions to authority were always urged, at first, in matters of little consequence; unless indeed, it could be supposed, that the Persians, when they demanded earth and water from the Lacedæmonians, stood in need of a morsel of the one or a draught of the other. The proceedings of the Romans, respecting the two cities, were meant as a trial of the same sort. The rest of the states, when they saw that two had shaken off the yoke, would go over to the party of that nation which professed the patronage of liberty. If freedom was not actually preferable to servitude, yet the hope of bettering their circumstances by a change, was more flattering to every one than any present situation."

XVIII. There was, in the council, an Aearnanian named Alexander, who had formerly been a friend of Philip, but had lately left him, to follow the more opulent court of Antiochus. This man, being well skilled in the affairs of Greece, and not unacquainted with the Romans, was admitted by the king into such a degree of intimacy, that he shared even in his secret councils. As if the question to be considered were not, whether there should be war or not, but where and in what manner it should be carried on, he affirmed, that "he saw an assured prospect of victory, provided the king would pass into Europe, and choose some part of Greece for the seat of war. In the first place, the Ætolians, who lived in the centre of Greece, would be found in arms, ready to take the lead in the most perilous operations. Then, in the two extremities of Greece, Nabis, on the side of Peloponnesus, would put every thing in motion, to recover the city of Argos, and the maritime cities, from which he had been expelled by the Romans, and pent up within the walls of Lacedæmon: while, on the side of Macedonia, Philip would be ready for the field the moment he heard the alarm sounded.

He knew," he said, "his spirit, he knew his temper; he knew that, (as is the case with wild beasts, confined by bars or chains,) for a long time past, the most violent rage had been boiling in his breast. He remembered also, how often, during the war, that prince had prayed to all the gods to grant him Antiochus as an assistant; and, if that prayer were now heard with favour, he would not hesitate an instant to resume his arms. It was only requisite that there should be no delay, no procrastination; for success depended chiefly on securing beforehand, commodious posts and proper allies: besides, Hannibal ought to be sent immediately into Africa, in order to distract the attention of the Romans."

XIX. Hannibal was not called to this consultation, because the king had harboured suspicions of him on account of his conferences with Villius, and had not since shown him any mark of regard. This affront, at first, he bore in silence; but afterwards thought it better to take some proper opportunity to inquire the reason of the king's suddenly withdrawing his favour, and to clear himself of blame. Without any preface, he asked the cause of the king's displeasure; and on being told it, said, "Antiochus, when I was yet an infant, my father Hamilcar, at a time when he was offering sacrifice, brought me up to the altars, and made me take an oath, that I never would be a friend to the Roman people. Under the obligation of this oath, I carried arms against them for thirty-six years; this oath on peace being made, drove me out of my country, and brought me an exile to your court: and this oath shall guide me, should you disappoint my hopes, until I traverse every quarter of the globe, where I can understand that there is either strength or arms, to find out enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, your courtiers have conceived the idea of ingratiating themselves with you, by insinuating suspicions of me, let them seek some other means of advancing their own reputation, rather than the depressing of mine. I hate, and am hated by, the Romans. That I speak the truth in this, my father Hamilcar, and the gods are witnesses. Whenever, therefore, you shall employ your thoughts on a plan of waging war with Rome, consider Hannibal as one of your firmest friends. If circumstances force you to adopt peaceful measures, on such a subject employ some other counsel." This discourse affected the king much,

and even reconciled him to Hannibal. The resolution of the council, at their breaking up, was, that the war should be undertaken.

XX. At Rome, [Y. R. 560. B. C. 192.] people talked, indeed, of a breach with Antiochus as an event very likely to happen, but, except talking of it, they had hitherto made no preparation. Italy was decreed the province of both the consuls, who received directions to settle between themselves, or draw lots which of them should preside at the elections of the year; and it was ordered, that he who should be disengaged from that business, should hold himself in readiness, in case there should be occasion, to lead the legions any where out of that country. The consul, so commissioned, had leave given him to levy two new legions, and twenty thousand foot, and nine hundred horse, among the allies and Latine confederates. To the other consul were decreed the two legions which had been commanded by Lucius Cornelius, consul of the preceding year; and from the same army, a body of allies and Latines, amounting to fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was continued in command, and had assigned to him the forces which he then had in Liguria; as a supplement to which, four thousand Roman foot, and five hundred horse, were ordered to be enlisted, and five thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, to be demanded from the allies. The province of going out to Italy, wherever the senate should order, fell to Cneius Domitius; Gaul, and the holding the elections, to Lucius Quintus. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces: to Marcus Fulvius Centumalus fell the city jurisdiction; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign; Lucius Valerius Tappus obtained Sicily; Quintus Solonius Sarra, Sardinia; Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, Hither Spain, and Marcus Atilius Serranus, Farther Spain. But the provinces of the two last were changed, first by a decree of the senate, which was afterwards confirmed by an order of the people. The fleet and Macedonia, were assigned to Atilius; Bruttium to Bæbius. Flaminius and Fulvius were continued in command in both the Hither and Farther Spain. To Bæbius Tamphilus, for the business of Bruttium, were decreed the two legions which had served in the city the year before; and he was ordered to demand from the allies, for the same service, fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Atilius was ordered to build thirty ships of five

banks of oars: to bring out, from the docks, any old ones that were fit for service, and to raise seamen. An order was also given to the consul, to supply him with two thousand of the allied and Latine footmen, and a thousand Roman. The destination of these two prætors, and their two armaments, one on land, and the other on sea, was declared to be intended against Nabis, who was now carrying on open hostilities against the allies of the Roman people. But it was thought proper to wait the return of the ambassadors sent to Antiochus, and the senate ordered the consul Cneius Domitius not to leave the city until they arrived.

XXI. The prætors, Fulvius and Scribonius, whose province was the administration of justice at Rome, were charged to provide a hundred quinqueremes, besides the fleet which Atilius was to command. Before the consul and prætors set out for their provinces, a supplication was performed on account of some prodigies. A report was brought from Picenum, that a goat had produced six kids at a birth. It was said that a boy was born at Arretium who had but one hand; that, at Amiternum, a shower of earth fell; a gate and wall at Formiæ were struck by lightning; and, what was more alarming than all, an ox, belonging to the consul, Cneius Domitius, spoke these words,—"Rome, take care of thyself." To expiate the other prodigies, a supplication was performed; the ox was ordered by the aruspices to be carefully preserved and fed. The Tiber, pouring into the city with more destructive violence than last year, swept away two bridges, and many buildings, particularly about the Flumentan gate. A huge rock, loosened from its seat, either by the rains, or by an earthquake, so slight that no other effect of it was perceived, tumbled down from the capitol into the Jugurian street, and buried many people under it. In the country, many parts of which were overflowed, much cattle was carried away, and many houses thrown down. Previous to the arrival of the consul, Lucius Quintus, in his province, Quintus Minucius fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, in the territory of Pisæ, slew nine thousand of the enemy, and putting the rest to flight, drove them within their works, which were assaulted and defended with obstinate valour until night came on. During the night, the Ligurians stole away unobserved; and, at the first dawn, the Romans took possession of their deserted camp, where the quantity of booty



was the less, because it was a frequent practice with the enemy to send home the spoil taken in the country. Minucius, after this, allowed them no respite. From the territory of Pise, he marched into that of the Ligurians, and, with fire and sword, utterly destroyed their forts and towns, where the Roman soldiers were abundantly enriched with the spoils which the enemy had collected in Etruria and sent home.

XXII. About this time, the ambassadors, who had been sent to the kings, returned to Rome. As they brought no information of such a nature as called for any immediate declaration of war, (except against the Lacedæmonian tyrant, whom the Achaean ambassadors also represented as ravaging the sea-coast of Laconia, in breach of treaty,) Atilius, the prætor, was sent with the fleet to Greece, for the protection of the allies. It was resolved, that, as there was nothing to be apprehended from Antiochus at present, both the consuls should go to their provinces; and, accordingly, Domitius marched into the country of the Boians, by the shorter road, through Ariminum, and Quintius through Liguria. The two armies of the consuls, proceeding by these different routes, spread devastation wide over the enemy's country. In consequence of which, first, a few of their horsemen, with their commanders, then, their whole senate, and, at last, all who possessed either property or dignity, to the number of one thousand five hundred, came over, and joined the consuls. In both Spains, likewise, success attended the Roman arms during this year. For, in one, Caius Flaminius, after a siege, took Litabrum, a strong and opulent city, and made prisoner Corribilo, a powerful chieftain; and, in the other, Marcus Fulvius, proconsul, fought two battles, with two armies of the enemy, and was victorious in both. He captured Vescelia and Holo, towns belonging to the Spaniards, with many of their forts, and others voluntarily submitted to him. Then, advancing into the territory of Oretum, and having, there also, taken two cities, Noliba and Cusibis, he proceeded to the river Tagus. Here stood Toletum, a small city, but strong from its situation. While he was besieging this place, a numerous army of Vectonians came to relieve their friends in the town, but he overthrew them in a general engagement, and, after their defeat, took Toletum by means of his works.

XXIII. At this juncture, the wars, in which

they were actually engaged, caused not so great anxiety in the minds of the senate, as the expectation of one with Antiochus. For although, through their ambassadors, they had, from time to time, made careful inquiries into every particular, yet rumours, rashly propagated, without authentic foundation, intermixed many falsehoods with the truth. Among the rest, a report was spread, that Antiochus intended, as soon as he should come into Ætolia, to send a fleet immediately to Sicily. The senate, therefore, though they had already despatched the prætor, Atilius, with a squadron to the Ionian sea, yet, considering that not only a military force, but also the influence of characters entitled to respect, would be necessary towards securing the attachment of the allies, they sent into Greece, in quality of ambassadors, Titus Quintius, Caius Octavius, Cneius Servilius, and Publius Villius; at the same time ordering, in their decree, that Marcus Bæbius should lead forward his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundisium, so that, if occasion required, he might transport them thence into Macedonia. They also ordered, that Marcus Fulvius, prætor, should send a fleet of thirty ships to protect the coast of Sicily; and that, whoever had the direction of that fleet, should be invested with the authority of a commander in chief. To this commission was appointed Lucius Oppius Salinator, who had been plebeian ædile the year before. They likewise determined, that the same prætor should write to his colleague, Lucius Valerius, that "there was reason to apprehend that the ships of king Antiochus would pass over from Ætolia to Sicily; for which reason the senate judged it proper, that, in addition to the army, which he then had, he should enlist tumultuary soldiers, to the number of twelve thousand foot, and four hundred horse, which might enable him to defend that coast of his province which lay next to Greece." These troops the prætor collected, not only out of Sicily, but from the circumjacent islands; placing strong garrisons in all the towns on the coast opposite to Greece. The rumours already current, were, in some degree, confirmed by the arrival of Attalus, the brother of Eumenes; for he brought intelligence, that king Antiochus had crossed the Hellespont with his army, and that the Ætolians were putting themselves into such a posture, that, when he arrived, he expected to find them in arms. Thanks were given to Eumenes, in

his absence, and to Attalus, who was present ; and an order was passed, that the latter should be furnished with a house, and every accommodation ; that he should be presented with two horses, two suits of horseman's armour, vases of silver to a hundred pounds weight, and of gold to twenty pounds.

XXIV. As accounts were continually arriving, that the war was on the point of breaking out, it was judged expedient that consuls should be elected as soon as possible. Wherefore the senate passed a decree, that the prætor, Marcus Fulvius, should instantly despatch a letter to the consul, informing him, that it was the will of the senate that he should leave the command of the province and army to his lieutenant-general, and return to Rome ; and that, when on the road, he should send on before him an edict appointing the day for the election of consuls. The consul complied with the letter ; and having sent forward the edict, arrived at Rome. There was, this year also, a warm competition, three patricians suing for one place : Publius Cornelius Scipio, son to Cneius, who had suffered a disappointment the year before : Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and Cneius Manlius Vulso. The consulship was conferred on Publius Scipio, that it might appear that the honour had only been delayed, and not refused to a person of such character. The plebeian colleague, joined with him, was Manius Acilius Glabrio. Next day were created prætors, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Cornelius Manmula, Caius Livius, and Lucius Oppius ; the two last, both of them, surnamed Salinator. This was the same Oppius who had conducted the fleet of thirty ships to Sicily. While the new magistrates were settling the distribution of their provinces, orders were despatched to Marcus Bæbius to pass over, with all his forces, from Brundisium to Epirus ; and to keep the army stationed near Apollonia ; and Marcus Fulvius, city prætor, was commissioned to build fifty new quinqueremes.

XXV. Such were the precautions taken by the Roman people to guard against every attempt of Antiochus. At this time, Nabis did not disavow his hostile intentions, but, with his utmost force, carried on the siege of Gythium ; and, being incensed against the Achæans, for having sent succours to the besieged, he ravaged their lands. The Achæans would not

presume to engage in war, until their ambassadors should come back from Rome, and acquaint them with the sentiments of the senate : but as soon as these returned, they summoned a council at Sicyon, and also sent deputies to Titus Quintius to ask his advice. In the council, all the members were inclined to vote for an immediate declaration of war ; but a letter from Titus Quintius, in which he recommended waiting for the Roman prætor and fleet, caused some hesitation. While many of the members persisted in their first opinion, and others arguing that they ought to follow the counsel of the person to whom they of themselves had applied for advice, the generality waited to hear the sentiments of Philopœmen. He was prætor of Achæa at the time, and surpassed all his contemporaries both in wisdom and influence. He first observed, that " it was a wise rule, established among the Achæans, that their prætor, when he proposed a question concerning war, should not himself have a vote : " and then he desired them to " fix their determination among themselves as soon as possible ; " assuring them, that " their prætor would faithfully and carefully carry their decrees into execution ; and would use his best endeavours, that, as far as depended on human prudence, they should not repent of them, whether they were for peace or war." These words conveyed a more efficacious incitement to war, than if, by openly arguing in favour of it, he had betrayed an ambition to distinguish himself in command. War was therefore unanimously resolved on : the time and mode of conducting it were left entirely to the prætor. Philopœmen's own judgment, indeed, besides it being the opinion of Quintius, pointed it out as best to wait for the Roman fleet, which might succour Gythium by sea ; but he feared that the business would not endure delay, and that not only Gythium, but the party which had been sent to its aid, would fall into the hands of the enemy, and therefore he drew out what ships the Achæans had.

XXVI. The tyrant also, with the view of cutting off any supplies that might be brought to the besieged by sea, had fitted out a small squadron, consisting of only three ships of war, with some barks and cutters, as his former fleet had been given up to the Romans, according to the treaty. In order to try the activity of these vessels, as they were then new and to have every thing in fit condition for a



battle, he put out to sea every day, and exercised both the rowers and marines in mock-fights; for he thought that all his hopes of succeeding in the siege depended on his preventing any succours being brought to them by ships. The prætor of the Achæans, in respect of skill for conducting operations on land, was equal to any of the most celebrated commanders both in capacity and experience, yet with naval affairs he was quite unacquainted. Being an inhabitant of Arcadia, an inland country, he was even ignorant in foreign affairs, excepting that he had once served in Crete as commander of a body of auxiliaries. There was an old ship of four banks of oars, which had been taken eighty years before, as it was conveying Nicæa, the wife of Craterus, from Naupactum to Corinth. Led by the reputation of this ship, for it had been reckoned a remarkably fine vessel when in the king's fleet, he ordered it, though now quite rotten, and falling asunder through age, to be brought out from Ægium. The fleet sailed with this ship at its head, Tiso of Patræ, the commander, being on board it, when the ships of the Lacedæmonians from Gythium came within view. At the first shock, against a new and firm vessel, that old one, which before admitted the water through every joint, was shattered to pieces, and the whole crew were made prisoners. On the loss of the commander's ship, the rest of the fleet fled as fast as their oars could carry them. Philopœmen himself made his escape in a light advice-boat, nor did he stop his flight until he arrived at Patræ. This untoward event did not in the least damp the spirit of a man so well versed in military affairs, and who had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune. On the contrary, as he had failed of success in the naval line, in which he had no experience, he even conceived, thence, the greater hopes of succeeding in another, wherein he had acquired knowledge; and he affirmed, that he would quickly put an end to the tyrant's rejoicing.

XXVII. Nabis, elated by this adventure, and confident that he had not now any danger to apprehend from the sea, resolved to shut up the passages on the land also, by parties stationed in proper posts. With this view, he drew off a third part of his forces from the siege of Gythium, and encamped them at Bææ, a place which commands both Leucæ and Acriæ, on the road by which he supposed the enemy's army would advance. While he lay on this

station, where very few of his men had tents, (the generality of them having formed huts of reeds interwoven, and which they covered with leaves of trees, to serve as a defence from the weather,) Philopœmen, before he came within sight, resolved to surprise him by an attack of such a kind as he did not expect. He drew together a number of small ships in a remote creek, on the coast of the territory of Argos, and embarked on board them a body of soldiers, mostly targeteers, furnished with slings, javelins, and other light kinds of weapons. He then coasted along the shore, until he came to a promontory near Nabis's post. Here he landed; and made his way, by night, through paths with which he was well acquainted, to Bææ. He found the sentinels fast asleep, for they had not conceived the least apprehension of an enemy being near, and he immediately set fire to the huts in every part of the camp. Great numbers perished in the flames, before they could discover the enemy's arrival, and those who did discover it, could give no assistance; so that nearly the whole was destroyed by fire and sword. From both these means of destruction, however, a very small number made their escape, and fled to the principal camp before Gythium. Philopœmen having, by this blow, given a severe check to the presumption of the enemy, led on his forces to ravage the district of Tripolis, a part of the Lacedæmonian territory, lying next to the frontiers of Megalopolis; and, carrying off thence a vast number of men and cattle, withdrew, before the tyrant could send a force from Gythium to protect the country. He then collected his whole force at Tegea, to which place he summoned a council of the Achæans and their allies; at which were present, also, deputies from the Epirots and Acarnanians. Here it was resolved, that, as the minds of his men were now sufficiently recovered from the shame of the disgrace suffered at sea, and those of the enemy dispirited, he should march directly to Lacedæmon; for that was judged to be the only effectual means to draw off the enemy from the siege of Gythium. On entering their country, he encamped the first day at Caryæ; and, on that very day, Gythium was taken. Ignorant of that event, Philopœmen advanced to the Barbosthenes, a mountain ten miles from Lacedæmon. On the other side, Nabis, after taking possession of Gythium, set out, at the head of a body of

light troops, marched hastily by Lacedæmon, and seized on a place called the Camp of Pyrrhus, which post he believed the Achæans intended to occupy. From thence, he proceeded to meet the enemy. The latter, being obliged, by the narrowness of the road, to extend their train to a great length, occupied a space of almost five miles. The cavalry, and the greatest part of the auxiliaries, covered the rear, Philopœmen expecting that the tyrant would attack him, on that quarter, with his mercenary troops, in whom he placed his principal confidence. Two unforeseen circumstances at once filled him with uneasiness: one, the post at which he aimed being pre-occupied; the other, the enemy having met him in front, where, as the road lay through very uneven ground, he did not see how the battalions could advance without the support of the light troops.

XXVIII. Philopœmen was possessed of an admirable degree of skill and experience, in conducting a march, and choosing his station; having made these points his principal study, not only in times of war, but likewise during peace. Whenever, in travelling, he came to a defile where the passage was difficult, it was his practice, first, to examine the nature of the ground on every side. When journeying alone, he meditated within himself; if he had company, he asked them, "If an enemy should appear in that place, what would be the proper method of proceeding; what, if they should attack him in front; what, if on this flank, or on that; what, if on the rear? For he might happen to meet them, while his men were formed with a regular front; or when they were in the loose order of march, fit only for the road." He would proceed to examine, either in his own mind, or by asking questions, "What ground he ought to choose; what number of soldiers; or what kind of arms (which was a very material point) he ought to employ; where he should deposit the baggage, where the soldiers' necessaries, where the unarmed multitude; what number and what kind of troops he should appoint to guard them, and whether it would be better to prosecute his march as intended, or to return back by the way he came; what spot, also, he should choose for his camp; what space he should inclose within the lines; where he could be conveniently supplied with water: where a sufficiency of forage and wood could be had; which would be his safest road on decamping next day,

and in what form the army should march?" In such studies and inquiries he had, from his early years, so frequently exercised his thoughts that on any emergency of the kind occurring, no expedient that could be devised was new to him. On this occasion, he first ordered the army to halt; then sent forward, to the van, the auxiliary Cretans, and the horsemen called Tarentines, each leading two spare horses; and, ordering the rest of the cavalry to follow, he seized on a rock which stood over a rivulet, from which he might be supplied with water.

Here he collected together all the baggage with all the sutlers and followers of the army, placing a guard of soldiers round them; and then he fortified his camp, as the nature of the place required. The pitching of tents in such rugged and uneven ground was a difficult task. The enemy were distant not more than five hundred paces. Both drew water from the same rivulet, under escorts of light troops; but, before any skirmish took place, as usual, between men encamped so near to each other, night came on. It was evident, however, that they must, unavoidably, fight next day at the rivulet, in support of the watering parties. Wherefore, during the night, Philopœmen concealed, in a valley remote from the view of the enemy, as great a number of targeteers as could conveniently lie in the place.

XXIX. At break of day, the Cretan light infantry, and the Tarentine horse, began an engagement on the bank of the rivulet. Latemastus, a Cretan, commanded his countrymen; Lycortas of Megalopolis, the cavalry. The enemies' watering-party also was guarded by Cretan auxiliaries and Tarentine horsemen. The fight was, for a considerable time, doubtful, as the troops on both sides were of the same kind, and armed alike; but, as the contest advanced, the tyrant's auxiliaries gained an advantage, both by their superiority of numbers, and because Philopœmen had given directions to his officers, that, after maintaining the contest for a short time, they should betake themselves to flight, and draw the enemy on to the place of the ambushade. The latter, pursuing the runaways, in disorderly haste, through the valley, were most of them wounded and slain, before they discovered their concealed foe. The targeteers had posted themselves in such order, as far as the breadth of the valley allowed, that they easily gave a passage to their flying friends, through openings in



their ranks ; then starting up themselves, hale, fresh, and in regular order, they briskly attacked the enemy, whose ranks were broken, who were scattered in confusion, and were, besides, exhausted with fatigue and wounds. This decided the victory : the tyrant's troops instantly turned their backs, and flying with much more precipitation than they had pursued, were driven into their camp. Great numbers were killed and taken in the pursuit ; and the consternation would have spread through the camp also, had not Philopœmen ordered a retreat to be sounded : for he dreaded the ground (which was rough and dangerous to advance on without caution,) more than he did the enemy. Judging, both from the issue of the battle, and from the disposition of the enemy's leader, that he was not a little dismayed, he sent to him one of the auxiliary soldiers in the character of a deserter, to assure him positively, that the Achæans had resolved to advance, next day, to the river Eurotas, which runs almost close to the walls, in order to cut off the tyrant's retreat to the city, and to prevent any provisions being brought thence to the camp ; and that they intended, at the same time, to try whether any could be prevailed on to desert his cause. Although the deserter did not gain implicit credit, yet he afforded Nabis's captain, who was full of apprehensions, a plausible pretext for leaving his camp. On the day following, he ordered Pythagoras, with the auxiliaries and cavalry, to mount guard before the rampart ; and then, marching out himself with the main body of the army, as if intending to offer battle, he ordered them to return with all haste to the city.

XXX. When Philopœmen saw their army marching precipitately through a narrow and steep road, he sent all his cavalry, together with the Cretan auxiliaries, against the guard of the enemy, stationed in the front of their camp. These, seeing their adversaries approach, and perceiving that their friends had abandoned them, at first attempted to retreat within their works ; but then, observing the whole force of the Achæans advancing, in order of battle, they were seized with fear, lest, together with the camp itself, they might be taken ; they resolved, therefore, to follow the body of their army, which, by this time, had proceeded to a considerable distance. Immediately, the tar- geteers of the Achæans assailed the camp, and the rest set out in pursuit of the enemy. The

road was such, that a body of men, even when undisturbed by any fear of a foe, could not, without difficulty, make its way through it. But when an attack was made on their rear, and the shouts of terror, raised by the affrighted troops behind, reached to the van, they threw down their arms, and fled different ways into the adjacent woods. In an instant of time, the way was stopped up with heaps of weapons, particularly spears, which, falling mostly with their points towards the pursuers, formed a kind of palisade across the road. Philopœmen ordered the auxiliaries to push forward in pursuit of the enemy, who would find it a difficult matter, the horsemen particularly, to continue their flight ; while he himself led away the heavy troops through more open ground to the river Eurotas. There he pitched his camp a little before sunset, and waited for the light troops which he had sent in chase of the enemy. These arrived at the first watch, and brought intelligence, that Nabis, with a few attendants, had made his way into the city, and that the rest of his army, unarmed and dispersed, were straggling through all parts of the woods ; whereupon, he ordered them to refresh themselves, while he himself chose out a party of men, who, having come earlier into camp, were, by this time, both recruited by food and rest ; and, ordering them to carry nothing with them but their swords, he marched them out directly, and posted them in the roads, which led from two of the gates, one towards Pheræ, the other towards the Barboesthes : for he supposed, that through these the flying enemy would endeavour to make their retreat. Nor was he disappointed therein : for the Lacedæmonians, as long as any light remained, retreated through the centre of the woods in the most retired paths. As soon as it grew dusk, and they saw lights in the enemy's camp, they kept themselves concealed from view ; but, having passed it by, they then thought that all was safe, and came down into the open roads, where they were intercepted by the parties lying in wait ; and such numbers of them were killed and taken, that, of the whole army, scarcely a fourth part effected their escape. As Nabis was now pent up within the city, Philopœmen employed the greatest part of thirty succeeding days in ravaging the lands of the Lacedæmonians ; and then, after greatly reducing, and almost annihilating, the strength of the tyrant, he returned home, while the Achæans extolled him as equal,

in the merit of his services, to the Roman general, or, so far as regarded the war with Lacedæmon, even superior.

XXXI. While the Achæans and the tyrant were carrying on the war in this manner, the Roman ambassadors made a circuit through the cities of the allies; for they feared, lest the Ætolians might seduce some of them to join the party of Antiochus. They took but little pains, in their applications to the Achæans; because, knowing their animosity against Nabis, they thought that they might be safely relied on with regard to other matters. They went first to Athens, thence to Chalcis, thence to Thessaly; and, after addressing proper exhortations to the Thessalians, in a full assembly, they directed their rout to Demetrias, to which place a council of the Magnetians was summoned. Their negotiation here required more address; for a great many of the leading men were disaffected to the Romans, and entirely devoted to the interests of Antiochus and the Ætolians; because, at the time when accounts were received that Philip's son, who was a hostage, would be restored to him, and the tribute imposed on him remitted, among other groundless reports it had been given out, that the Romans intended to put him again in possession of Demetrias. Rather than that should take place, Eurylochus, a deputy of the Magnetians, and others of that faction, wished for a total change of measures to be effected by the coming of Antiochus and the Ætolians. In opposition to those, it was necessary to reason in such a manner, that, in dispelling their mistaken fear, the ambassadors should not, by cutting off his hopes at once, give any disgust to Philip, whose friendship was of greater moment, on any occasion, than that of the Magnetians. They only observed to the assembly, that, "as Greece in general was under an obligation to the Romans for their kindness in restoring its liberty, so was their state in particular. For there had not only been a garrison of Macedonians in their capital, but a palace had been built in it, that they might have a master continually before their eyes. But all that had been done would be of no effect, if the Ætolians should bring thither Antiochus, and settle him in the abode of Philip, so that a new and unknown king should be set over them, in the place of an old one, with whom they were long acquainted." Their chief magistrate is styled Magnetarch. This office

was then held by Eurylochus, who assuming confidence from his high station, openly declared that he and the Magnetians saw no reason to dissemble their having heard the common report about the restoration of Demetrias to Philip; to prevent which, the Magnetians were bound to use every effort, however hazardous; and, in the eagerness of discourse, he was carried to such an inconsiderate length, as to throw out, that "at that very time Demetrias was only free in appearance; and that, in reality, all things were directed by the will of the Romans." These words excited a general murmur in the assembly; some of whom showed their approbation, others expressed indignation at his presumption, in uttering such an expression. As to Quintius, he was so inflamed with anger, that, raising his hands towards heaven, he invoked the gods to witness the ungrateful and perfidious disposition of the Magnetians. This struck terror into the whole assembly; and one of the deputies, named Zeno, who had acquired a great degree of influence, by his judicious course of conduct in life, and by having been always an avowed supporter of the interests of the Romans, with tears besought Quintius, and the other ambassadors, "not to impute to the state the madness of an individual. Every man," he said, "was answerable for his own absurdities. As to the Magnetians, they were indebted to Titus Quintius and the Roman people, not only for liberty, but for every thing that mankind hold valuable or sacred. By their kindness, they were in the enjoyment of every blessing, for which they could ever petition the immortal gods; and, if struck with phrenzy, they would sooner vent their fury on their own persons, than violate the friendship with Rome."

XXXII. His entreaties were seconded by the prayers of the whole assembly: on which Eurylochus retired hastily from the council, and, passing through private streets, fled away into Ætolia. As to the Ætolians, they now gave plain indications of their intention to revolt, which became more evident every day; and it happened, that at this very time, Thoas, one of their leading men, whom they had sent to Antiochus, returned, and brought back with him an ambassador from the king, named Menippus. These two, before the council met to give them audience, filled every one's ears with pompous accounts of the naval and land forces that were coming; "a vast army," they



said, "of horse and foot was on its march, accompanied by elephants from India; and, besides, they were bringing such a quantity of gold and silver, as was sufficient to purchase the Romans themselves:" which latter circumstance they knew would influence the multitude, more than any thing else. It was easy to foresee what effects these reports would produce in the council; for the Roman ambassadors received information of the arrival of those men, and of all their proceedings. A rupture, indeed, was almost unavoidable, yet Quintius thought it advisable, that some ambassadors of the allies should be present in that council, who might remind the Ætoli-ans of their alliance with Rome, and who might have the courage to speak with freedom in opposition to the king's ambassador. The Athenians seemed to be the best qualified for this purpose, by reason of the high reputation of their state, and also from an amity long subsisting between them and the Ætoli-ans. Quintius, therefore, requested of them to send ambassadors to the Panætolic council. At the first meeting, Thoas made a report of the business of his embassy. After him, Menippus was introduced, who said, that "it would have been happy for all the Greeks residing both in Greece and Asia, if Antiochus could have taken a part in their affairs, while the power of Philip was yet unbroken; for then every one would have had what of right belonged to him, and the whole would not have come under the dominion and absolute disposal of the Romans. But even as matters stand at present," said he, "provided you have constancy enough to carry into effect the measures which you have adopted, Antiochus will be able, with the assistance of the gods, and the alliance of the Ætoli-ans, to reinstate the affairs of Greece in their former rank of dignity, notwithstanding the low condition to which they have been reduced. But this dignity consists in a state of freedom supported by its own strength, not dependent on the will of another." The Athenians, who were permitted to deliver their sentiments next after the king's ambassadors, avoiding all mention of Antiochus, reminded the Ætoli-ans of their alliance with Rome, and the benefits conferred by Titus Quintius on the whole body of Greece; and recommended to them, "not inconsiderately, to break off that connection by too hasty counsels; observing, that passionate and adventurous schemes, however flattering at

first view, prove difficult in the execution, and disastrous in the issue: that, as the Roman ambassadors, and, among them, Titus Quintius, were within a small distance, it would be better before any violent step was taken, to discuss, in amicable conference, any matters in dispute, than to rouse Europe and Asia to a dreadful war."

XXXIII. The multitude, ever fond of novelty, warmly espoused the cause of Antiochus, and gave their opinion, that the Romans should not even be admitted into the council; but by the influence chiefly of the elder members, a vote was passed, that the council should give audience to the Romans. On being acquainted, by the Athenians, with this determination, Quintius resolved on going into Ætolia; for he thought that, "either he should be able to effect some change in their designs; or that it would be manifest to all mankind, that the blame of the war would lie on the Ætoli-ans, and that the Romans would be warranted to take arms by justice, and, in a manner by necessity." On arriving there, Quintius, in his discourse to the council, began with the first formation of the alliance between the Romans and the Ætoli-ans, and enumerated the many transgressions of the terms of the treaty, of which the latter had been guilty. He then enlarged a little on the rights of the states concerned in the dispute, and added, that, "notwithstanding, if they thought that they had any reasonable demand to make, it would surely be infinitely better to send ambassadors to Rome, whether they choose to argue the case or to make a request to the senate, than that the Roman people should enter the lists with Antiochus, while the Ætoli-ans acted as marshals of the field; an event which would cause a great convulsion in the affairs of the world, and the utter ruin of Greece." He concluded with asserting, that "no people would feel the fatal consequences of such a war sooner than the first promoters of it." This prediction of the Roman was disregarded. Thoas, and others of the same faction, were then heard with general approbation; and they prevailed so far, that, without adjourning the meeting, or waiting for the absence of the Romans, the assembly passed a decree that Antiochus should be invited to vindicate the liberty of Greece, and decide the dispute between the Ætoli-ans and the Romans. To the insulence of this decree, their prætor, Damocritus, added a personal affront: for on

Quintius asking him for a copy of the decree, without any respect to the dignity of the person to whom he spoke, he told him, that "he had, at present, more pressing business to despatch; but he would shortly give him the decree, and an answer, in Italy, from his camp on the banks of the Tiber." Such was the degree of madness which possessed, at that time, both the nation of the *Ætoli*ans, and their magistrates.

XXXIV. Quintius and the ambassadors returned to Corinth. The *Ætoli*ans, that they might not appear to depend merely on Antiochus, and to sit inactive, waiting for his arrival, though they did not, after the departure of the Romans, hold a general diet of the nation, yet endeavoured, by their Apocleti, (a more confidential council, composed of persons selected from the rest,) to devise schemes for setting Greece in commotion. They were sensible, that in the several states the principal people, particularly those of the best characters, were disposed to maintain the Roman alliance, and well pleased with the present state of affairs; but that the populace, and especially such as were in needy circumstances, wished for a general revolution. The *Ætoli*ans, at one day's sitting, formed a scheme, the very conception of which, argued not only boldness, but impudence,—being no less than the making themselves masters of Demetrius, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon. One of their principal men was sent to each of these places; Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedæmon, Diocles to Demetrius. This last was assisted by the exile Eurylochus, whose flight, and the cause of it, have been mentioned above, and who had no other prospect of being restored to his country. Eurylochus, by letter, instructed his friends and relations, and those of his own faction, to order his wife and children to assume a mourning dress; and, holding the badges of supplicants, to go into a full assembly, and to beseech each individual, and the whole body, not to suffer a man, who was innocent and uncondemned, to grow old in exile. The simple and unsuspecting were moved by compassion; the ill-disposed and seditious, by the hope of seeing all things thrown into confusion, in consequence of the tumults which the *Ætoli*ans would excite; and every one voted for his being recalled. These preparatory measures being effected, Diocles, at that time general of the horse, with all the cavalry, set out

under pretext of escorting to his home the exile, who was his guest. Having, during that day and the following night, marched an extraordinary length of way, and arrived within six miles of the city at the first dawn, he chose out three troops, at the head of which he went on, before the rest of the cavalry, whom he ordered to follow. When he came near the gate he made all his men dismount, and lead their horses by the reins, without keeping their ranks, but like travellers on a journey, in order that they might appear to be the retinue of the general, rather than a military force. Here he left one troop at the gate, lest the cavalry, who were coming up, might be shut out; and then holding Eurylochus by the hand conducted him to his house through the middle of the city and the forum, and through crowds who met and congratulated him. In a little time the city was filled with horsemen, and convenient posts were seized: and then parties were sent to the houses of persons of the opposite faction, to put them to death. In this manner Demetrius fell into the hands of the *Ætoli*ans.

XXXV. The plan to be executed at Lacedæmon was, not to attempt the city by force, but to entrap the tyrant by stratagem. For though he had been stripped of the maritime towns by the Romans, and afterwards shut up within the walls of his city by the Achæans, they supposed that whoever took the first opportunity of killing him would engross the whole thanks of the Lacedæmonians. The pretence which they had for sending to him, was, that he had long solicited assistance from them, since, by their advice, he had renewed the war. A thousand foot were put under the command of Alexamenus, with thirty horsemen, chosen from among the youth. These received a charge from Damocritus, the prator, in the select council of the nation, mentioned above, "not to suppose that they were sent to act against the Achæans; or even on other business, which any might think he had discovered from his own conjectures. Whatever sudden enterprise circumstances might direct Alexamenus to undertake, that (however unexpected, rash, or daring,) they were to hold themselves in readiness to execute with implicit obedience; and should understand that to be the matter, for the sole purpose of effecting which they had been sent abroad." With these men, thus pre-instructed, Alexamenus came to the tyrant, and at his first arrival



filled him with very flattering hopes; telling him, that "Antiochus had already come over into Europe; that he would shortly be in Greece, and would cover the lands and seas with men and arms; that the Romans would find that they had not Philip to deal with: that the numbers of the horsemen, footmen, and ships, could not be reckoned; and that the train of elephants, by their mere appearance, would effectually daunt the enemy; that the Ætolians were resolved to come to Lacedæmon with their entire force, whenever occasion required; but that they wished to show the king, on his arrival, a numerous body of troops: that Nabis himself, likewise, ought to take care not to suffer his soldiers to be enervated by inaction, and by spending their time in houses; but to lead them out, and make them perform their evolutions under arms, which, while it exercised their bodies, would also rouse their courage: that the labour would become lighter by practice, and might even be rendered not displeasing by the affability and kindness of their commander." Thenceforward, the troops used frequently to be drawn out under the walls of the city, in a plain near the river Eurotas. The tyrant's life-guards were generally posted in the centre. He himself, attended by three horsemen at the most, of whom Alexamenus was commonly one, rode about in front, and went to view both wings to their extremities. On the right wing were the Ætolians; both those who had been before in his army as auxiliaries, and the thousand who came with Alexamenus. Alexamenus made it his custom to ride about with Nabis through a few of the ranks, making such remarks as he thought proper; then to join his own troops in the right wing; and presently after, as if having given the necessary orders, to return to the tyrant. But, on the day which he had fixed for the perpetration of the deed of death, after accompanying the tyrant for a little time, he withdrew to his own soldiers, and addressed the horsemen, sent from home with him, in these words: "Young men, you are now to perform, and that with boldness and resolution, the business which you were ordered to execute at my command. Have your courage and your hands ready, that none may fail to second me in whatever he sees me attempt. If any one shall hesitate, and let any scheme of his own interfere with mine, that man most certainly shall never return to his home." Horror seiz-

ed them all, and they well remembered the charge which they had received at setting out. Nabis was now coming from the left wing. Alexamenus ordered his horsemen to rest their lances, and keep their eyes fixed on him; and in the meantime he himself re-collected his spirits from the hurry into which they had been thrown by the thoughts of such a desperate attempt. As soon as the tyrant came near, he charged him; and driving his spear through his horse, brought the rider to the ground. All the horsemen aimed their lances at him as he lay, and after many ineffectual strokes against his coat of mail, their points at length penetrated his body, so that, before relief could be sent from the centre, he expired.

XXXVI. Alexamenus, with all the Ætolians, hastened away, to seize on the palace. Nabis's life-guards were at first struck with horror and dismay, the act being perpetrated before their eyes; then, when they observed the Ætolian troops leaving the place, they gathered round the tyrant's body, where it was left, forming, instead of avengers of his death, a mere groupe of spectators. Nor would any one have stirred, if Alexamenus had immediately called the people to an assembly, there made a speech suitable to the occasion, and afterwards kept a good number of Ætolians in arms, without offering to commit any act of violence. Instead of which, by a fatality which ought to attend all designs founded in treachery, every step was taken that could tend to hasten the destruction of the actors in this villainous enterprise. The commander, shut up in the palace, wasted a day and a night in searching out the tyrant's treasures; and the Ætolians, as if they had stormed the city, of which they wished to be thought the deliverers, betook themselves to plunder. The insolence of their behaviour, and at the same time, contempt of their numbers, gave the Lacedæmonians courage to assemble in a body, when some said, that they ought to drive out the Ætolians, and resume their liberty, which had been ravished from them at the very time when it seemed to be restored; others, that, for the sake of appearance, they ought to associate with them some one of the royal family, to give authority to their proceedings. There was a very young boy of that family, named Laconicus, who had been educated with the tyrant's children; him they mounted on a horse, and taking arms, slew all the Ætolians whom they met stag-

gling through the city. They then assaulted the palace, where they killed Alexamenus, who, with a small party, attempted resistance. Others of the Ætoliens, who had collected together round the Chalcæcon, that is, the brazen temple of Minerva, were cut to pieces. A few, throwing away their arms, fled, some to Tegea, others to Megalopolis, where they were seized by the magistrates, and sold as slaves. Philœmen, as soon as he heard of the murder of the tyrant, went to Lacedæmon, where, finding all in confusion and consternation, he called together the principal inhabitants, to whom he addressed a discourse, (such as ought to have been made by Alexamenus,) which had so great an effect that the Lacedæmonians joined the confederacy of the Achæans. To this they were the more easily persuaded, because, at that very juncture, Aulus Atilius happened to arrive at Gythium with twenty-four quinqueremes.

XXXVII. Meanwhile, Thoas, in his attempt on Chalcis, was not near so fortunate as Eurylochus had been in getting possession of Demetrias; although (by the intervention of Euthymidas, a man of considerable consequence, who, after the arrival of Titus Quintius and the ambassadors, had been banished by those who adhered to the Roman alliance; and also of Herodorus, who was a merchant of Cios, and who, by means of his wealth, possessed a powerful influence at Chalcis,) he had engaged a party, composed of Euthymidas's faction, to betray the city into his hands. Euthymidas went from Athens, where he had fixed his residence, first to Thebes, and thence to Salganea; Herodorus to Thronium. At a small distance, on the Malian bay, Thoas had two thousand foot and two hundred horse, with thirty light transport ships. With these vessels, carrying six hundred footmen, Herodorus was ordered to sail to the island of Atalanta, that, as soon as he should perceive the land-forces approaching Aulus and the Euripus, he might pass over to Chalcis; to which place Thoas himself led the rest of his forces, marching mostly by night, and with all possible expedition.

XXXVIII. Mictio and Xenocides, who were now, since the banishment of Euthymidas, at the head of affairs in that city, either of themselves suspected the matter, or received some information of it, and were at first so greatly terrified, that they saw no prospect of safety but in flight; but afterwards, when their

fright subsided, and they considered that, by such a step, they would betray and desert not only their country, but the Roman alliance, they struck out the following plan. It happened that, at that very time, there was a solemn anniversary festival, celebrated at Eretria, in honour of Diana Amarynthia, which was always attended by great numbers, not only of the natives, but also of the Carystians: thither they sent envoys to beseech the Eretrians and Carystians, "as having been born in the same isle, to compassionate their situation; and, at the same time, to show their regard to the friendship of Rome: not to suffer Chalcis to become the property of the Ætoliens, who, if they once got that city into their power, would soon possess themselves of all Eubœa: and to remind them, that they had found the Macedonians grievous masters, but that the Ætoliens would be much more intolerable." Those states were influenced chiefly by motives respecting the Romans, as they had lately experienced both the bravery in war, and the justice and liberality in success, which characterised that people. Both states, therefore, armed, and sent the main strength of their young men. To these the people of Chalcis entrusted the defence of the walls, and they themselves, with their whole force, crossed the Euripus, and encamped at Salganea. From that place they despatched, first a herald, and afterwards, ambassadors, to ask the Ætoliens, for what word or act of theirs, friends and allies came thus to attack them. Thoas, commander of the Ætoliens, answered, that "he came not to attack them, but to deliver them from the Romans: that they were fettered at present with a brighter chain indeed, but a much heavier one, than when they had a Macedonian garrison in their citadel." The men of Chalcis replied, that "they were neither under bondage, nor in need of protection." The ambassadors then withdrew from the meeting, and returned to their countrymen. Thoas and the Ætoliens, (who had no other hopes than in a sudden surprise, and were by no means in a capacity to undertake a regular war, and the siege of a city so well secured against any attack from the land or the sea,) returned home. Euthymidas, on hearing that his countrymen were encamped at Salganea, and that the Ætoliens had retired, went back from Thebes to Athens. Herodorus, after waiting several days at Atalanta, attentively watching for the concerted signal in vain,



sent an advice-boat to learn the cause of the delay; and, understanding that the enterprise was abandoned by his associates, returned to Thronium.

XXXIX. Quintius, being informed of these proceedings, came with the fleet from Corinth, and met Eumenes in the Euripus of Chalcis. It was agreed between them, that king Eumenes should leave there five hundred of his soldiers, as a garrison to the city, and should go himself to Athens. Quintius proceeded to Demetrias, as he had purposed from the first, hoping that the relief of Chalcis would prove a strong inducement to the Magnetians to renew the alliance with Rome. And, in order that such of them as favoured his views might have some support at hand, he wrote to Eunomus, prætor of the Thessalians, to arm the youth of his nation; sending Villius forward to Demetrias, to sound the inclinations of the people: for he was determined not to take any step in the business, unless a considerable number of them were disposed to revive the former treaty of amity. Villius in a ship of five banks of oars, came to the mouth of the harbour, and the whole multitude of the Magnetians hastened out thither. Villius then asked, whether they chose that he should consider himself as having come to friends, or to enemies? Eurylochus, the Magnetarch, answered, that "he had come to friends; but desired him not to enter the harbour, but to suffer the Magnetians to live in freedom and harmony; and not to attempt, under the show of friendly converse, to seduce the minds of the populace." Then followed an altercation, not a conference, the Roman upbraiding the Magnetians with ingratitude, and forewarning them of the calamities impending over them; the multitude, on the other side, clamorously reproaching him, and reviling, sometimes the senate, sometimes Quintius. Villius, therefore, unable to effect any part of his business, went back to Quintius, who despatched orders to the Thessalian prætor, to lead his troops home, while himself returned by sea to Corinth.

XL. I have let the affairs of Greece, blended with those of Rome, carry me away, as it were, out of the course: not that they were in themselves deserving of a recital, but because they gave rise to a war with Antiochus. After the consular election, for thence I digressed, the consuls, Lucius Quintius and Cneius Domitius repaired to their provinces: Quintius to Ligu-

ria, Domitius against the Boians. These latter kept themselves quiet: nay, the senators, with their children, and the commanding officers of the cavalry, with their troops, amounting in all to one thousand five hundred, surrendered to the consul. The other consul laid waste the country of the Ligurians to a wide extent, and took some forts: in which expeditions he not only acquired booty of all sorts, together with many prisoners, but he also recovered several of his countrymen, and of the allies, who had been in the hands of the enemy. In this year a colony was settled at Vibo, in pursuance of a decree of the senate and an order of the people; three thousand seven hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen, went out thither, conducted by the commissioners Quintus Nævius, Marcus Minucius, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. Fifteen acres of ground were assigned to each footman, double that quantity to a horseman. This land had been last in possession of the Bruttians, who had taken it from the Greeks. About this time two dreadful alarms happened at Rome, one of which continued long, but produced less mischief than the other. An earthquake lasted through thirty-eight days; during all which time there was a total cessation of business, so strong were people's anxiety and fears. On account of this event, a supplication was performed of three days' continuance. The other was not a mere fright, but attended with the loss of many lives. In consequence of a fire breaking out in the cattle-market, the conflagration, among the houses near to the Tiber, continued through all that day and the following night, and all the shops, with wares of very great value, were reduced to ashes.

XLI. The year was now almost at an end, while the rumours of impending hostility, and, consequently, the anxiety of the senate, daily increased. They therefore set about adjusting the provinces of the magistrates elect, in order that they might be all the more attentive in their several departments. They decreed, that those of the consuls should be Italy, and whatever other place the senate should vote, for every one knew that a war against Antiochus was now a settled point. That he, to whose lot the latter province fell, should have under his command,—of Roman citizens, four thousand foot and three hundred horse; and, of the Latine confederates, six thousand foot and four hundred horse. The consul, Lucius Quin-

thus, was ordered to levy these troops, that the new consul might have nothing to prevent his proceeding immediately to any place which the senate should appoint. Concerning the provinces of the prætors, also, it was decreed, that the first lot should comprehend the two jurisdictions, both that between natives, and that between them and foreigners; the second should be Bruttium; the third, the fleet, to sail wherever the senate should direct; the fourth Sicily; the fifth, Sardinia; the sixth Farther Spain. An order was also given to the consul Lucius Quintus, to levy two new legions of Roman citizens, and of the allies and Latines twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse. This army they assigned to the prætor to whom should fall the province of Bruttium. Two temples were dedicated this year to Jupiter in the capitol; one of which had been vowed by Lucius Furius Perporeo, when prætor during the Gallic war; the other by the same, when consul. Quintus Marcus Ralla, duumvir, dedicated both. Many severe sentences were passed this year on usurers, who were prosecuted by the curule ædiles, Marcus Tuccius and Publius Junius Brutus. Out of the fines imposed on those who were convicted, gilded chariots, with four horses, were placed in the recess of Jupiter's temple in the capitol, over the canopy of the shrine, and also twelve gilded bucklers. The same ædiles built a portico on the outside of the Triple Gate, in the Carpenters-Square.

XLII. While the Romans were busily employed in preparing for a new war, Antiochus, on his part, was not idle. He was detained some time by three cities, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampsacus, which hitherto he had not been able either to reduce by force, or to persuade into a treaty of amity; and he was unwilling, on going into Europe, to leave these as enemies. The difficulty of forming a fixed determination respecting Hannibal occasioned him further delay. First, the open ships, which the king was to have sent with him to Africa, were not readily fitted out; and, afterwards, doubts were raised, whether he ought to be sent at all. This was owing chiefly to Thoas, the Ætolian; who, after setting all Greece in commotion, came with the account of Demetrias being in the hands of his countrymen; and as he had, by false representations concerning the king, and multiplying, in his assertions, the numbers of his forces, exalted

the expectations of many in Greece; so now, by the same artifices, he puffed up the hopes of the king; telling him, that "every one, with earnest wishes, longed for his coming; and that, wherever they got a view of the royal fleet, they would all run down to the shore to welcome him." He even had the audacity to attempt altering the king's judgment respecting Hannibal, when it was nearly settled. For he alleged, that "the fleet ought not to be weakened by sending away any part of it; but that, if ships must be sent, no person was less fit for the command than Hannibal; for he was an exile, and a Carthaginian; to whom his own circumstances, or his disposition, might daily suggest a thousand new schemes. Then, as to his military fame, which, like a large dowry, recommended him to notice, it was too splendid for an officer acting under Antiochus. The king ought to be the grand object of view; the king ought to appear the sole leader, the sole commander. If Hannibal should lose a fleet or an army, the amount of the damage would be the same as if the loss were incurred by any other general; but should success be obtained, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal. Besides, if the war should prove so fortunate as to terminate finally in the defeat of the Romans, could it be expected that Hannibal would live under a king; subject, in short, to an individual; he who could not brook subjection to the government of his own country? His conduct, from early youth, had been of a very different cast; for he was a man who grasped at nothing less than the dominion of the world. It was therefore not likely that, in his maturer age, he would be able to endure a master. The king wanted not Hannibal as a general: as an attendant and a counsellor in the business of the war, he might properly employ him. A moderate use of such abilities would be neither unprofitable nor dangerous: but, if advantages of the highest nature were sought through him, the probable consequences would be the destruction both of the agent and the employer."

XLIII. There are no dispositions more prone to envy than those of persons whose mental qualifications are inferior to their birth and rank in life: such always harbour an antipathy to merit, as a treasure in which they cannot share. The design of the expedition, to be commanded by Hannibal, the only one thought of that could be of use, in the beginning of the war, was immediately laid aside.



The king, highly flattered by the defection of Demetrias from the Romans to the Ætolians, resolved to pass into Greece without farther delay. Before the fleet weighed anchor, he went up from the shore to Ilium, to offer sacrifice to Minerva. Immediately on his return, he set sail with forty decked ships and sixty open ones, followed by two hundred transports, laden with provisions and warlike stores. He first touched at the island of Imbrus; thence he passed over to Sciathus; whence, after collecting the ships which had been separated during the voyage, he proceeded to Pteleum, the nearest part of the continent. Here, Eurylochus the Magnetarch, and other principal Magnetians from Demetrias, met him. Being greatly gratified by their numerous appearance, he carried his fleet the next day into the harbour of their city. At a small distance from the town he landed his forces, which consisted of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; a force scarcely sufficient to take possession of Greece if there were to be no foreign opposition, much less to withstand the armies of Rome. The Ætolians, as soon as they were informed of Antiochus's arrival at Demetrias, convened a general council, and passed a decree, inviting him into their country. The king had already left Demetrias, (for he knew that such a decree was to be passed,) and had advanced as far as Phalera on the Malian bay. Here the decree was presented to him, and then he proceeded to Lamia, where he was received by the populace with marks of the warmest attachment, with clapping of hands and shouting, and other signs by which the vulgar express extravagant joy.

XLIV. When he came to the place where the council sat, he was introduced by Phæneas, the pretor, and other persons of eminence, who, with difficulty, made way for him through the crowd. Then, silence being ordered, the king addressed himself to the assembly. He began with accounting for his having come with a force, so much smaller than every one had hoped and expected. "That," he said, "ought to be deemed the strongest proof of the warmth of his good will towards them; because, though he was not sufficiently prepared in any particular, and though the season was yet too early for sailing, he had, without hesitation, complied with the call of their ambassadors, and had believed, that, when the Ætolians should see him among them, they would be satisfied,

that in him, even if he were unattended, they might be sure of every kind of support. But he would also abundantly fulfil the hopes of those, whose expectations seemed at present to be disappointed. For, as soon as the season of the year rendered navigation safe, he would cover all Greece with arms, men, and horses, and all its coasts with fleets. He would spare neither expense, nor labour, nor danger, until he should remove the Roman yoke from their necks, and render Greece really free, and the Ætolians the first among its states. That, together with the armies, stores of all kinds were to come from Asia. For the present, the Ætolians ought to take care that his men might be properly supplied with corn, and other accommodations, at reasonable rates."

XLV. Such was the purport of the king's discourse, which was received with universal approbation, and he then withdrew. After his departure, a warm debate ensued between two of the Ætolian chiefs, Phæneas and Thoas. Phæneas declared his opinion, that it would be better to employ Antiochus, as a mediator of peace, and an umpire respecting the matters in dispute with the Roman people, than as leader in a war. That "his presence, and his dignified station, would impress the Romans with awe, more powerfully than his arms. That in many cases, men, for the sake of avoiding war, remit pretensions, which force and arms would never compel them to forego." Thoas, on the other hand, insisted, that "Phæneas's motive was not a love of peace, but a wish to embarrass them in their preparations for war, with the view that, through the tediousness of the proceedings, the king's vigour might be relaxed, and the Romans gain time to put themselves in readiness. That they had abundant proof from experience, after so many embassies sent to Rome, and so many conferences with Quintius in person, that nothing reasonable could ever be obtained from the Romans in the way of negotiation; and that they would not, until every hope of that sort was out of sight, have implored the aid of Antiochus. That, as he had appeared among them sooner than any had expected, they ought not to sink into indolence, but rather to petition the king, that, since he had come in person, which was the great point of all, to support the rights of Greece, he would also send for his fleets and armies. For the king, at the head of an army, might obtain something; but, without that,

could have very little influence with the Romans, either in the cause of the Ætolians, or even in his own." This opinion was adopted, and the council voted, that the title of general should be conferred on the king. They also nominated thirty of their number, as a council with whom he might deliberate on business, when he should think proper.—The council was then broken up, and all went home to their respective states.

XLVI. Next day, the king held a consultation with their select council, respecting the most eligible place for beginning his operations. They judged it best to make the first trial on Chalcis, which had lately been attempted in vain by the Ætolians; and they thought that the business required rather expedition than any great exertion or preparation. Accordingly the king, with a thousand foot, who had followed him from Demetrias, took his route through Phocis; and the Ætolian chiefs, going by another road, met, at Cheronæa, a small number of their young men, whom they had called to arms, and thence, in ten decked ships, proceeded after him. Antiochus pitched his camp at Salganea, while himself, with the Ætolian chiefs, crossed the Eurypus in the ships. When he had advanced a little way from the harbour, the magistrates, and other chief men of Chalcis, came out before their gate. A small number, from each side, met to confer together. The Ætolians warmly recommended to the others, "without violating the friendship subsisting between them and the Romans, to receive the king also, as a friend and ally. For his coming into Europe was not for the purpose of making war, but of vindicating the liberty of Greece; and of vindicating it in reality, not in words and pretence merely, as the Romans had done. Nothing could be more advantageous to the states of Greece, than to possess the friendship of both those powers; as they would then be always secure against ill-treatment from either, under the guarantee and protection of the other. If they refused to receive the king, they ought to consider the immediate difficulties which they must encounter; the aid of the Romans being far distant, and Antiochus, whom with their own strength they could not possibly resist, in character of an enemy at their gates." To this Mictio, one of the Chalcian deputies, answered that "he wondered who those people were, for the vindicating of whose liberty Antiochus

had left his own kingdom, and come over into Europe. For his part, he knew not any state in Greece which either was awed by a garrison, or paid tribute to the Romans, or was bound by a disadvantageous treaty, and obliged to submit to terms which it did not like. The people of Chalcis, therefore, stood not in need, either of any assertor of their liberty, which they already enjoyed, or of any armed protector; since, through the kindness of the Roman people, they were in possession of both liberty and peace. They did not slight the friendship of the king, nor that of the Ætolians themselves. The first instance of friendship, therefore, that they could give, would be to quit the island and go home: for, as to themselves, they were fully determined, not only to admit them within their walls, but not even to agree to any alliance, but with the approbation of the Romans."

XLVII. When an account of this conference was brought to the king, at the ships, where he had staid, he resolved for the present to return to Demetrias; for he had not with him a sufficient number of men to attempt any thing by force. At Demetrias, he held another consultation with the Ætolians, to determine what was next to be done, as their first effect had proved fruitless. It was agreed that they should make trial of the Bœotians, Achæans, and Amynander, king of Athamania. The Bœotian nation they believed to be disaffected to the Romans, ever since the death of Brachylas, and the consequences which attended it. Philopœmen, chief of the Achæans, they supposed to hate, and be hated by, Quintius, in consequence of a rivalry for fame in the war of Laconia. Amynander had married Apamia, daughter of a Megalopolitan, called Alexander, who, pretending to be descended from Alexander the Great, had given the names of Philip and Alexander to his two sons, and that of Apamia to his daughter; and when she was raised to distinction, by her marriage to the king, Philip, the elder of her brothers, followed her into Athamania. This man, who was naturally vain, the Ætolians and Antiochus persuaded to hope, that, as he was really of the royal family, he should be put in possession of the kingdom of Macedonia, on condition of his prevailing on Amynander and the Athamanians to join Antiochus; and these empty promises produced the intended effect, not only on Philip but likewise on Amynander:



XLVIII. In Achaia, the ambassadors of Antiochus, and the Ætolians, were admitted to an audience of the council at Ægium, in the presence of Titus Quintius. The ambassador of Antiochus was heard prior to the Ætolians. He, with all that pomp and parade, which is common among those who are maintained in the courts of kings, covered, as far as the empty sound of words could go, both lands and seas with forces. He said, that "an innumerable body of cavalry was coming over the Hellespont into Europe; some of them cased in coats of mail, whom they call Cataphracti; others discharging arrows on horseback; and, what rendered it impossible to guard against them, shooting with the surest aim even when their backs were turned, and their horses in full gallop. To this army of cavalry, sufficient to crush the forces of all Europe, collected into one body," he added another of infantry of many times its number; and to terrify them, repeated the names of nations scarcely ever heard of before: talking of Dahans, Medes, Elymæans, and Cadusians. "As to the naval forces, no harbours in Greece were capable of containing them; the right squadron was composed of Sidonians and Tyrians; the left of Aradians and Sidetians, from Pamphylia, — nations which none others had ever equalled either in courage, or skill in sea affairs. Then, as to money, and other requisites for the support of war, it was needless for him to speak. They themselves knew, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold. The Romans, therefore, had not now to deal with Philip, or with Hannibal; the one a principal member of a commonwealth, the other confined merely to the limits of the kingdom of Macedonia: but with the great monarch of all Asia, and part of Europe. Nevertheless, though he had come to the remotest bounds of the East to give freedom to Greece, he did not demand any thing from the Achæans, that could injure the fidelity of their engagements with the Romans, their former friends and allies. For he did not require them to take arms on his side against them; but only, that they should not join themselves to either party. That, as became common friends, they should wish for peace to both parties, and not intermeddle in the war." Archidamus, ambassador of the Ætolians, made nearly the same request: that, as was their easiest and safest way, they should stand neuter; and, as mere spectators of the

war, wait for the issue, which would affect only the interests of others, while their own affairs were exposed to no manner of hazard. He afterwards allowed himself to be transported into such intemperance of language, as to utter invectives, sometimes against the Romans in general, sometimes against Quintius himself in particular; charging them with ingratitude, and upbraiding them, as being indebted to the valour of the Ætolians, not only for the victory over Philip, but even for their preservation; for, "by their exertions, both Quintius himself and his army had been saved. What duty of a commander had he ever discharged? He used to see him, indeed, in the field, taking auspices; sacrificing, and offering vows, like an insignificant soothsaying priest; while he himself was, in his defence, exposing his person to the weapons of the enemy."

XLIX. To this Quintius replied, that "Archidamus had calculated his discourse for the numerous auditors, rather than for the persons to whom it was particularly addressed. For the Achæans very well knew, that the bold spirit of the Ætolians consisted entirely in words, not in deeds; and was more displayed in their councils and assemblies than in the field. He had therefore been indifferent concerning the sentiments of the Achæans, to whom he and his countrymen were conscious that they were thoroughly known; and studied to recommend himself to the king's ambassadors, and, through them, to their absent master. But, if any person had been hitherto ignorant of the cause which had effected a junction between Antiochus and the Ætolians, it was easy to discover it from the language of their ambassadors. By the false representations made by both parties, and boasts of strength which neither possessed, they mutually puffed up each other; and were themselves puffed up with vain expectations: one party talking of Philip being vanquished by them, the Romans being protected by their valour, and the rest of what you have just heard; and that you, and the other states and nations, would follow their lead. The king, on the other side, boasting of clouds of horsemen and footmen, and covering the seas with his fleets. Their representations," he added, "are exceedingly like a supper that I remember at the house of my host at Chalcis, who is both a man of worth, and an excellent conductor of a feast. He gave a cheerful entertainment to a party of us at

midsummer; and on our wondering how he could, at that time of the year, procure such plenty and variety of game, he, not being so vain-glorious as these men, told us, with a pleasant smile, that the variety was owing to the dressing, and that what appeared to be the flesh of many different wild animals, was entirely of tame swine. This may be aptly applied to the forces of the king, so ostentatiously displayed a while ago; that those men, in various kinds of armour, and nations, whose names were never mentioned before, Dahans and Medes, and Cadusians, and Elymæans, are nothing more than Syrians, a race possessed of such grovelling souls, as to be much fitter for slaves than for soldiers. I wish, Achæans, that I could exhibit to your view the rapid excursions of this mighty monarch from Demetrias; first, to Lamia, to the counsel of the Ætolians; then to Chalcis. I would show you, in the royal camp, about the number of two small legions, and these incomplete. You should see the king, now, in a manner begging corn from the Ætolians, to be measured out to his soldiers; then, striving to borrow money at interest to pay them; again, standing at the gates of Chalcis; and presently, on being refused admittance, returning thence into Ætolia, without having effected any thing, except indeed the taking a peep at Aulis and the Euripus. Both have been duped: Antiochus by the Ætolians, and the Ætolians by the king's vain and empty boastings. For which reason, you ought to be the more on your guard against their deceptions, and rather to confide in the tried and approved fidelity of the Romans. For, with respect to a neutrality, which they recommend as your wisest plan, nothing, in fact, can be more contrary to your interest: for the inevitable consequence must be, that, without gaining thanks or esteem from either, you will become a prey to the conqueror."

L. His arguments, in opposition to both, were deemed conclusive; and there was no difficulty in bringing an audience, prepossessed in his favour, to give their approbation to his discourse. In fact, there was no debate or doubt started, but all concurred in voting, that the nation of the Achæans would treat, as their friends or foes, those who were judged to be such by the Roman people, and in ordering war to be declared against both Antiochus and the Ætolians. They also, by the direction of Quintius, sent immediate succours of five

hundred men to Chalcis, and five hundred to the Piræus; for affairs at Athens were in a state, not far from a civil war, in consequence of the endeavours, used by some, to seduce the venal populace, by hopes of largesses, to take part with Antiochus. But at length Quintius was called thither by those who were or the Roman party; and Apollodorus, the principal adviser of a revolt, being publicly charged therewith by one Leon, was condemned and driven into exile. Thus, from the Achæans also, the king's embassy returned with a discouraging answer. The Boeotians made no explicit declaration; they only said, that when Antiochus should come into Boeotia, they would then deliberate on the measures proper to be pursued." When Antiochus heard, that both the Achæans and king Eumenes had sent reinforcements to Chalcis, he resolved to act with the utmost expedition, that his troops might get the start of them, and, if possible, intercept the others as they came; and he sent thither Menippus, with about three thousand soldiers, and Polyxenidas with the whole fleet. In a few days after, he marched himself, at the head of six thousand of his own soldiers, and a smaller number of Ætolians, as many as could be collected in haste, out of those who were at Lamia. The five hundred Achæans, and a small party sent by king Eumenes, being guided by Xenocides, of Chalcis, (the roads being yet open,) crossed the Euripus, and arrived at Chalcis in safety. The Roman soldiers, who were likewise about five hundred, came, after Menippus had fixed his camp under Salganea, at Hermæus, the place of passage from Boeotia to the island of Eubœa. They had with them Mictio, who had been sent express from Chalcis to Quintius, to solicit the reinforcement; and when he perceived that the passes were blocked up by the enemy, he quitted the road to Aulis, and turned away to Delium, with intent to pass over thence to Eubœa.

LI. Delium is a temple of Apollo, standing over the sea, five miles distant from Tanagra; and the passage thence, to the nearest part of Eubœa, is less than four miles. As they were in this sacred building and grove, sanctified with all that religious awe and those privileges which belong to temples, called by the Greeks asylums, (war not being yet either proclaimed, or so far commenced as that they had heard of swords being drawn, or blood shed any where,) the soldiers, in perfect tranquillity,



amused themselves, some with viewing the temple and groves ; others with walking about unarmed, on the strand ; and a great part had gone different ways in quest of wood and forage ; when on a sudden, Menippus attacked them in that scattered condition, slew many, and took fifty of them prisoners. Very few made their escape, among whom was Mictio, who was received on board a small trading vessel. Though this event caused much grief to Quintius and the Romans, on account of the loss of their men, yet it tended greatly to the justification of their cause in making war on Antiochus. Antiochus, when arrived with his army so near as Aulis, sent again to Chalcis a deputation, composed partly of his own people, and partly of Ætolians, to treat on the same grounds as before, but with heavier denunciations of vengeance : and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Mictio and Xenoclides to the contrary, he carried his point, and the gates were opened to him. Those who adhered to

the Roman interest, on the approach of the king, withdrew from the city. The soldiers of the Achæans, and Eumenes, held Salganea ; and the few Romans, who had escaped, raised, for the security of the place, a little fort on the Euripus. Menippus laid siege to Salganea, and the king himself to the fort. The Achæans and Eumenes' soldiers first surrendered, on the terms of being allowed to retire in safety. The Romans defended their fortress with more obstinacy. But even these, when they found themselves completely invested both by land and sea, and saw the machines and engines prepared for an assault, could hold out no longer. The king, having thus got possession of the capital of Eubœa, the other cities of the island did not even attempt resistance ; and he seemed to himself to have signalized the commencement of the war by an important acquisition, in having brought under his power so great an island, and so many cities so conveniently situated.

THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXXVI.

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Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul, aided by king Philip, defeats Antiochus at Thermopylae, and drives him out of Greece; reduces the Ætolians to sue for peace. Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica reduces the Boian Gauls to submission. Sea-fight between the Roman fleet and that of Antiochus, in which the Romans are victorious.

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I. PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, son of Cneius, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, consuls, [Y. R. 561. B. C. 191.] on their assuming the administration, were ordered by the senate, before they settled any thing respecting their provinces, to perform sacrifices, with victims of the greater kinds, at all the shrines, where the Lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year; and to offer prayers, that the business which the state had in contemplation, concerning a new war, might terminate prosperously and happily for the senate and people of Rome. At every one of those sacrifices, appearances were favourable, and the propitious omens were found in the first victims. Accordingly, the aruspices gave this answer:—That, by this war, the boundaries of the Roman empire would be enlarged; and that victory and triumph were portended. When this answer was reported, the senate, having their minds now freed from every religious scruple, ordered this question to be proposed to the people; “Was it their will, and did they order, that war should be undertaken against king Antiochus, and all who should join his party?” And that if that order passed, then the consuls were, if they thought proper, to lay the business entire before the senate. Publius Cornelius got the order passed; and then the senate decreed, that the consuls should cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Greece; that he to whose lot Greece fell, should, in addition to the number of sol-

diers enlisted and raised from the allies by Quintius for that province, pursuant to a decree of the senate, take under his command that army, which, in the preceding year, Marcus Bæbius, prætor, had, by order of the senate, carried over to Macedonia. Permission was also granted him, to receive succours from the allies, out of Italy, if circumstances should so require, provided their number did not exceed five thousand. It was resolved, that Lucius Quintius, consul of the former year, should be commissioned as a lieutenant-general in that war. The other consul, to whom Italy fell, was ordered to carry on the war with the Boians, with whichever he should choose of the two armies commanded by the consuls of the last year; and to send the other to Rome; and these were ordered to be the city legions, and ready to march to whatever place the senate should direct.

II. Things being thus adjusted in the senate, excepting the assignment of his particular province to each of the magistrates, the consuls were ordered to cast lots. Greece fell to Acilius, Italy, to Cornelius. The lot of each being now determined, the senate passed a decree, that “inasmuch as the Roman people had ordered war to be declared against king Antiochus, and those who were under his government, the consuls should command a supplication to be performed, on account of that business; and that Manius Acilius, consul, should vow the great games to Jupiter, and



offerings at all the shrines." This vow was made by the consul in these words, which were dictated by Publius Licinius, chief pontiff: "If the war, which the people has ordered to be undertaken against king Antiochus, shall be concluded agreeably to the wishes of the senate and people of Rome, then, O Jupiter, the Roman people will, through ten successive days, exhibit the great games in honour of thee, and offerings shall be presented at all the shrines, of such value as the senate shall direct. Whatever magistrate shall celebrate those games, and at whatever time and place, let the celebration be deemed proper, and the offerings rightly and duly made." The two consuls then proclaimed a supplication for two days. When the consuls had determined their provinces by lots, the prætors, likewise, immediately cast lots for theirs. The two civil jurisdictions fell to Marcus Junius Brutus; Bruttium, to Aulus Cornelius Mammula; Sicily, to Marcus Æmilius Lepidus; Sardinia, to Lucius Oppius Salinator; the fleet, to Caius Livius Salinator; and Farther Spain, to Lucius Æmilius Paullus. The troops for these were settled thus:—to Aulus Cornelius were assigned the new soldiers, raised last year by Lucius Quintius, consul, pursuant to the senate's decree; and he was ordered to defend the whole coast near Tarentum and Brundisium. Lucius Æmilius Paullus was directed to take with him into Farther Spain, (to fill up the numbers of the army, which he was to receive from Marcus Fulvius, pro-prætor,) three thousand new-raised foot, and three hundred horse, of whom two-thirds should be Latine allies, and the other third Roman citizens. An equal reinforcement was sent to Hither Spain to Caius Flaminius, who was continued in command. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was ordered to receive both the province and army from Lucius Valerius, whom he was to succeed; and, if he thought proper, to retain Lucius Valerius, as pro-prætor, in the province, which he was to divide with him in such a manner, that one division should reach from Agrigentum to Pachynum, and the other from Pachynum to Tyndarium, the sea-coasts whereof Lucius Valerius was to protect with a fleet of twenty ships of war. The same prætor received a charge to levy two tenths of corn, and to take care that it should be carried to the coast, and thence conveyed into Greece. Lucius Oppius was likewise commanded to levy a second tenth in Sardinia; but with di-

rections that it should be transported, not into Greece but to Rome. Caius Livius, the prætor, whose lot was the command of the fleet, was ordered to sail directly to Greece with thirty ships, which were ready, and to receive the other fleet from Atilius. The prætor Marcus Junius was commissioned to refit and arm the old ships which were in the dock-yards; and, for the manning of these, to enlist the sons of freemen as seamen.

III. Commissioners were sent into Africa, three to Carthage, and a like number to Numidia, to procure corn to be carried into Greece; for which the Roman people were to pay the value. And so particularly attentive was the state to the making of every preparation and provision necessary for the carrying on of this war, that the consul, Publius Cornelius, published an edict, that "no senator, nor any who had the privilege of giving an opinion in the senate, nor any of the inferior magistrates, should go so far from the city of Rome as that they could not return the same day; and that not more than five of the senators should be absent at the same time." The exertions of the prætor, Caius Livius, in fitting out the fleet, were for some time retarded by a dispute which arose with the maritime colonies. For, when he insisted on their manning the ships, they appealed to the tribunes of the people, by whom the cause was referred to the senate. The senate, without one dissenting voice, resolved, that those colonies were not entitled to exemption from the sea-service. The colonies which disputed this point with the prætor were, Ostia, Fregens, Castrumnovum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnæ, and Sinuessa. The consul, Manius Acilius, then, by direction of the senate, consulted the college of heralds, "whether a declaration of war should be made to Antiochus in person, or whether it would be sufficient to declare it at some of his garrison towns; whether they directed a separate declaration against the Ætolians, and whether their alliance and friendship ought not to be renounced before war was declared." The heralds answered, that "they had given their judgment before, when they were consulted respecting Philip, that it was of no consequence whether the declaration were made to himself in person, or at one of his garrisons. That in their opinion, friendship had been already renounced; because, after their ambassadors had so often demanded restitution, the Ætolians had

not thought proper to make either restitution or apology. That these, by their own act, had made a declaration of war against themselves, when they seized, by force, Demetrias, a city in alliance with Rome; when they laid siege to Chalcis by land and sea; and brought king Antiochus into Europe, to make war on the Romans." Every preparatory measure being now completed, the consul, Manius Acilius, issued an edict, that the "soldiers enlisted or raised from among the allies by Titus Quintius, and who were under orders to go with him to his province; as, likewise, the military tribunes of the first and third legions, should assemble at Brundisium, on the ides of May."<sup>1</sup> He himself, on the fifth before the nones of May,<sup>2</sup> set out from the city in his military robe of command. The prætors, likewise, departed for their respective provinces.

IV. A little before this time, ambassadors came to Rome from the two kings, Philip of Macedonia, and Ptolemy of Egypt, offering aid of men, money, and corn towards the support of the war. From Ptolemy was brought a thousand pounds weight of gold, and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. None of this was accepted. Thanks were returned to the kings. Both of them offered to come, with their whole force, into Ætolia. Ptolemy was excused from that trouble; and Philip's ambassadors were answered, that the senate and people of Rome would consider it as a kindness if he lent his assistance to the consul, Manius Acilius. Ambassadors came, likewise from the Carthaginians, and from king Masinissa. The Carthaginians made an offer of sending a thousand pecks<sup>3</sup> of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley to the army, and half that quantity to Rome; which they requested the Romans to accept from them as a present. They also offered to fit out a fleet at their own expense, and to give in, immediately, the whole amount of the annual tribute-money which they were bound to pay for many years to come. The ambassadors of Masinissa promised, that their king should send five hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley, to the

army in Greece, and three hundred thousand of wheat, and two hundred and fifty thousand of barley, to Rome; also five hundred horse, and twenty elephants, to the consul Acilius. The answer given to both, with regard to the corn, was, that the Roman people would make use of it, provided they would receive payment for the same. With regard to the fleet offered by the Carthaginians, no more was accepted than such ships as they owed by treaty; and, as to the money, they were told, that none would be taken before the regular days of payment.

V. While affairs at Rome proceeded in this manner, Antiochus, during the winter season at Chalcis, endeavoured to bring over several of the states by ambassadors sent among them; while many of their own accord sent deputies to him; as the Epirots, by the general voice of the nation, and the Eleans from Peloponnesus. The Eleans requested aid against the Achæans; for they supposed, that, since the war had been declared against Antiochus contrary to their judgment, the Achæans would first turn their arms against them. One thousand foot were sent to them, under the command of Euphanes, a Cretan. The embassy of the Epirots showed no mark whatever of a liberal or candid disposition. They wished to ingratiate themselves with the king; but, at the same time, to avoid giving cause of displeasure to the Romans. They requested him, "not hastily, to make them a party in the dispute, exposed, as they were, opposite to Italy, and in the front of Greece, where they must necessarily undergo the first assaults of the Romans. If he himself, with his land and sea-forces, could take charge of Epirus, the inhabitants would joyfully receive him in all their ports and cities. But if circumstances allowed him not to do that, then they earnestly entreated him not to subject them, naked and defenceless, to the arms of the Romans." Their intention in sending him this message evidently was, that if he declined going into Epirus, which they rather supposed would be the case, they stood clear of all blame with regard to the Romans, while they sufficiently recommended themselves to the king by their willingness to receive him on his coming; and that, on the other hand, if he should come, even then they were not without hopes of being pardoned by the Romans, for having yielded to the strength of a prince who was in the

1 15th May.

2 3d May.

3 Here is, doubtless, some word dropped in the original; so small a quantity could never have been deemed an object for one powerful state to offer to another. Commentators suppose it to have been *one hundred thousand*.



heart of their country, without waiting for succour from them, who were so far distant. To this evasive embassy, as he did not readily think of a proper answer, he replied, that he would send ambassadors to confer upon such matters as were of common concernment both to him and them.

VI. Antiochus went himself into Bœotia, where the ostensible causes held out, for the public resentment to the Romans, were those already mentioned; the death of Brachyllas, and the attack made by Quintius on Coronea, on account of the massacre of the Roman soldiers; while the real ones were, that the former excellent policy of that nation, with respect both to public and private concerns, had, for several generations, been on the decline; and that great numbers were in such circumstances, that they could not long subsist without some change in affairs. Through multitudes of the principal Bœotians, who every where were flocked out to meet him, he arrived at Thebes. There, notwithstanding that he had (both at Delium, by the attack made on the Roman troops, and also at Chalcis) already commenced hostilities, by enterprises of neither a trifling nor of a dubious nature, yet, in a general council of the nation, he delivered a speech of the same import with that which he delivered in the first conference at Chalcis, and that used by his ambassadors in the council of the Achæans; that "what he required of them was, to form a league of friendship with him, not to declare war against the Romans." But not a man among them was ignorant of his meaning. However, a decree, disguised under a slight covering of words, was passed in his favour against the Romans. After securing this nation also on his side, he returned to Chalcis; and, having despatched letters, summoning the chief Ætolians to meet him at Demetrias, that he might deliberate with them on the general plan of operations, he went thither by sea. Amynder likewise, was called from Athamania to the consultation; and Hannibal, who, for a long time before, had not been asked to attend, was present at this assembly. The subject of their deliberation was, the mode of conduct proper to be pursued towards the Thessalian nation; and every one present was of opinion, that it was necessary to obtain their concurrence. The only points on which opinions differed were, that some thought the attempt ought to be

made immediately; while others judged it better to defer it for the winter season, which was then about half spent, until the beginning of spring. Some advised to send ambassadors; others, that the king should go at the head of all his forces, and, if they hesitated, terrify them into compliance.

VII. Although the present debate turned chiefly on these points, Hannibal, being called on by name to give his opinion, led the king, and those who were present, into the consideration of the general conduct of the war, by a speech to this effect:—"If I had been employed in your councils since we came first into Greece, when you were consulting about Eubœa, the Achæans, and Bœotia, I would have offered the same advice which I shall offer you this day, when your thoughts are employed about the Thessalians. My opinion is, that above all things, Philip and the Macedonians should by some means or other be engaged to act as confederates in this war. For, as to Eubœa, as well as the Bœotians and Thessalians, is it not perfectly clear, that, having no strength of their own, they will ever court the power that is present; and will make use of the same fear, which governs their counsels, as an argument for obtaining pardon? That, as soon as they shall see a Roman army in Greece they will change sides, and attach themselves to that government to which they have been accustomed? Nor are they to blame, if, when the Romans were at so great a distance, they did not choose to try your force, and that of your army, who were on the spot. How much more advisable, therefore, and more advantageous would it be, to unite Philip to us, than these; as, if he once embarks in the cause, he will have no room for retreat, and as he will bring with him such a force, as will not only be an accession to a power at war with Rome, but was able, lately, of itself, to withstand the Romans? With such an ally, (I wish to speak without offence,) how could I harbour a doubt about the issue? When I should see the very persons who enabled the Romans to overcome Philip, now ready to act against them? The Ætolians, who, as all agree, conquered Philip, will fight in conjunction with Philip against the Romans. Amynder and the Athamanian nation, who, next to the Ætolians, performed the greatest services in that war, will stand on our side. The Macedonian, at the time when you re-

mained inactive, sustained the whole burden of the war. Now, you and he, two of the greatest kings, will, with the force of Asia and Europe, wage war against one state; which, to say nothing of my own contests with them, either prosperous or adverse, was certainly, in the memory of our fathers, unequal to a dispute with a single king of Epirus; what then, I say, must it be in competition with you two? But it may be asked, What circumstances induce me to believe that Philip may be brought to a union with us? First, common utility; which is the strongest cement of union; and next, my reliance, *Ætoli*ans, on your veracity. For *Thoas*, your ambassador, among the other arguments which he used to urge, for the purpose of drawing *Antiochus* into Greece, always laid particular stress on this assertion; that Philip expressed extreme indignation at being reduced to the condition of a slave under the appearance of conditions of peace: comparing the king's anger to that of a wild beast chained, or shut up, and wishing to break the bars that confined it. Now, if his temper of mind is such, let us loose his chains; let us break these bars, that he may vent, upon the common foe, this anger so long pent up. But should our embassy fail of producing any effect on him, let us then take care, that if we cannot unite him to ourselves, he may not be united to our enemies. Your son, *Seleucus*, is at *Lysimachia*; and if, with the army which he has there, he shall pass through *Thrace*, and once begin to make depredations on the nearest parts of *Macedonia*, he will effectually divert Philip from carrying aid to the Romans, and will oblige him to endeavour, in the first place, to protect his own dominions. Thus much respecting Philip. With regard to the general plan of the war, you have, from the beginning, been acquainted with my sentiments; and if my advice had been listened to, the Romans would not now hear that *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was taken, and a fort on the *Euripus* reduced, but that *Etruria*, and the whole coast of *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, were in a blaze of war; and, what would strike more terror into them than all, that *Hannibal* was in Italy. Even as matters stand at present, I recommend it to you, to call home all your land and sea forces; let storeships with provisions follow the fleet; for, as we are here too few for the exigencies of the war, so are we too many for the scanty supplies of necessaries.

When you shall have collected together the whole of your force, you will divide the fleet, and keep one division stationed at *Coreyra*, that the Romans may not have a clear and safe passage; and the other you will send to the coast of Italy, opposite *Sardinia* and *Africa*; while you yourselves, with all the land forces, will proceed to the territory of *Byllium*. In this position you will hold the command of all Greece; you will give the Romans reason to think, that you intend to sail over to Italy; and you will be in readiness so to do, if occasion require. This is my advice; and though I may not be the most skilful in every kind of warfare, yet surely I must be allowed to have learned, in a long series of both good and bad fortune, how to wage war against the Romans. For the execution of the measures which I have advised, I offer you my most faithful and zealous endeavours. Whatever plan you shall prefer, may the gods grant it their approbation."

VIII. Such, nearly, was the counsel given by *Hannibal*, which the hearers commended indeed at the time, but never carried into effect. For not one article of it was executed, except the sending *Polyxenidas* to bring over the fleet and army from Asia. Ambassadors were sent to *Larissa*, to the diet of the *Thessalians*. The *Ætoli*ans and *Amy*nander appointed a day for the assembling of their troops at *Pheræ*, and the king, with his forces, came thither immediately. While he waited there for *Amy*nander and the *Ætoli*ans, he sent Philip, the *Megalopolitan*, with two thousand men, to collect the bones of the *Macedonians* round *Cynoscephalæ*, where had been fought the battle which decided the war with king Philip; being advised to this, either in order to gain favour with the *Macedonians*, and draw their displeasure on the king for having left his soldiers unburied, or having of himself, through the spirit of vain-glory incident to kings, conceived such a design,—splendid, indeed, in appearance, but really insignificant. There is a mount there formed of the bones which had been scattered about, and were then collected into one heap. Although this step procured him no thanks from the *Macedonians*, yet it excited the heaviest displeasure of Philip; in consequence of which, he who had hitherto intended to regulate his counsels by the fortune of events, now sent instantly a messenger to the prætor, *Marcus Bæbius*, to inform him, that "*An-*



tiochus had made an irruption into Thessaly; and to request of Bæbius, if he thought proper, to move out of his winter quarters; which if he did, he himself would advance to meet him, that they might consider together what was proper to be done."

IX. While Antiochus lay encamped near Phæræ, where the Ætolians and Amynder had joined him, ambassadors came to him from Larissa, desiring to know on account of what acts or words of theirs he had made war on the Thessalians; at the same time requesting him to withdraw his army; and, if he had conceived any reason of disagreement, to discuss it amicably by commissioners. In the meantime, they sent five hundred soldiers, under the command of Hippolochus, to reinforce Phæræ: but these, being debarred of access by the king's troops, who blocked up all the roads, retired to Scotussa. The king answered the Larissan ambassadors in mild terms, that he came into their country, not with a design of making war, but of protecting and establishing the liberty of the Thessalians." He sent a person to make a similar declaration to the people of Phæræ; who, without giving him any answer, sent to the king, in quality of ambassador, Pausanias, the first magistrate of their state. He offered remonstrances of a similar kind with those which had been urged in behalf of the people of Chalcis, at the first conference, on the strait of the Euripus, as the cases were similar, and he even proceeded to a greater degree of boldness; on which the king desired that they would consider seriously before they adopted a resolution, which, while they were over-cautious and provident of futurity, would give them immediate cause of repentance; and then dismissed him.

When the Phæræans were acquainted with the result of this embassy, without the smallest hesitation they determined to endure whatever the fortune of war might bring on them, rather than violate their engagements with the Romans. They accordingly exerted their utmost efforts to provide for the defence of the place; while the king, on his part, resolved to assail the walls on every side at once; and considering, what was evidently the case, that it depended on the fate of this city, the first which he had besieged, whether he should for the future be despised or dreaded by the whole nation of the Thessalians, he put in practice, every where, all possible means of striking them with terror. The first fury of the assault

they supported with great firmness; but in some time, great numbers of their men being either slain or wounded, their resolution began to fail. However they were soon so far reanimated by the rebukes of their leaders, as to resolve on persevering in their resistance; and having abandoned the exterior circle of the wall, for the defence of which their numbers were now insufficient, they withdrew to the interior part of the city, round which had been raised a fortification of less extent. At last being overcome by distresses of every kind, and fearing that, if they were taken by storm, they might meet no mercy from the conqueror, they capitulated. The king then lost no time; but, while the alarm was fresh, sent four thousand men against Scotussa, which surrendered without delay, the garrison taking warning from the recent example of those in Phæræ; who, notwithstanding their obstinate refusal at first, were at length compelled by sufferings to submit. Together with the town, Hippolochus and the Larissan garrison, were yielded to him, all of whom he dismissed unburt; hoping that such behaviour would operate powerfully towards conciliating the esteem of the Larissans.

X. Having accomplished all this within the space of ten days after his arrival at Phæræ, he marched, with his whole force, to Cranon, which submitted on his first approach. He then took Cypæra and Metropolis, and the forts in their neighbourhood; and now every town, in all that tract, was in his power, except Atrax and Gyrtion. He next resolved to lay siege to Larissa, for he hoped that (either through dread inspired by the storming of the other towns, or in consideration of his kindness in dismissing the troops of their garrison, or being led by the example of so many cities surrendering themselves) they would now lay aside their obstinacy. Having ordered the elephants to advance in front of the battalions, for the purpose of striking terror, he approached the city with his army in order of battle; which had such an effect on a great number of the Larissans, that they became irresolute and perplexed, between their fears of the enemy at their gates, and their respect for their distant allies. Meantime, Amynder, with the Athamanian troops, seized on Pellinæus; while Menippus, with three thousand Ætolian foot and two hundred horse, marched into Perrhæbia, where he took Malleæ and Cyretia by assault, and ravaged the lands of Tripolis. After ex-

ecuting these enterprises with despatch, they marched back to Larissa, where they joined the king, just when he was holding a council on the method of proceeding with regard to that place. On this occasion there were opposite opinions: for some thought that force should be applied; that there was no time to be lost, but that the walls should be immediately attacked with works and machines on all sides at once; especially as the city stood in a plain, the entrances open, and the approaches everywhere level. While others represented at one time the strength of the city, greater beyond comparison than that of Phæræ; at another, the approach of the winter season, unfit for any operation of war, much more so for besieging and assaulting cities. While the king's judgment hung in suspense between hope and fear, his courage was raised by ambassadors happening to arrive just at the time from Pharsalus, to make surrender of the same. In the meantime Marcus Bæbius had a meeting with Philip in Dassaretia; and, in conformity to their joint opinion, sent Appius Claudius to reinforce Larissa, who, making long marches through Macedonia, arrived at that summit of the mountains which overhang Gonni. The town of Gonni is twenty miles distant from Larissa, standing at the opening of the valley called Tempe. Here, by enlarging the extent of his camp beyond what his numbers required, and kindling more fires than were necessary, he imposed on the enemy the opinion which he wished, that the whole Roman army was there, and king Philip along with them. Antiochus, therefore, pretending the near approach of winter as his motive, staid but one day longer, then withdrew from Larissa, and returned to Demetrias. The Ætolians and Athamanians retired to their respective countries. Appius, although he saw that, by the siege being raised, the purpose of his commission was fulfilled, yet resolved to go down to Larissa, to strengthen the resolution of the allies against future contingencies. Thus the Larissans enjoyed a twofold happiness, from the departure of the enemy out of their country, and from seeing a Roman garrison in their city.

XI. Antiochus went from Demetrias to Chalcis; where he became captivated with a young woman, daughter of Cleoptolemus. Her father was unwilling to enter into a connexion which might probably involve him in difficulties, until at length, by messages, and

afterwards by personal importunities, he gained his consent; and then he celebrated his nuptials in the same manner as if it were a time of profound peace. Forgetting the two important undertakings in which he was engaged,—the war with Rome, and the liberating of Greece,—he banished every thought of business from his mind, and spent the remainder of winter in feasting and carousals; and when fatigued, rather than cloyed, with these, in sleep. The same spirit of dissipation seized all his officers, who commanded in the several winter-quarters, particularly those stationed in Bœotia, and even the common men abandoned themselves to the same indulgences; not one of whom ever put on his armour, or kept watch or guard, or did any part of the duty or business of a soldier. This was carried to such a length, that when in the beginning of spring, the king came through Phocis to Chæronea, where he had appointed the general assembly of all the troops, he perceived at once that the discipline of the army during the winter had not been more rigid than that of their commander. He ordered Alexander, an Acarnanian, and Menippus, a Macedonian, to lead his forces thence to Stratum, in Ætolia; and he himself, after offering sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi, proceeded to Naupactum. After holding a council of the chiefs of Ætolia, he went by the road which leads by Chalcis and Lysimachia to Stratum, to meet his army, which was coming along the Malian bay. Mnesilochus, a man of distinction among the Acarnanians, being bribed by many presents, not only laboured himself to dispose that nation in favour of the king, but had brought to a concurrence in the design their prætor, Clytus, who was at that time invested with the highest authority. This latter, finding that the people of Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, could not be easily prevailed on to violate their former engagements, because they were afraid of the Roman fleets, one under Atilius, and another at Cephallenia, practised an artifice against them. He observed in the council, that the inland parts of Acarnania should be guarded from danger, and that all who were able to bear arms ought to march out to Medio and Thurium, to prevent those places from being seized by Antiochus, or the Ætolians; on which some said, that there was no occasion to call out all the people in that hasty manner, for a body of five hundred men would be sufficient for the purpose.



Having got this number of soldiers at his disposal, he placed three hundred in garrison at Medio, and two hundred at Thurium, with the design that they should fall into the hands of the king, and serve hereafter as hostages.

XII. At this time, ambassadors from the king came to Medio, whose proposal being heard, the assembly began to consider what answer to give; when some advised to adhere to the alliance with Rome, and others, not to reject the friendship of the king; but Clitus offered an opinion, which seemed to take a middle course between the other two, and which was therefore adopted. It was, that ambassadors would be sent to the king, to request of him to allow the people of Medio to deliberate on a subject of such great importance in a general assembly of the Acarnanians. Care was taken that this embassy should be composed of Mnesilochus, and some others of his faction; who, sending a private message to the king to bring up his army, wasted time on purpose: so that they had scarcely set out, when Antiochus appeared in the territory, and presently at the gates of the city; and, while those who were not concerned in the plot were all in hurry and confusion, and hastily called the young men to arms, he was conducted into the place by Clitus and Mnesilochus. One party of the citizens now joined him through inclination, and those who were of different sentiments were compelled by fear to attend him. He then calmed their apprehensions by a discourse full of mildness; and his clemency being reported abroad, several of the states of Acarnania, in hopes of meeting the same treatment, went over to his side. From Medio he went to Thurium, whither he had sent on before him the same Mnesilochus, and his colleagues in the embassy. But the detection of the treachery practised at Medio rendered the Thurians more cautious, not more timid. They answered him explicitly, that they would form no new alliance without the approbation of the Romans: they then shut their gates, and posted soldiers on the walls. Most seasonably for confirming the resolution of the Acarnanians, Cneius Octavius, being sent by Quintus, and having received a party of men and a few ships from Aulus Postumius, whom Atilius had appointed his lieutenant to command at Cephallenia, arrived at Leucas, and filled the allies with the strongest hopes; assuring them, that the consul Manius Acilius

had already crossed the sea with his legions, and that the Roman forces were encamped in Thessaly. As the season of the year, which was by this time favourable for sailing, strengthened the credibility of this report, the king, after placing a garrison in Medio, and some other towns of Acarnania, retired from Thurium, and taking his route through the cities of Ætolia and Phocis, returned to Chalcis.

XIII. Marcus Bæbius and king Philip, after the meeting which they had in the winter in Dassaretia, when they sent Appius Claudius into Thessaly to raise the siege of Larissa, had returned to winter-quarters, the season not being sufficiently advanced for entering on action; but now in the beginning of spring, they united their forces, and marched into Thessaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. As soon as they entered that country, Philip laid siege to Mallæa, in the territory of Perrhæbia, and Bæbius, to Phacium. This town of Phacium he took almost at the first attempt, and then reduced Phæstus with as little delay. After this, he retired to Atrax; and having seized on Cyretæ and Phricium, and placed garrisons in the places which he had reduced, he again joined Philip, who was carrying on the siege of Mallæa. On the arrival of the Roman army, the garrison, either awed by its strength, or hoping for pardon, surrendered themselves, and the combined forces marched, in one body, to recover the towns which had been seized by the Athamanians. These were Æginium, Ericinum, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Melibœa, and Phaloria. Then they invested Pellinæum, where Philip of Megalopolis was in garrison, with five hundred foot and forty horse; but before they made an assault, they sent a person to warn Philip, not to expose himself to the last extremities; to which he answered, with much confidence, that he could intrust himself either to the Romans or the Thessalians, but never would put himself in the power of the Macedonian. The confederate commanders now saw that they must have recourse to force, and thought that Limnæa might be attacked at the same time; it was therefore agreed, that the king should go against Limnæa, while Bæbius staid to carry on the siege of Pellinæum.

XIV. It happened that, just at this time, the consul, Manius Acilius, having crossed the sea with twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants, ordered some military tribunes, chosen for the purpose, to lead the infan-

try to Larissa, and he himself with the cavalry came to Limnæa, to Philip. Immediately on the consul's arrival, the town capitulated; and the king's garrison, together with the Athamanians, were delivered up. From Limnæa the consul went to Pellinæum. Here the Athamanians surrendered first, and afterwards Philip of Megalopolis. King Philip, happening to meet the latter as he was coming out from the town, ordered his attendants, in derision, to salute him with the title of king; and he himself, coming up to him, with a sneer, highly unbecoming his own exalted station, accosted him by the name of Brother. He was brought before the consul, who ordered him to be kept in confinement, and soon after sent him to Rome in chains. All the rest of the Athamanians, together with the soldiers of king Antiochus, who had been in garrison in the towns which surrendered about that time, were delivered over to Philip. They amounted to three thousand men. The consul went thence to Larissa, in order to hold a consultation on the general plan of operations; and on his way, was met by ambassadors from Pieria and Metropolis, with the surrender of those cities. Philip treated the captured, particularly the Athamanians, with great kindness, in expectation of gaining, through them, the favour of their countrymen; and having hence conceived hopes of getting Athamania into his possession, he first sent forward the prisoners to their respective states, and then marched his army thither. The representations given by these of the king's clemency and generosity towards them, operated strongly on the minds of the people; and Amynander, who, by his presence, had retained many in obedience, through the respect paid to his dignity, began now to dread that he might be delivered up to Philip, who had been long his professed enemy, or to the Romans, who were justly incensed against him for his late defection. He therefore, with his wife and children, quitted the kingdom, and retired to Ambracia. Thus all Athamania came under the authority and dominion of Philip. The consul delayed a few days at Larissa, for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the horses, which, by the voyage first, and marching afterwards, had been much harassed and fatigued; and when he had renewed the vigour of his army by a moderate share of rest, he marched to Cranon. On his way, Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pheræ, were surrendered

to him, together with the garrisons placed in them by Antiochus. He asked these men whether any of them chose to remain with him; and one thousand having declared themselves willing, he gave them to Philip; the rest he sent back, unarmed, to Demetrius. After this he took Proerna, and the forts adjacent; and then marched forwards toward the Malian bay. When he drew near to the pass on which Thaumaci is situated, all the young men of that place took arms; and, quitting the town, placed themselves in ambush in the woods adjoining the roads, and thence, with the advantage of higher ground, made attacks on the Roman troops as they marched. The consul first sent people to talk with them, and warn them to desist from such a mad proceeding; but, finding that they persisted in their undertaking, he sent round a tribune, with two companies of soldiers, to cut off the retreat of the men in arms, and took possession of the defenceless city. On this, the parties in ambush, hearing from behind the shouts occasioned by that event, fled homeward from all parts of the woods, but were intercepted and cut to pieces. From Thaumaci the consul came, on the second day, to the river Sperchius; and, sending out parties, laid waste the country of the Hypætæans.

XV. During these transactions, Antiochus was at Chalcis; and now, perceiving that he had gained nothing from Greece to recompense his trouble, except pleasing winter-quarters and a disgraceful marriage, he warmly blamed Thoas, and the fallacious promises of the Ætolians; while he admired Hannibal, as a man endowed not only with wisdom, but with a kind of prophetic skill, which had enabled him to foretell all that had come to pass. However, that he might not contribute to the failure of his inconsiderate enterprise by his own inactivity, he sent requisitions to the Ætolians, to arm all their young men, and assemble in a body. He went himself immediately into their country, at the head of about ten thousand foot, (the number having been filled up out of the troops which had come after him from Asia,) and five hundred horse. Their assembly on this occasion was far less numerous than ever before, none attending but the chiefs with a few of their vassals. These affirmed that they had, with the utmost diligence, tried every method to bring into the field as great a number as possible out of their



respective states, but had not been able, either by argument, persuasion, or authority, to overcome the general aversion to the service. Being disappointed thus on all sides, both by his own people, who delayed in Asia, and by his allies, who did not fulfil those engagements by which they had prevailed on him to comply with their invitation, the king retired beyond the pass of Thermopylæ. A range of mountains here divides Greece in the same manner as Italy is divided by the ridge of the Apennines. Outside the strait of Thermopylæ, towards the north, lie Epirus, Perrhæbia, Magnesia, Thessaly, the Achæan Phthiotis, and the Malian bay; on the inside, towards the south, the greater part of Ætolia, Acarnania, Phocis, Loeris, Bœotia, and the adjacent island of Eubœa, the territory of Attica, which stretches out like a promontory into the sea, and, behind that, the Peloponnesus. This range of mountains, which extends from Leucas and the sea on the west, through Ætolia to the opposite sea on the east, is so closely covered with thickets and craggy rocks, that, not to speak of an army, even persons lightly equipped for travelling, can with difficulty find paths through which they can pass. The hills at the eastern extremity are called Cæta, and the highest of them Callidromus; in a valley, at the foot of which, reaching to the Malian bay, is a passage not broader than sixty paces. This is the only military road by which an army can be led, even supposing no opposition. The place is therefore called Pylæ, the gate; and by some, on account of a warm spring, rising just at the entrance of it, Thermopylæ. It is rendered famous by the glorious stand made there by a party of Lacedæmonians against the Persians, and by their still more glorious death.

XVI. With a very inferior portion of spirit, Antiochus now pitched his camp within the inclosures of this pass, the difficulties of which he increased by raising fortifications; and when he had completely strengthened every part with a double rampart and trench, and, wherever it seemed requisite, with a wall formed of the stones which lay scattered about in abundance, being very confident that the Roman army would never attempt to force a passage there, he sent away one half of the four thousand Ætolians, the number that had joined him, to garrison Heraclea, which stood opposite the entrance of the defile, and the other half to

Hypata; for he concluded, that the consul would undoubtedly attack Heraclea, and he received accounts from many hands, of depredations committed on the country round Hypata. The consul, after ravaging the lands of Hypata first, and then those of Heraclea, in both which places the Ætolian detachments proved useless, encamped opposite to the king, in the very entrance of the pass, near the warm springs; both parties of the Ætolians shutting themselves up in Heraclea. Antiochus, who, before he saw the enemy, thought every spot perfectly well fortified, and secured by guards, now began to apprehend, that the Romans might discover some paths among the hills above, through which they could make their way; for he had heard that the Lacedæmonians formerly had been surrounded in that manner by the Persians, and Philip, lately, by the Romans themselves. He therefore despatched a messenger to the Ætolians at Heraclea, desiring them to afford him so much assistance, at least in the war, as to seize and secure the tops of the hills, so as to put it out of the power of the Romans to pass them. The delivery of this message raised a dissension among the Ætolians: some insisted that they ought to obey the king's orders, and go where he desired; others that they ought to lie still at Heraclea, and wait the issue, be it what it might; for if the king should be defeated by the consul, their forces would be fresh, and in readiness to carry succour to their own states in the neighbourhood; and if he were victorious, they could pursue the Romans, while scattered in their flight. Each party not only adhered positively to its own plan, but even carried it into execution; two thousand lay still at Heraclea; and two thousand, divided into three parties, took possession of the summits called Callidromus, Rhoduntia, and Tichiuns.

XVII. When the consul saw that the heights were possessed by the Ætolians, he sent against those posts two men of consular rank, who acted as lieutenants-general, with two thousand chosen troops;—Lucius Valerius Flaccus against Rhoduntia and Tichiuns, and Marcus Porcius Cato against Callidromus. Then, before he led on his forces against the enemy, he called them to an assembly, employing a short exhortation to this effect: "Soldiers, I see that the greater part of you who are present, of all ranks are men who served in this same province, under the conduct and auspices of

Titus Quintius. I therefore wish to remind you, that, in the Macedonian war, the pass at the river Aous was much more difficult than this before us. For this is only a gate, a single passage, formed as it were by nature; every other in the whole tract, between the two seas, being utterly impracticable. In the former case, there were stronger fortifications, and more advantageously situated. The enemy's army was both more numerous, and composed of very superior men; for they were Macedonians, Thracians, and Illyrians,—people remarkable for the ferocity of their courage; your present opponents are Syrians, and Asiatic Greeks, the most unsteady of men, and born slaves. The commander, there, was a king of extraordinary warlike abilities, improved by practice from his early youth, in wars against his neighbours, the Thracians and Illyrians, and all the adjoining nations. The king with whom we have now to deal, is one who (to say nothing of his former life, after coming over from Asia into Europe to make war on the Roman people,) has, during the whole length of the winter, accomplished no more memorable exploit, than the taking a wife, to gratify his amorous inclinations, out of a private house, and a family obscure even among its neighbours; and now, this newly married man, after indulging in the luxury of nuptial feasts, comes out to fight. His chief reliance was on the strength of the *Ætolians*,—a nation of all others the most faithless and ungrateful, as you have formerly experienced, and as Antiochus now experiences; for they neither joined him with the great numbers that were promised, nor could they be kept in the field; and, besides, they are now in a state of dissension among themselves. Although they demanded to be intrusted with the defence of Hypata and Heraclea, yet they defended neither; but one half of them fled to the tops of the mountains, while the others shut themselves up in Heraclea. The king himself plainly confessing, that so far from daring to meet us in battle on the level plain, he durst not even encamp in open ground, has abandoned all that tract in front, which he boasted of having taken from us and Philip, and has hid himself behind the rocks; not even appearing in the opening of the pass, as it is said the Lacedæmonians did formerly, but drawing back his camp within the strait. Does not this demonstrate just

the same degree of fear, as if he had shut himself up within the walls of a city to stand a siege? But neither shall the straits protect Antiochus, nor the hills which they have seized, the *Ætolians*. Sufficient care and precaution have been used on every quarter, that you shall have nothing to contend with in the fight, but the enemy himself. On your parts, you have to consider, that you are not fighting merely for the liberty of Greece; although, were that all, it would be an achievement highly meritorious to deliver that country now from Antiochus and the *Ætolians*, which you formerly delivered from Philip; and that the wealth in the king's camp will not be the whole prize of your labour; but that the great collection of stores, daily expected from Ephesus, will likewise become your prey; and also, that you will open a way for the Roman power into Asia and Syria, and all the most opulent realms to the extremity of the East. What then must be the consequence, but that, from Gades to the Red Sea,<sup>1</sup> we shall have no limit but the ocean, which encircles the whole orb of the earth; and that all mankind shall regard the Roman name with a degree of veneration next to that which they pay to the divinities? For the attainment of prizes of such magnitude, be ready to exert a spirit adequate to the occasion, that, to-morrow, with the aid of the gods, we may decide the matter in the field."

XVIII. After this discourse he dismissed the soldiers, who, before they went to their repast, got ready their armour and weapons. At the first dawn, the signal of battle being displayed, the consul formed his troops with a narrow front, adapted to the nature and the straitness of the ground. When the king saw the enemy's standards in motion, he likewise drew out his forces. He placed in the van, before the rampart, a part of his light infantry; and behind them, as a support, close to the fortifications, the main strength of his Macedonians, whom they call *Sarissophori*, spearmen. On the left wing of these, at the foot of the mountain, he posted a body of javelin-bearers, archers, and slingers; that from the higher ground they might annoy the naked flank of the enemy: and on the right of the

1 The ancients supposed the earth to have a flat circular surface, round the extremity of which flowed a body of water, called, by them, the ocean. The eastern quarter of the ocean they called the Red Sea, from the ruddy colour of the rising sun.



Macedonians, to the extremity of the works, where the deep morasses and quicksands, stretching thence to the sea, render the place impassable, the elephants with their usual guard; in the rear of them, the cavalry; and then, with a moderate interval between, the rest of his forces as a second line. The Macedonians, posted before the rampart, for some time easily withstood the efforts which the Romans made every where to force a passage; for they received great assistance from those who poured down from the higher ground a shower of leaden balls from their slings, and of arrows, and javelins, all together. But afterwards, the enemy pressing on with greater and now irresistible force, they were obliged to give ground, and, fling off from the rear, retire within the fortification. Here, by extending their spears before them, they formed as it were a second rampart, for the rampart itself was of such a moderate height that, while its defenders enjoyed the advantage of the higher ground, they, at the same time, by the length of their spears, had the enemy within reach underneath. Many of the assailants, inconsiderately approaching the work, were run through the body; and they must either have abandoned the attempt and retreated, or have lost very great numbers, had not Marcus Porcius come from the summit of Callidromus, whence he had dislodged the Ætolians, after killing the greater part of them. These he had surprised, quite unprepared, and mostly asleep, and now he appeared on the hill which overlooked the camp. Flaccus had not met the same good fortune at Tichiens and Rhoduntia; having failed in his attempts to approach those fastnesses.

XIX. The Macedonians, and others, in the king's camp, as long as, on account of the distance, they could distinguish nothing more than a body of men in motion, thought they were the Ætolians, who, on seeing the fight, were coming to their aid. But when, on a nearer view, they knew the standards and arms, and thence discovered their mistake, they were all instantly seized with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled. The pursuit was somewhat retarded by the fortifications, and by the narrowness of the valley through which the troops had to pass; and, above all, by the elephants being on the rear of the flying enemy, so that it was with difficulty that the infantry could make their way. This, indeed,

the cavalry could by no means do, their horses being so frightened, that they threw one another into greater confusion than would be occasioned by a battle. The plundering of the camp, also, caused a considerable delay. But, notwithstanding all this, the Romans pursued the enemy that day as far as Scarphia, killing and taking on the way great numbers both of men and horses, and also killing such of the elephants as they could not secure; and then they returned to their post. This had been attacked, during the time of the action, by the Ætolians quartered at Heraclea; but the enterprise, which certainly showed no want of boldness, was not attended with any success. The consul, at the third watch of the following night, sent forward his cavalry in pursuit of the enemy; and, as soon as day appeared, set out at the head of the legions. The king had got far before him, for he fled with the utmost speed, and never halted until he came to Elatia. There he first endeavoured to collect the scattered remains of his army; and then, with a very small body of half-armed men, he continued his retreat to Chalcis. The Roman cavalry did not overtake the king himself at Elatia; but they cut off a great part of his soldiers, who either halted through weariness, or wandered out of the way through mistake, as they fled without guides through unknown roads; so that, out of the whole army, not one escaped, except five hundred, who kept close about the king; and even of the ten thousand men, whom, on the authority of Polybius, we have mentioned as brought over by the king from Asia, a very trifling number got off. But what shall we say to the account given by Valerius Antias, that there were in the king's army sixty thousand men, of whom forty thousand fell, and above five thousand were taken, with two hundred and thirty military standards? Of the Romans were slain in the action itself a hundred and fifty; and of the party that defended the camp against the assault of the Ætolians, not more than fifty.

XX. As the consul marched through Phocis and Bœotia, the revolted states, conscious of their demerits, and dreading lest they should be exposed as enemies to the ravages of the soldiers, presented themselves at the gates of their cities, with the badges of suppliants; but the army proceeded, during the whole time, just as if they were in the country of friends, without offering violence of any sort, until

they reached the territory of Coronea. Here a statue of king Antiochus, standing in the temple of Minerva Itonia, kindled such violent resentment, that permission was given to the soldiers to plunder the surrounding lands. But the reflection quickly occurred, that, as the statue had been erected by a general vote of all the Bœotian states, it was unreasonable to resent it on the single district of Coronea. The soldiers were therefore immediately recalled, and the depredations stopped. The Bœotians were only reprimanded for their ungrateful behaviour to the Romans in return for great obligations, so recently conferred. At the very time when the battle was fought, ten ships belonging to the king, with their commander Isidorus, lay at anchor near Thronium, in the Malian bay. To them Alexander of Acarnania, being grievously wounded, made his escape, and gave an account of the unfortunate issue of the battle; on which the fleet, alarmed at the immediate danger, sailed away in haste to Ceneus in Eubœa. There Alexander died, and was buried. Three other ships, which came from Asia to the same port, on hearing the disaster which had befallen the army, returned to Ephesus. Isidorus sailed over from Ceneus to Demetrias, supposing that the king might perhaps have directed his flight thither. About this time, Aulus Atilius, commander of the Roman fleet, intercepted a large convoy of provisions going to the king, just as they had passed the strait at the island of Andros: some of the ships he sunk, and took many others. Those who were in the rear tacked about, and steered back to Asia. Atilius, with the captured vessels in his train, sailed back to Piræus, his former station, and distributed a vast quantity of corn among the Athenians, and the other allies in that quarter.

XXI. Antiochus, quitting Chalcis before the consul arrived there, sailed first to Tenus, and thence passed over to Ephesus. When the consul came to Chalcis, the gates were open to receive him: for Aristoteles, who commanded for the king, on hearing of his approach, had withdrawn from the city. The rest of the cities of Eubœa also submitted without opposition; and peace being restored all over the island within the space of a few days, without inflicting punishment on any; the army, which had acquired much higher praise for moderation after victory, than even for the attainment of it,

marched back to Thermopylæ. From this place, the consul despatched Marcus Cato to Rome, that the senate and people might learn what had passed from unquestionable authority. He set sail from Creusa, a sea-port belonging to the Thespians, seated at the bottom of the Corinthian gulf, and steered to Petræ, in Achaia. From Petræ, he coasted along the shores of Ætolia and Acarnania, as far as Coreyra, and thence he passed over to Hydruntum in Italy. Proceeding hence, with rapid expedition, by land, he arrived on the fifth day at Rome. Having come into the city before day, he went on, directly from the gate to Marcus Junius, the prætor, who, at the first dawn, assembled the senate. Here, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who had been despatched by the consul several days before Cato, and on his arrival had heard that the latter had outstripped him, and was then in the senate, came in, just as he was giving a recital of the transactions. The two lieutenants-general were then, by order of the senate, conducted to the assembly of the people, where they gave the same account, as in the senate, of the services performed in Ætolia. Hereupon a decree was passed, that a supplication, of three days' continuance, should be performed; and that the prætor should offer sacrifice to such of the gods as his judgment should direct, with forty victims of the larger kinds. About the same time, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who, two years before, had gone into Farther Spain, in the office of prætor, went through the city in ovation. He carried in the procession a hundred and thirty thousand silver denariuses,<sup>1</sup> and, besides the coin, twelve thousand pounds weight of silver, and a hundred and twenty-seven pounds weight of gold.

XXII. The consul Acilius sent on, from Thermopylæ, a message to the Ætolians in Heraclea, warning them, "then at least, after the experience which they had of the emptiness of the king's professions, to return to a proper way of thinking; and, by surrendering Heraclea, to endeavour to procure, from the senate, a pardon for their past madness, or error, if they rather chose so to call it;" and he observed, that "other Grecian states also had, during the present war, revolted from the Romans, to whom they were under the highest obligations: but that, inasmuch as, after the flight of the



king, whose presence had inspired that confidence which led them astray from their duty, they had not added obstinacy to their other crimes, they were re-admitted into friendship. In like manner, although the Ætolians had not followed the king's lead, but had invited him, and had been principals in the war, not auxiliaries; nevertheless, if they could prevail on themselves to show a proper sense of their misconduct, they might still insure their safety."

Their answer showed nothing like a pacific disposition; wherefore, seeing that the business must be determined by force of arms, and that, notwithstanding the defeat of the king, the war of Ætolia was as far from a conclusion as ever, Acilius led up his army from Thermopylæ to Heraclea; and, on the same day, rode on horseback entirely round the walls, in order to discover the strength of the city. Heraclea is situated at the foot of mount Cæta; the town itself is in the plain, but has a citadel overlooking it, which stands on an eminence of considerable height, terminated on all sides by precipices. Having examined every part which he wished to see, the consul determined to make the assault in four places at once. On the side next the river Asopus, where is also the Gymnasium, he gave the direction of the works to Lucius Valerius. He assigned to Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the attack of a part of the suburbs, which was as thickly inhabited as the city itself. He appointed Marcus Bæbius to act on the side opposite the Malian bay, where the access was far more easy; and Appius Claudius, on the side next to another rivulet, called Melas, the black, opposite to the temple of Diana. These exerted themselves with such vigorous emulation, that within a few days the towers, rams, and other machines used in the besieging of towns, were all completed. The lands round Heraclea, naturally marshy, and abounding with tall trees, furnished timber in abundance for every kind of work; and then, as the Ætolians had fled into the city, the deserted suburbs supplied not only beams and boards, but also bricks and mortar, and stones of every size for all their various occasions.

XXIII. The Romans carried on their approaches by means of works more than of personal exertions; the Ætolians maintained their defence by dint of arms. For when the walls were shaken by the ram, they did not, as is usual, intercept and turn aside the strokes by

the help of nooses formed on ropes, but sallied out in large armed bodies, with parties carrying fire, in order to burn the machines. They had likewise arched passages through the parapet, for the purpose of making sallies; and when they built up the wall anew, in the room of any part that was demolished, they left a great number of these sallyports, that they might rush out in many places at once. In several days, at the beginning, while their strength was unimpaired, they carried on this practice in numerous parties, and with much spirit; but then, both their numbers and spirit daily decreased. For though they had a multiplicity of difficulties to struggle with, what above all things utterly consumed their vigour, was the want of sleep, as the Romans, having plenty of men, relieved each other regularly in their posts; while among the Ætolians, their numbers being small, the same persons were obliged to toil on without intermission. During a space of twenty-four days, they were kept day and night in one continued course of unremitting exertion, against the attacks carried on by the enemy in four different quarters at once; so that they never had an hour's respite from action. When the consul, from computing the time, and from the reports of deserters, judged that the Ætolians were thoroughly fatigued, he adopted the following plan:—At midnight he gave the signal of retreat, and drawing off all his men at once from the assault, kept them quiet in the camp until the third hour of the next day. The attacks were then renewed, and continued until midnight, when they ceased, until the third hour of the day following. The Ætolians imagined that the Romans suspended the attack from the same cause by which they felt themselves distressed,—excessive fatigue. As soon, therefore, as the signal of retreat was given to the Romans, as if themselves were thereby recalled from duty, every one gladly retired from his post, nor did they again appear in arms on the walls before the third hour of the day.

XXIV. The consul having put a stop to the assault at midnight, renewed it on three of the sides, at the fourth watch, with the utmost vigour; ordering Tiberius Sempronius, on the fourth, to keep his party alert, and ready to obey his signal; for he concluded assuredly, that, in the tumult by night, the enemy would all run to those quarters where they heard the shouts. Of the Ætolians, such as had gone

to rest with difficulty roused their bodies from sleep, exhausted as they were with fatigue and watching; and such as were still awake, ran in the dark, to the places where they heard the noise of fighting. Meanwhile the Romans endeavoured to climb over the ruins of the walls, through the breaches; in others, strove to scale the walls with ladders; while the Ætolians hastened to defend the parts attacked. In one quarter, where the buildings stood outside the city, there was neither attack nor defence; but a party stood ready, waiting for the signal to make an attack, but there was none within to oppose them. The day now began to dawn, and the consul gave the signal; on which the party, without any opposition, made their way into the town; some through breaches, others scaling the walls where they were entire. As soon as the Ætolians heard them raise the shout, which denoted the place being taken, they every where forsook their posts, and fled into the citadel. The victors sacked the city; the consul having given permission, not for the sake of gratifying resentment or animosity, but that the soldiers, after having been restrained from plunder in so many captured cities, might at last, in some one place, enjoy the fruits of victory. About mid-day he recalled the troops; and, dividing them into two parts, ordered one to be led round by the foot of the mountain to a rock, which was of equal height with the citadel, and seemed as if it had been broken off from it, leaving a hollow between; but the summits of these eminences are so nearly contiguous, that weapons may be thrown into the citadel from their tops. With the other half of the troops the consul intended to march up from the city to the citadel, as soon as he should receive a signal from those who were to mount the rock on the farther side. The Ætolians in the citadel could not support the shout of the party which had seized the rock, and the consequent attack of the Romans from the city; for their courage was now broken, and the place was by no means in a condition to hold out a siege of any continuance; the women, children, and great numbers of other helpless people, being crowded together in a fort, which was scarce capable of containing, much less of affording protection to such a multitude. On the first assault, therefore, they laid down their arms, and submitted. Among the rest was delivered up Damocritus, chief magistrate of the Æto-

lians, who at the beginning of the war, when Titus Quintius asked for a copy of the decree passed by the Ætolians for inviting Antiochus, told him, that, "in Italy, when the Ætolians were encamped there, it should be delivered to him." This presumptuous insolence of his, enhanced the satisfaction which the victors felt at his being put into their hands.

XXV. At the same time, while the Romans were employed in the reduction of Heraclea, Philip, by concert, besieged Lamia. He had an interview with the consul, as he was returning from Boeotia, at Thermopylae, whither he came to congratulate him and the Roman people on their successes, and to apologize for his not having taken an active part in the war, being prevented by sickness; and then they went from thence, by different routes, to lay siege to the two cities at once. The distance between these places is about seven miles; and as Lamia stands on high ground, and has an open prospect on that side particularly, the distance seems very short, and every thing that passes can be seen from thence. The Romans and Macedonians, with all the emulation of competitors for a prize, employed the utmost exertions, both night and day, either in the works or in fighting; but the Macedonians encountered greater difficulty, on this account, that the Romans made their approaches by mounds, covered galleries, and other works, which were all above ground; whereas the Macedonians worked under ground by mines, and, in that stony soil, often met a flinty rock, which iron could not penetrate. The king, seeing that little progress could be made in that way, endeavoured, by reasoning with the principal inhabitants, to prevail on them to surrender the place; for he was fully persuaded, that if Heraclea should be taken first, the Lamians would then choose to surrender to the Romans rather than to him; and that the consul would take to himself the merit of relieving them from a siege. Nor was he mistaken in that opinion; for no sooner was Heraclea reduced, than a message came to him to raise the siege; because "it was more reasonable that the Roman soldiers, who had fought the Ætolians in the field, should reap the fruits of the victory." Thus was Lamia relieved, and the misfortune of a neighbouring city proved the means of its escaping a like disaster.

XXVI. A few days before the capture of



Heraclea, the *Ætoli*ans, having assembled a council at Hypata, sent ambassadors to Antiochus, among whom was Thoas, who had visited him before in the same capacity. Their instructions were, in the first place, to request the king again to assemble his land and marine forces and come into Greece; and, in the next place, if it should be inconvenient to him to leave home, then to send them supplies of men and money. They were to remind him, that "it concerned his dignity and his honour, not to abandon his allies; and it likewise concerned the safety of his kingdom not to leave the Romans at full leisure, after ruining the nation of the *Ætoli*ans, to carry their whole force into Asia." Their remonstrances were well founded, and therefore made the deeper impression on the king; in consequence of which, he immediately supplied the ambassadors with the money requisite for the exigencies of the war, and assured them, that he would send them succours both of troops and ships. He kept with him Thoas, who was not unwilling to stay, as he hoped that his presence might accelerate the performance of the king's promises.

XXVII. But the loss of Heraclea entirely broke the spirits of the *Ætoli*ans; insomuch that, within a few days after they had sent ambassadors into Asia for the purpose of renewing the war, and inviting the king, they threw aside all thoughts of fighting, and despatched deputies to the consul to sue for peace. When these began to speak, the consul, interrupting them, said, that he had other business to attend to at present; and, ordering them to return to Hypata, granted them a truce for ten days, sending with them Lucius Valerius Flaccus, to whom, he desired, whatever business they intended to have proposed to himself might be communicated, with any other that they thought proper. On their arrival at Hypata, the chiefs of the *Ætoli*ans held a consultation, at which Flaccus was present, on the method to be used in treating with the consul. They showed an inclination to begin with setting forth the ancient treaties, and the services which they had performed to the Roman people; on which Flaccus desired them to "speak no more of treaties, which they themselves had violated and annulled." He told them, that "they might expect more advantage from an acknowledgment of their fault, and submissive entreaty. For their hopes of safety rested not on the

merits of their cause, but on the clemency of the Roman people. That, if they acted in a suppliant manner, he would himself be a solicitor in their favour, both with the consul and with the senate at Rome; for thither also they must send ambassadors." This appeared to all the only way to safety: "to submit themselves entirely to the faith of the Romans. For, in that case, the latter would be ashamed to do injury to suppliants; while themselves would, nevertheless, retain the power of consulting their own interest, should fortune offer any thing more advantageous."

XXVIII. When they came into the consul's presence, Phæneas, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long speech, in which he endeavoured, by a variety of pathetic representations, to mitigate the wrath of the conqueror; and he concluded with saying, that "the *Ætoli*ans surrendered themselves, and all belonging to them, to the faith of the Roman people." The consul on hearing this, said, "*Ætoli*ans, consider well whether you will yield on these terms:" and then Phæneas produced the decree, in which the conditions were expressly mentioned. "Since then," said the consul, "you submit in this manner, I demand that, without delay, you deliver up to me Dicaearchus your countryman, Menetas the Epirot," who had, with an armed force, entered Naupactum, and compelled the inhabitants to abandon the cause of Rome, "and also Amynder, with the Athamanian chiefs, by whose advice you revolted from us." Phæneas, scarcely waiting until the Roman had done speaking, answered,—“We surrendered ourselves, not into slavery, but to your faith; and I take it for granted, that, from not being sufficiently acquainted with us, you fall into the mistake of commanding what is inconsistent with the practice of the Greeks.” “Nor in truth,” replied the consul, “do I much concern myself, at present, what the *Ætoli*ans may think conformable to the practice of the Greeks; while I, conformably to the practice of the Romans, exercise authority over men, who just now surrendered themselves by a decree of their own, and were, before that, conquered by my arms. Wherefore, unless my commands are quickly complied with, I order that you be put in chains.” At the same time he ordered chains to be brought forth, and the lictors to surround the ambassadors. This effectually subdued the arrogance of Phæneas

and the other Ætolians; and, at length, they became sensible of their situation. Phæneas then said, that "as to himself and his countrymen there present, they knew that his commands must be obeyed: but it was necessary that a council of the Ætolians should meet, to pass decrees accordingly; and that, for that purpose, he requested a suspension of arms for ten days." At the intercession of Flaccus this was granted, and the Ætolians returned to Hypata. When Phæneas related here, in the select council, called Apocleti, the orders which they had received, and the treatment which they had narrowly escaped; although the melancholy condition to which they were reduced, drew forth the deepest lamentations from the members present, nevertheless they were of opinion, that the conqueror must be obeyed, and that the Ætolians should be summoned, from all their towns, to a general assembly.

XXIX. But when the assembled multitude heard the same account, they were so highly exasperated both by the harshness of the order, and the indignity offered, that, even if they had been in a pacific temper before, the violent impulse of anger which they then felt, would have been sufficient to rouse them to war. There occurred besides, the difficulty of executing the orders; for, "how was it possible for them, for instance, to deliver up king Amynder?" It happened also, that a favourable prospect seemed to open to them; for Nicander, returning from king Antiochus at that juncture, filled the minds of the people with unfounded assurances, that immense preparations for war were going on both by land and sea. This man, after finishing the business of his embassy, set out on his return to Ætolia; and on the twelfth day after he embarked, reached Phalara, on the Malian bay. Having conveyed thence to Lamia the money that he had brought, he, with a few light troops, directed, in the evening, his course towards Hypata, by known paths, through the country which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps. Here he fell in with an advanced guard of the Macedonians, and was conducted to the king, who had not yet risen from dinner. Philip, being told of his coming, received him as a guest, not an enemy; desired him to take a seat, and a share of the entertainment; and afterwards, when he dismissed the rest, detained him alone, and told him, that he had nothing to fear for himself. He censured se-

verely the conduct of the Ætolians, in bringing, first the Romans, and afterwards Antiochus, into Greece; designs which originated in a want of judgment, and always fell heavy on their own heads. But "he would forget," he said, "all past transactions, which it was easier to blame than to amend; nor would he act in such a manner as to appear to insult their misfortunes. On the other hand it would become the Ætolians to lay aside, at length, their animosity towards him; and it would become Nicander himself, in his private capacity, to remember that day, on which he was to be indebted to him for his preservation." He then gave him an escort to a place of safety; and Nicander arrived at Hypata, while his countrymen were consulting about the peace with Rome.

XXX. Manius Acilius having sold, or given to the soldiers, the booty found near Heraclea, and having learned that the counsels adopted at Hypata were not of a pacific nature, but that the Ætolians had hastily assembled at Naupactum, with intention to make a stand there against all their adversaries, sent forward Appius Claudius, with four thousand men, to seize the tops of the hills, where the passes were difficult; and he himself, ascending mount Ceta, offered sacrifice to Hercules in the spot called Pyra,<sup>1</sup> because there the mortal part of that demi-god was burned. He then set out with the main body of the army, and marched all the rest of the way with tolerable ease and expedition. But when they came to Corax, a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactum, great numbers of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, tumbled down the precipices, by which many of the men were hurt. This clearly showed an extraordinary degree of negligence in the enemy, who had not secured the pass by a guard, and which must have greatly incommoded the Romans; for, even as the case was, the army suffered considerably. Hence he marched down to Naupactum; and having erected a fort against the citadel, he invested the other parts of the city, dividing his forces according to the situation of the walls. Nor was this siege likely to prove less difficult and laborious than that of Heraclea.

XXXI. At the same time, the Achæans laid siege to Messene, in Peloponnesus, be-

1 The funeral pile.



cause it refused to become a member of their body : for the two states of Messene and Elis were unconnected with the Achæan confederacy, and favoured the designs of the Ætolians. However the Eleans, after Antiochus had been driven out of Greece, answered the deputies, sent by the Achæans, with more moderation : that "when the king's troops were removed, they would consider what part they should take." But the Messenians had dismissed the deputies without an answer, and prepared for war. Alarmed, afterwards, at the danger of their situation, when they saw the enemy ravaging their country without control, and pitching their camp almost at their gates, they sent deputies to Chalcis, to Titus Quintius, the author of their liberty, to acquaint him, that "the Messenians were willing, both to open their gates, and surrender their city, to the Romans, but not to the Achæans." On hearing this Quintius immediately set out, and despatched from Megalopolis a messenger to Diophanes, prætor of the Achæans, requiring him to draw off his army instantly from Messene, and to come to him. Diophanes obeyed the order ; raising the siege, he hastened forward himself before the army, and met Quintius near Andania, a small town between Megalopolis and Messene. When he began to explain the reasons for commencing the siege, Quintius, gently reproving him for undertaking a business of that importance without consulting him, ordered him to disband his forces, and not to disturb a peace which had been established on terms highly beneficial to all. He commanded the Messenians to recall the exiles, and to unite themselves to the confederacy of the Achæans ; and if there were any particulars to which they chose to object, or any precautions judged requisite against future contingencies, they might apply to him at Corinth. He then gave directions to Diophanes, to convene immediately a general council of the Achæans, that he might settle some business with them.

XXXII. In this assembly he complained of their having acquired possession of the island of Zacynthus by unfair means, and demanded that it should be restored to the Romans. Zacynthus had formerly belonged to Philip, king of Macedonia, and he had made it over to Amynder, in requital of his having given him leave to march an army through Athamania, into the upper part of Ætolia, on

that expedition wherein he reduced the Ætolians to despair, and compelled them to sue for peace. Amynder gave the government of the island to Philip, the Megalopolitan ; and afterwards, during the war in which he acted in conjunction with Antiochus against the Romans, having called out Philip to a command in the field, he sent, as his successor, Hierocles, of Agrigentum. This man, after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and the expulsion of Amynder from Athamania by Philip, sent emissaries of his own accord to Diophanes, prætor of the Achæans ; and having bargained for a sum of money, put the Achæans in possession of the island. This acquisition, made during the war, the Romans claimed as their own ; for they said, that "it was not for Diophanes and the Achæans, that the consul Manius Acilius, and the Roman legions, fought at Thermopylæ." Diophanes, in answer, sometimes apologized for himself and his nation ; sometimes insisted on the justice of the proceeding. But several of the Achæans testified that they had, from the beginning, disapproved of that business, and they now blamed the obstinacy of the prætor. Pursuant to their advice, a decree was made, that the affair should be left entirely to the disposal of Titus Quintius. As Quintius was severe to such as made opposition, so, when complied with, he was easily appeased. Laying aside, therefore, every thing stern in his voice and looks, he said, — "If, Achæans, I thought the possession of that island advantageous to you, I would be the first to advise the senate and people of Rome to leave it in your hands. But as I see that a tortoise, when collected within its natural covering, is safe against blows of any kind, and whenever it thrusts out any of its members, it feels whatever it has thus uncovered, weak and liable to every injury ; so you, Achæans, being inclosed on all sides by the sea, can easily unite among yourselves, and maintain by that union all that is comprehended within the limits of Peloponnesus ; but whenever, through ambition of enlarging your possessions, you overstep these limits, then all that you hold beyond them is naked, and exposed to every attack." The whole assembly declaring their assent, and Diophanes not daring to give farther opposition, Zacynthus was ceded to the Romans.

XXXIII. When the consul was on his march to Naupactum, king Philip proposed,

that if it was agreeable to him, he would, in the meantime, retake those cities that had revolted from their alliance with Rome. Having obtained permission so to do, he, about this time, marched his army to Demetrias, where he knew that great distraction prevailed: for the garrison, being destitute of all hope of succour since they were abandoned by Antiochus, and having no reliance on the Ætoliens, daily and nightly expected the arrival of Philip or the Romans, whom they had most reason to dread, as these were more justly incensed against them. There was, in the place, an irregular multitude of the king's soldiers, a few of whom had been at first stationed there as a garrison, but the greater part had fled thither after the defeat of his army, most of them without arms, and without either strength or courage sufficient to sustain a siege. Wherefore, on Philip's sending on messengers, to offer them hopes of favourable terms, they answered, that their gates were open for the king. On his first entrance, several of the chiefs left the city; Eurylochus killed himself. The soldiers of Antiochus, in conformity to a stipulation, were escorted, through Macedonia and Thrace, by a body of Macedonians, and conducted to Lysimachia. There were, also, a few ships at Demetrias, under the command of Isidorus, which, together with their commander, were dismissed. Philip then reduced Dolopia, Aperantia, and several cities of Perrhæbia.

XXXIV. While Philip was thus employed, Titus Quintius, after receiving from the Achean council the cession of Zacynthus, crossed over to Naupactum, which had stood a siege of near two months, but was now reduced to a desperate condition; and it was supposed, that if it should be taken by storm, the whole nation of the Ætoliens would be sunk thereby in utter destruction. But, although he had good reason to be angry with the Ætoliens, from the recollection, that they alone had attempted to depreciate his merits, when he was giving liberty to Greece; and had refused to pay any regard to his advice, when he endeavoured, by forewarning them of the events, which had since occurred, to deter them from their mad undertaking: nevertheless, thinking it particularly incumbent on him, who had asserted the freedom of the country, to prevent any of its states from being entirely subverted, he first walked about near the walls, that he

might be easily known by the Ætoliens. He was quickly distinguished by the first advanced guards, and the news spread from rank to rank, that Quintius was there. On this, the people from all sides ran to the walls, and eagerly stretching out their hands, all in one joint cry besought Quintius by name, to assist and save them. Although he was much affected by these entreaties, yet for that time he made signs with his hand, that they were to expect no assistance from him. However, when he met the consul he accosted him thus:—"Marius Acilius, are you unapprised of what is passing; or do you know it, and think it immaterial to the interest of the commonwealth?" These words raising the consul's curiosity, he requested him to explain what he meant. Quintius then said,—"Do you not see that, since the defeat of Antiochus, you have been wasting time in besieging two cities, though the year of your command is near expiring; but that Philip, who never faced the enemy, or even saw their standards, has annexed to his dominions such a number, not only of cities, but of nations,—Athamania, Perrhæbia, Aperantia, Dolopia? But, surely, we are not so deeply interested in diminishing the strength and resources of the Ætoliens, as in hindering those of Philip from being augmented beyond measure; and in you, and your soldiers, not having yet gained, to reward your victory, as many towns as Philip has gained Grecian states."

XXXV. The consul assented to the justice of his remarks, but was ashamed to let himself be foiled in his attempt, and to raise the siege. At length, the matter was left entirely to the management of Quintius. He went again to that part of the wall, whence the Ætoliens had called to him a little before; and on their entreating him now, with still greater earnestness, to take compassion on the nation of the Ætoliens, he desired that some of them might come out to him. Accordingly, Phæneas himself, with some others of the principal men, instantly came, and threw themselves at his feet. He then said,—"Your condition causes me to restrain my resentment and my reproofs. The events which I foretold, have come to pass, and you have not even so much consolation left, as the reflection, that you have not deserved what has fallen upon you. Nevertheless, since fate has, in some manner, destined me to the office of cherish-



ing the interests of Greece, I will not cease to show kindness, even to the unthankful. Send a suppliant embassy to the consul, and let them petition him for a suspension of hostilities, for so long a time as will allow you to send ambassadors to Rome, to surrender yourselves to the will of the senate. I will intercede, and plead in your favour with the consul." They did as Quintius directed; nor did the consul reject their application. He granted them a truce for a certain time, until an account might be brought from Rome of the result of their embassy; and then, raising the siege, he sent his army into Phocis. The consul, with Titus Quintius, crossed over thence to Ægium, to confer with the council of the Achæans, where the business of the Eleans was introduced, and also a proposal of restoring the Lacedæmonian exiles. But neither was carried into execution, because the Achæans chose to reserve to themselves the merit of effecting the latter; and the Eleans preferred being united to the Achæan confederacy by a voluntary act of their own, rather than through the mediation of the Romans. Ambassadors came hither to the consul from the Epirots, who, it was well known, had not fulfilled with sincerity the engagements to which they were bound by the treaty of alliance. Although they had not furnished Antiochus with any soldiers, yet they were charged with having assisted him with money; and they did not disavow the having sent ambassadors to him. They requested that they might be permitted to continue on the former footing of friendship. To which the consul answered, that "he did not yet know whether he was to consider them as friends or foes. The senate must be the judge of that matter. He would therefore take no step in the business, but leave it to be determined at Rome; and for that purpose he granted them a truce of ninety days." When the Epirots, who were sent to Rome, addressed the senate, they rather enumerated hostile acts which they had not committed, than cleared themselves of those laid to their charge; and they received an answer of such a kind, as showed that they had rather obtained pardon than proved their innocence. About the same time ambassadors from king Philip were introduced to the senate, and presented his congratulations on their late successes. They asked leave to sacrifice in the capitol, and to deposit an offering of gold in

the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great. This was granted by the senate, and they presented a golden crown of a hundred pounds weight. The senate not only answered the ambassadors with kindness, but gave them Demetrius, Philip's son, who was at Rome as an hostage, to be conducted home to his father. —Such was the conclusion of the war waged in Greece by the consul Manius Acilius against Antiochus.

XXXVI. The other consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, to whose lot the province of Gaul had fallen, before he set out to take the field against the Boians, demanded of the senate, by a decree, to order him money for the exhibition of games, which when acting as *proprætor* in Spain, he had vowed at a critical time of a battle. His demand was deemed unprecedented and unreasonable, and they therefore voted, that "whatever games he had vowed, on his own single judgment, without consulting the senate, he should celebrate out of the spoils, if he had reserved any for the purpose; otherwise, at his own expense." Accordingly, Publius Cornelius exhibited those games through the space of ten days. About this time the temple of the great Idæan mother was dedicated; which deity, on her being brought from Asia, in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, and Publius Lucinius, the above mentioned Publius Cornelius had conducted from the sea side to the Palatine. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, censors, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted with builders to erect the goddess's temple; and, thirteen years after that, it was dedicated by Marcus Junius Brutus, and games were celebrated on occasion of its dedication: in which, according to the account of Valerius Antias, dramatic entertainments were, for the first time, introduced into the Megalesian games. Likewise, Caius Licinius Lucullus, being appointed *duumvir*, dedicated the temple of Youth in the great circus. This temple had been vowed sixteen years before by Marcus Livius, consul, on the day whereon he cut off Hasdrubal and his army; and the same person, when censor, in the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, had contracted for the building of it. Games were also exhibited on occasion of this consecration, and every thing was performed with the greater degree of religious

zeal, on account of the impending war with Antiochus.

XXXVII. At the beginning of the year in which those transactions passed, after Manius Acilius had gone to open the campaign, and while the other consul, Publius Cornelius, yet remained in Rome, two tame oxen, it is said, climbed up by ladders on the tiles of a house in the Carinæ. The aruspices ordered them to be burned alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tiber. It was reported, that several showers of stones had fallen at Tarracina and Amiternum; that, at Minturnæ, the temple of Jupiter, and the shops round the forum, were struck by lightning; that, at Vulturnum, in the mouth of the river, two ships were struck by lightning, and burnt to ashes. On occasion of these prodigies, the decemvirs, being ordered by a decree of the senate to consult the Sibylline books, declared, that "a fast ought to be instituted in honour of Ceres, and the same observed every fifth year; that the nine days' worship ought to be solemnized, and a supplication for one day; and that, when employed in the supplication, the people should wear garlands on their heads; also that the consul Publius Cornelius should sacrifice to such deities, and with such victims, as the decemvirs should direct." When he had used every means to avert the wrath of the gods, by duly fulfilling vows, and expiating prodigies, the consul went to his province; and, ordering the proconsul Cneius Domitius to disband his army, and go home to Rome, he marched his own legions into the territory of the Boians.

XXXVIII. Nearly at the same time, the Ligurians, having collected an army under the sanction of their devoting law, made an unexpected attack, in the night, on the camp of the proconsul Quintus Minucius. Minucius kept his troops, until daylight, drawn up within the rampart, and watchful to prevent the enemy from scaling any part of the fortifications. At the first light, he made a sally by two gates at once: but the Ligurians did not, as he had expected, give way to his first onset; on the contrary, they maintained a dubious contest for more than two hours. At last, as supplies of troops continually came out from the camp, and fresh men took the places of those who were wearied in the fight, the Ligurians, who, besides other hardships, felt a great loss of strength from the want of sleep, after a severe struggle betook themselves to flight. Above

four thousand of the enemy were killed; the Romans and allies lost not quite three hundred. About two months after this, the consul Publius Cornelius fought a pitched battle with the army of the Boians with extraordinary success. Valerius Antias affirms, that twenty-eight thousand of the enemy were slain, and three thousand four hundred taken, with a hundred and twenty-four military standards, one thousand two hundred and thirty horses, and two hundred and forty-seven waggons; and that of the conquerors, there fell one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. Though we may not entirely credit this writer with respect to the numbers, as he always exaggerates most extravagantly, yet it is certain that the victory on this occasion was very complete; because the enemy's camp was taken, while, immediately after the battle, the Boians surrendered themselves; and because a supplication was decreed by the senate on account of it, and victims of the greater kinds were sacrificed.

XXXIX. The consul Publius Cornelius, having received hostages from the Boians, punished them so far as to appropriate almost one-half of their lands for the use of the Roman people, and into which they might afterwards, if they chose, send colonies. Then returning home in full confidence of a triumph, he dismissed his troops, and ordered them to attend on the day of his rejoicing at Rome. The next day after his arrival, he held a meeting of the senate, in the temple of Bellona; and, after recounting his services, demanded permission to ride through the city in triumph. Publius Sempronius Blæsus, tribune of the people, advised, that "the honour of a triumph should not be refused to Scipio, but postponed. Wars of the Ligurians," he said, "were always united with wars of the Gauls; for these nations, lying so near, sent mutual assistance to each other. If Publius Scipio, after subduing the Boians in battle, had either gone himself, with his victorious army, into the country of the Ligurians, or sent a part of his forces to Quintus Minucius, who was detained there, now the third year, by a war of which the issue was still uncertain, that with the Ligurians might have been brought to an end: instead of which, he had, in order to procure a full attendance on his triumph, brought home the troops, who might have performed most material services to the state; and might do so still, if the senate thought proper, by deferring this token



of victory, to redeem the omission occasioned by haste to obtain distinction. If they would order the consul to return with his legions into his province, and to give his assistance towards subduing the Ligurians, (for, unless these were reduced under the dominion and jurisdiction of the Roman people, neither would the Boians ever remain quiet,) there must be either peace or war with both. When the Ligurians should be subdued, Publius Cornelius, in quality of proconsul, might triumph, a few months later, as had been the case of many, who did not attain that honour until the expiration of their office."

XL. To this the consul answered, that "neither had the province of Liguria fallen to his lot, nor had he waged war with the Ligurians, nor did he demand a triumph over them. He confidently hoped, that in a short time, Quintus Minucius, after completing their reduction, would demand and obtain a well-deserved triumph. For his part, he demanded that note of celebrity from having vanquished the Boian Gauls, whom he had driven out of their camp; of whose whole nation he had received an absolute submission within two days after the fight; and from whom he had brought home hostages to secure peace in future. But there was another circumstance, of much greater magnitude: he had slain in battle so great a number of Gauls, that no commander, before him, could say that he ever met in the field so many thousands, at least of the Boians. Out of fifty thousand men, more than one-half were killed; and many thousands made prisoners; so that the Boians had now remaining only old men and boys. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise to any one, that a victorious army, which had not left one enemy in the province, should come to Rome to attend the triumph of their consul? And if the senate should choose to employ the services of these troops in another province also,—of the two kinds of treatment, which, could it be supposed, would make them enter on a new course of danger and fatigue with the greater alacrity; the paying them the reward of their former toils and dangers without defalcation; or, the sending them away, with the shadow instead of the substance, after their first hopes had terminated in disappointment? As to what concerned himself personally, he had acquired a stock of glory sufficient for his whole life, on that day, when the senate adjudged him to be the best man in the state, and commissioned him to give a reception to

the Idaean Mother. With this inscription (though neither consulship nor triumph were added,) the statue of Publius Scipio Nasica would be sufficiently honoured and dignified." The senate not only gave their unanimous vote for the solicited honour, but by their influence prevailed on the tribune to desist from his intention of protesting against it. Publius Cornelius, consul, triumphed over the Boians. In this procession he carried, on Gallic waggons, arms, standards, and spoils of all sorts; the brazen utensils of the Gauls; and, together with the prisoners of distinction, he led a train of captured horses. He deposited in the treasury a thousand four hundred and seventy golden chains; and besides these, two hundred and forty-five pounds' weight of gold; two thousand three hundred and forty pounds' weight of silver, some unwrought, and some formed in vessels of the Gallic fashion, not without beauty; and two hundred and thirty-three thousand denariuses.<sup>1</sup> To the soldiers, who followed his chariot, he distributed three hundred and twenty-five *asses*<sup>2</sup> each, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. Next day, he summoned an assembly, and after expatiating on his own services, and the ill-treatment shown him by the tribune who wanted to entangle him in a war which did not belong to him, in order to defraud him of the fruits of his success, he absolved the soldiers of their oath, and discharged them.

XLI. While this passed in Italy, Antiochus was at Ephesus, divested of all concern respecting the war with Rome, as supposing that the Romans had no intention of coming into Asia; into which state of security he was lulled by the erroneous opinions or the flattering representations of the greater part of his friends. Hannibal alone, whose judgment was, at that time, the most highly respected by the king, declared, that "he rather wondered the Romans were not already in Asia, than entertained a doubt of their coming. The passage was easier from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece, and Antiochus was a much more inviting object than the Ætolians. For the Roman wars were not less powerful on sea, than on land. Their fleet had long been at Malea, and he had heard that a reinforcement of ships and a new commander had lately come from Italy, with intent to enter on action. He

therefore advised Antiochus not to form to himself vain hopes of peace. He must necessarily in a short time maintain a contest with the Romans both by sea and land; in Asia, and for Asia itself; and must either wrest the power out of hands that grasped at the empire of the world, or lose his own dominions." Hannibal seemed to be the only person who had judgment to foresee, and sincerity to foretell, what was to happen. The king, therefore, with the ships which were in readiness, sailed to the Chersonesus, in order to secure the places there with garrisons, lest the Romans should happen to come by land. He left orders with Polyxenidas to fit out the rest of the fleet, and put to sea; and sent out advice-boats among the islands to procure intelligence of every thing that was passing.

XLII. When Caius Livius, commander of the Roman fleet, sailed with fifty decked ships from Rome, he went to Neapolis, where he had appointed the rendezvous of the undecked ships, which were due by treaty from the allies on that coast; and thence he proceeded to Sicily, where, as he sailed through the strait beyond Messina, he was joined by six Carthaginian ships, sent to his assistance; and then, having collected the vessels due from the Rhegians, Locrians, and other allies, who were bound by the same conditions, he purified the fleet at Lacinium, and put forth into the open sea. On his arrival at Corcyra, which was the first Grecian country where he touched, inquiring about the state of the war, (for the commotions in Greece were not yet entirely composed,) and about the Roman fleet, he was told, that the consul and the king were posted at the pass of Thermopylae, and that the fleet lay at Piræus: on which, judging expedition necessary on every account, he sailed directly forward to Peloponnesus. Having on his passage ravaged Samos and Zacynthus, because they favoured the party of the Ætolians, he bent his course to Malea; and, meeting very favourable weather, arrived in a few days at Piræus, where he joined the old fleet. At Scyllæum he was met by king Eumenes, with three ships, who had long hesitated at Ægina whether he should go home to defend his own kingdom, on hearing that Antiochus was preparing both marine and land forces at Ephesus; or whether he should unite himself inseparably to the Romans, on whose destiny his own depended. Aulus Atilius, having delivered to

his successor twenty-five decked ships, left Piræus, and sailed for Rome. Livius, with eighty-one beaked ships, besides many others of inferior rates, some of which were open and furnished with beaks, others without beaks, fit for advice-boats, crossed over to Delos.

XLIII. At this time, the consul Acilius was engaged in the siege of Naupactum. Livius was detained several days at Delos by contrary winds, for that tract among the Cyclades, which are separated in some places by larger straits, in others by smaller, is remarkably subject to storms. Polyxenidas, receiving intelligence from his scout-ships, which he had stationed in various places, that the Roman fleet lay at Delos, sent off an express to the king, who, quitting the business in which he was employed in Hellespontus, and taking with him all the ships of war, returned to Ephesus with all possible speed, and instantly called a council to determine whether he should risk an engagement at sea. Polyxenidas affirmed, that "it was particularly requisite so to do, before the fleet of Eumenes and the Rhodian ships should join the Romans; in which case, even, they would scarcely be inferior in number, and in every other particular would have a great superiority, by reason of the agility of their vessels, and a variety of favourable circumstances. For the Roman ships being unskilfully constructed, were slow in their motions; and, besides that, as they were coming to an enemy's coast, they would be heavily laden with provisions; whereas their own, leaving none but friends in all the countries round, would have nothing on board but men and arms. They would, also, have a great advantage in their knowledge of the sea, of the adjacent lands, and of the winds; of all which the Romans, being ignorant, would find themselves much distressed." Every one was convinced by his arguments, especially as the same person who gave the advice, was also to carry it into execution. Two days only were passed in making preparations; and on the third, setting sail with a hundred ships, of which seventy had decks, and the rest were open, but all of the smaller rates, they steered their course to Phocæa. The king, as he did not intend to be present in the naval combat, on hearing that the Roman fleet was approaching, withdrew to Magnesia, near Sipylus, to collect his land-forces, while his ships proceeded to Cyseus, a port of Erythræa, where it was sup-



posed they might with more convenience wait for the enemy. The Romans, as soon as the north wind, which had held for several days, ceased, sailed from Delos to Phanaë, a port in Chios, opposite the *Ægæan* sea. They afterwards brought round the fleet to the city of Chios, and having taken in provisions there, sailed over to Phocæa. Eumenes, who had gone to join his fleet at Elæa, returned a few days after, with twenty-four decked ships, and a greater number of open ones, to Phocæa, where he found the Romans, who were fitting and preparing themselves for a sea-fight. The fleet, which now consisted of a hundred and five decked ships, and about fifty open ones, on setting sail, was for some time driven forcibly towards the land, by a north wind blowing across its course. The ships were thereby obliged to go, for the most part singly, one after another, in a thin line; afterwards, when the violence of the wind abated, they endeavoured to stretch over to the harbour of Corycus, beyond Cysus.

XLIV. When Polyxenidas heard that the enemy were approaching, rejoiced at an opportunity of engaging them, he drew out the left squadron towards the open sea, at the same time ordering the commanders of the ships to extend the right division towards the land; and then advanced to the fight, with his fleet in a regular line of battle a-head. The Roman commander, on seeing this, furl'd his sails, lowered his masts, and, at the same time adjusting his rigging, waited for the ships which were coming up. There were now about thirty in the line; and in order that his left squadron might form a front in like direction, he hoisted his top-sails, and stretched out into the deep, ordering the others to push forward, between him and the land, against the right squadron of the enemy. Eumenes brought up the rear; who, as soon as he saw the bustle of taking down the rigging begin, likewise led on his division with all possible speed. All their ships were by this time in sight; two Carthaginians, however, which advanced before the Romans, were attacked by three belonging to the king. As the numbers were unequal, two of the king's ships fell upon one, and, in the first place, swept away the oars from both its sides; the armed mariners then boarded, and killing some of the crew, and driving others into the sea, took the ship. The one which had engaged in an equal contest, on seeing her

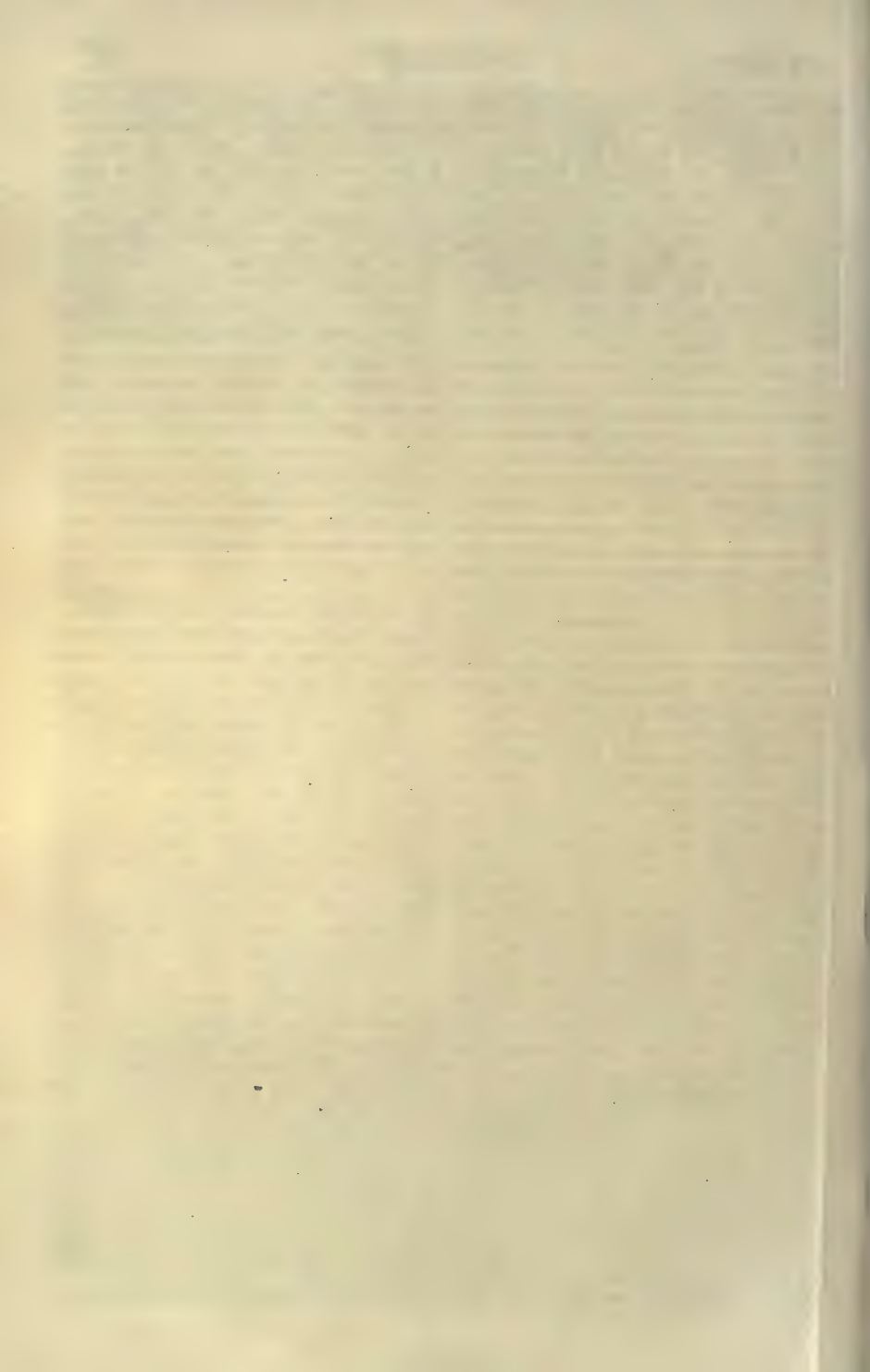
companion taken, lest she should be surrounded by the three, fled back to the fleet. Livius, fired with indignation, bore down against the enemy. The two which had overpowered the Carthaginian ship, in hopes of the same success against this one, advanced to the attack, on which he ordered the rowers on both sides to plunge their oars in the water, in order to hold the ship steady, and to throw grappling-irons into the enemy's vessels as they came up. Having, by these means, rendered the business something like a fight on land, he desired his men to act with the courage of Romans, and to consider that their adversaries were the slaves of a king. Accordingly, this single ship now defeated and captured the two, with more ease than the two had before taken one. By this time the entire fleets were engaged and intermixed with each other. Eumenes, who had come up last, and after the battle was begun, when he saw the left squadron of the enemy thrown into disorder by Livius, directed his own attack against their right, where the contest was yet equal.

XLV. In a short time, the left squadron began to fly: for Polyxenidas, perceiving that he was evidently overmatched with respect to the bravery of the men, hoisted his top-sails, and got away; and, quickly after, those who were engaged with Eumenes near the land did the same. The Romans and Eumenes pursued with much perseverance, as long as the rowers were able to hold out, and they had any prospect of annoying the rear of the enemy: but, finding that the latter, by reason of the lightness and fleetness of their ships, baffled every effort that could be made by theirs, loaded as they were with provisions, they at length desisted, having taken thirteen ships together with the soldiers and rowers, and sunk ten. Of the Roman fleet, only the one Carthaginian ship, which, at the beginning of the action, had been attacked by two, was lost. Polyxenidas continued his flight, until he got into the harbour of Ephesus. The Romans staid, during the remainder of that day, in the port from which the king's fleet had sailed out, and, on the day following, proceeded in the pursuit. About midway, they were met by twenty-five Rhodian decked ships, commanded by Pausistratus; and, in conjunction with these, followed the runaways to Ephesus, where they stood for some time, in order of battle, before the mouth of the harbour. Having thus extorted

from the enemy a full confession of their being defeated, the Romans sent home the Rhodians and Eumenes, and steered their course to Chios. When they had passed Phœnicus, a port of Erythræa, they cast anchor for the night; and, proceeding next day to the island, came up to the city itself. After halting here a few days, for the purpose chiefly of refreshing the rowers, they sailed over to Phocæa. Here they left four quinqueremes for the defence of the city, while the rest of the fleet

proceeded to Canæ, where, as the winter now approached, the ships were hauled on shore, and surrounded with a trench and rampart. At the close of the year, the elections were held at Rome, in which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius, from whom all men expected the conclusion of the war with Antiochus. Next day were elected prætors, Marcus Tuccius, Lucius Aurunculeius, Cneius Fulvius, Lucius Æmilius, Publius Junius, and Caius Atinius Labeo.





THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.

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BOOK XXXVII.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, consul, accompanied by his brother, Publius Scipio Africanus, sent into Asia against Antiochus; the first Roman who ever led an army thither. Æmilius Regillus, aided by the Rhodians, defeats Antiochus's fleet at Myonnesus. The son of Scipio Africanus, taken prisoner by Antiochus, is sent back to his father. Marcus Acilius Glabrio, having driven Antiochus out of Greece, triumphs over him and the Ætolians. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, assisted by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, vanquishes Antiochus; grants him peace, on condition of his evacuating all the countries on the hither side of Mount Taurus. Lands and cities given to Eumenes, to requite his assistance in the conquest of Antiochus; also to the Rhodians on the like account. A new colony established, called the Bononian. Æmilius Regillus triumphs on account of his naval victory. Lucius Cornelius Scipio obtains the surname of Asiaticus.

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I. ON the commencement of the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius, [Y. R. 562. B. C. 190.] the first business introduced in the senate, after the concerns of religion, was that of the Ætolians, whose ambassadors were importunate to have it brought on, because the period of the truce granted them was short; and they were seconded by Titus Quintius, who had, by this time, come home from Greece to Rome. The Ætolians, as they rested their hopes on the compassion of the senate, more than on the merits of their cause, acted the parts of suppliants, humbly representing their former services, as a counterbalance to their late misbehaviour. While present, they were teased by all the senators with questions tending to draw from them a confession of guilt rather than information; and, after they were ordered to withdraw, they became the subject of a warm dispute. Resentment had more power in their case than compassion; for the senate were incensed against them not merely as enemies, but as an uncivilized and unsocial race. After a debate, which lasted several days, it was at last resolved, that peace should neither be granted nor refused. The option was given them of two conditions; either to submit themselves absolutely to the

disposal of the senate, or to pay one thousand talents,<sup>1</sup> and have no other allies or enemies than those who were such to Rome. They wished to have the extent of that power defined, which the senate was to exercise over them, but received no positive answer. They were therefore dismissed, without having concluded any treaty of peace, and were ordered to quit the city that very day, and Italy within fifteen days. The next business proceeded on was, the appointing the provinces of the consuls. Both of these wished for Greece. Lælius had a powerful interest in the senate; and when an order was passed there, that the consuls should either cast lots for the provinces, or settle them between themselves, he observed, that they would act more judiciously in leaving that matter to the wisdom of the senators, than to the decision of lot. To this Scipio answered, that he would take advice how he ought to act. He consulted his brother only, who desired him to leave it, with confidence, to the senate: and then he answered his colleague that he would do as he was recommended. This mode of proceeding was either perfectly new; or, if there had been any precedent, it was of so old a date,



that all memory of it was lost : a warm debate was therefore expected, on its being proposed to the senate. But Publius Scipio Africanus offering, that "if they decreed that province to his brother, Lucius Scipio, he would go along with him, as his lieutenant-general," his proposal was received with universal approbation, and put an end to all dispute. The senate were well pleased to make the trial, whether king Antiochus should receive more effectual aid from the vanquished Hannibal, or the Roman consul and legions from his conqueror Africanus ; and they almost unanimously voted Greece to Scipio, and Italy to Lælius. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces : Lucius Aurunculeius obtained the city jurisdiction, Cneius Fulvius the foreign ; Lucius Æmilius Regillus, the fleet ; Publius Junius Brutus, Tuscany ; Marcus Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium ; and Caius Atinius, Sicily.

II. Orders were then issued, that the consul to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, should, in addition to the army which he was to receive from Manius Acilius, and which consisted of two legions, have a reinforcement of three thousand Roman foot, and one hundred horse ; and of the Latine confederates, five thousand foot, and two hundred horse : and it was farther ordered, that if, when he arrived in his province, he should judge it conducive to the public interest, he should be at liberty to carry over the army into Asia. To the other consul was decreed an army entirely new ; two Roman legions, and of the Latine confederates fifteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. Quintus Minucius was ordered to remove his forces out of Liguria, (which province, according to his letters, was entirely reduced, the whole nation having submitted,) into the country of the Boians, and to give up the command to Publius Cornelius, proconsul. The two city legions, enlisted the year before, were brought home from the country taken from the Boians, and assigned to Marcus Tuccius, prætor, together with fifteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse of the Latine confederates, for the defence of Apulia and Bruttium. Aulus Cornelius, a prætor of the preceding year, who had the command of an army in Bruttium, received an order, that, if the consul judged it proper, he should transport his legions into Ætolia, and give them to Manius Acilius, provided the latter was inclined to remain there ; but if Acilius wished to come to

Rome, that then Aulus Cornelius should stay in Ætolia with that army. It was resolved that Caius Atinius Labeo should receive from Marcus Æmilius the province of Sicily, and the army there ; and should, if he deemed it proper, enlist in the province itself two thousand foot and one hundred horse to fill up deficiencies. Publius Junius Brutus was ordered to raise a new army for Tuscany, consisting of one Roman legion, and ten thousand Latine foot, and four hundred horse. Lucius Æmilius was ordered to receive from Marcus Junius, prætor of the former year, twenty ships of war, with their crews, and himself to enlist one thousand marines and two thousand foot soldiers, with which ships and soldiers he was to sail to Asia, and receive the command of the fleet from Caius Livius. The present governors of the two Spains, and of Sardinia, were continued in command, and ordered to keep the same armies. Sicily and Sardinia were, this year, assessed in two-tenths of their corn. All the corn from Sicily was ordered to be carried into Ætolia, to the army there ; of that to be collected from Sardinia, one half to Rome, and the other half into Ætolia, for the same use as the corn from Sicily.

III. It was judged proper, that, previous to the departure of the consuls for their provinces, the prodigies which had occurred should be expiated under the direction of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno Lucina, at Rome, was struck by lightning in such a manner, that the ceiling and the folding-doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, several parts of the wall, and a gate, were struck by lightning, and two men killed. It was clearly proved, that, at Nursia, in the midst of a calm, a tempest suddenly burst forth ; and there also two men of free condition were killed. The Tusculans reported, that a shower of earth fell in their country ; and the Reatines, that a mule brought forth young in theirs. Expiations were performed for all these, and the Latine festival was celebrated a second time, because the fleshmeat due to the Laurentians had not been given them. There was also a supplication made on account of those portents, the decemvirs giving directions from the books to which of the gods it should be performed. Ten free-born youths, and ten virgins, all of whom had their fathers and mothers living, were employed in that ceremony ; and the decemvirs sacrificed in the night young cattle not weaned from

the dam. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he left the city, erected an arch on the hill of the capitol, facing the road that leads up to the temple, adorned it with seven gilded statues, and two horses, and placed two marble cisterns in the front of the arch. About this time forty-three of the principal Ætolians, among whom were Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts, sent by Manius Acilius, and were thrown into the prison called *Lautumia*, or the quarry; the cohorts were ordered, by the consul Lucius Cornelius, to return to the army. Ambassadors came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, congratulating the Romans on their consul Manius Acilius having driven king Antiochus out of Greece, and advising that he should carry over his army into Asia. For "all places, not only in Asia, but also in Syria, were filled with consternation; and that the king and queen of Egypt would hold themselves in readiness to act as the senate should direct." Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and presents were ordered to be made to the ambassadors, four thousand *asses* to each.

IV. The consul Lucius Cornelius, having finished what was necessary to be done at Rome, gave public notice, in an assembly of the people, that the soldiers, whom himself had enlisted for supplying deficiencies, and those who were in Bruttium with Aulus Cornelius, prætor, should all meet him at Brundisium on the ides of July. He likewise appointed three lieutenants-general: Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius, and Caius Fabricius Luscinius; who were to bring together ships from all parts of the sea-coast to Brundisium; and now, every thing being ready, he set out from the city in his military robe of state. No less than five thousand volunteers of the Romans and allies, who had served out the legal term, under the command of Publius Africanus, attended Cornelius at his departure, and offered their services. Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded the fleet, set out likewise at the same time. Just at the time when the consul went to join the army during the celebration of the Apollinarian games, on the fifth of the ides of July, through the sky was serene, the light was obscured in the middle of the day by the moon passing over the

orb of the sun. Lucius Aurunculeius was commissioned by the senate to build thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, in consequence of a report prevailing, that Antiochus, since the engagement at sea, was fitting out a much larger fleet. When the Ætolians learned from their ambassadors, who returned from Rome, that there was no prospect of peace, notwithstanding that their whole sea-coast, opposite to Peloponnesus, was ravaged by the Achæans, yet, regarding the danger impending more than their losses, they seized on mount Corax, in order to shut up the pass against the Romans; for they had no doubt of their returning in the beginning of spring, and renewing the siege of Naupactum. Acilius, who knew that this was expected, judged it more advisable to undertake an enterprise that was not foreseen, and to lay siege to Lamia; for the garrison had been reduced by Philip almost to a state of desperation; and at present, from the very circumstance of their not apprehending any such attempt, they might probably be surprised and overpowered. Marching from Elatia, he formed his first encampment in the enemy's country, on the banks of the river Sperchius, and decamping thence in the night, he at break of day made a general assault on the town.

V. In consequence of the unexpectedness of the affair, great consternation and tumult ensued; yet the besieged fought with greater resolution than any one could suppose them capable of under such a sudden alarm, and the women brought weapons of every kind, and stones, to the walls; so that, although scaling ladders were raised in various places, yet, for that day, they maintained the defence of the place. About mid-day Acilius gave the signal of retreat, and drew off his men to their camp. After their strength was repaired by food and rest, before he dismissed the meeting in the Prætorium, he gave them notice, "to be ready, under arms, before day; and that they were not to return to their tents until the city should be taken." Next day, at the same hour as before, he began the assault again, in a greater number of places; and as not only the strength, but also the weapons, and above all, the courage of the garrison began to fail, he made himself master of the town in the space of a few hours. One-half of the spoil found there he sold: the other he gave to the soldiers; and then he held a council, to determine what he should next undertake. No one approved of



going against Naupactum, while the pass at Corax was occupied by the Ætolians. But not to lie in idleness, or, by his supineness, to allow the Ætolians that state of peace which they could not obtain from the senate, Acilius resolved to besiege Amphissa; and he led his army thither from Heraclea by Æta. Having encamped under the walls, he proceeded against the place, not by general assault, as at Lamia, but by regular approaches. The ram was brought up to the walls in many places at once; and though these were shaken by it, yet the townsmen never endeavoured to provide or contrive any sort of defence against attacks of that kind; but placing all their hopes in their arms and daring courage, by frequent sallies they much annoyed not only the advanced guards of the Romans, but even those who were employed at the works and machines.

VI. There were now many breaches made, when the consul received intelligence that his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia, was coming at the head of thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. He had lately arrived at the Malian bay, and sent a message to Hypata, demanding the surrender of the city; but the inhabitants answered, that they would do nothing without a decree of the general council of Ætolia: on which, unwilling to be detained in the siege of Hypata, while that of Amphissa was still unfinished, he sent on his brother Africanus before him, and marched himself towards Amphissa. A little before their arrival, the townspeople abandoned the city, for it was now, for the most part, stripped of its walls; and they, one and all, armed and unarmed, retired into the citadel, which they deemed an impregnable fortress. The consul pitched his camp at the distance of about six miles from the town; and thither came ambassadors from the Athenians, addressing, first, Publius Scipio, who preceded the main body as before mentioned, and afterwards the consul, with earnest supplications in favour of the Ætolians. They received a milder answer from Africanus, who wished for an honourable pretext for relinquishing the Ætolian war, than they had from Rome. He was desirous of directing his views towards Asia and king Antiochus, and had recommended to the Athenians to persuade, not the Romans only, but the Ætolians likewise, to prefer peace to war. Pursuant to the advice of the Athenians, a numerous embassy of the Æto-

lians came speedily from Hypata, and the discourse of Africanus, whom they addressed first, augmented their hopes of peace; for he mentioned, that "many nations and states, first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, had surrendered themselves to him; and that, in all of them, he had left greater monuments of clemency and kindness than of military prowess." The business seemed to be concluded, when the consul, on being applied to, repeated the very same answer with which they had been so much dismayed by the senate. The Ætolians, thunderstruck at this, as if they had never heard it before, (for they now perceived that no good was likely to arise, either from the Athenian embassy, or the favourable reply of Africanus,) observed that they wished to consult their countrymen on the affair.

VII. They then returned to Hypata, where the council was utterly at a loss what course to take; for they had no means of paying the thousand talents: and, in case of an unconditional submission, they dreaded being subjected to bodily severities. They, therefore, ordered the same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus, and to request, that if they meant, in reality, to grant them peace, and not merely to amuse them with a prospect of it, frustrating the hopes of the wretched, they would either remit some part of the money required to be paid, or order that their persons might be exempted in the terms of the surrender. The consul could not be prevailed on to make any change; and that embassy, also, was dismissed without effect. The Athenian ambassadors accompanied them, with Echedemus, their principal. These,—while the Ætolians, after so many repulses, were sunk into total dejection, and deplored with unavailing lamentations, the hard fate of their nation,—revived once more their hopes, by advising them to request a suspension of arms for six months, in order that they might send an embassy to Rome. He urged, that "the delay could add nothing to their present calamities, which were already severe in the extreme; but that, if time were gained, many fortuitous events might occur, and lighten the distresses they then laboured under." Agreeably to this advice of Echedemus, the same ambassadors were sent again; who, making their first application to Publius Scipio, obtained, through him, from the consul, a suspension of arms for the time they desired. The siege

of Amphissa was then raised; Marcus Acilius gave up the command of the army to the consul, and left the province; and the consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly, with intention to pass through Macedonia and Thrace into Asia. Here Africanus said to his brother, Lucius Scipio, "I agree with you in approving the rout, which you have chosen. But the whole matter rests on the inclinations of Philip; for if he is faithful to our government, he will afford us a passage, and provisions and every thing requisite to the maintenance and convenience of an army on a long march. But if he should fail in this, you will find no safety in any part of Thrace. In my opinion, therefore, the king's disposition ought in the first place to be discovered; and the best method to discover it, will be, to let the person sent, approach him suddenly, and see how he is employed when not expecting any such visit." They chose, for this purpose, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a young man, remarkable for his activity beyond all the youth of the time; by means of relays of horses, and travelling with almost incredible expedition, he made good the journey from Amphissa, whence he was despatched, to Pella, on the third day. The king was sitting at a banquet, and had drank freely of wine; which circumstance, of his indulging such relaxation of mind, removed all suspicion of any intention of changing his measures. His guest was, for the present, kindly entertained; and next day, he saw plenty of provisions, already prepared for the army, bridges made over rivers, and roads formed where the ground was difficult to be passed. As he was bringing back this intelligence, with the same speed which he had used in coming, he met the consul at Thaumaci. The army, in high spirits at finding their hopes thus confirmed and augmented, advanced into Macedonia, where every thing was ready for their accommodation. On their arrival, the king received them with royal magnificence, and accompanied them on their march. He showed a great deal of pleasantry and good humour, which recommended him much to Africanus, who, with all the extraordinary endowments that he possessed, was not averse from mirth when confined within the bounds of decency. Philip then escorted them, not only through Macedonia, but through Thrace also; furnishing them with every accommodation, until they arrived at the Hellespont.

VIII. Antiochus, after the sea-fight at Corycus, being left at liberty during the whole winter, to carry on his preparations by land and water, employed his principal attention on the refitting of his ships, lest he should be entirely excluded from the sea. He reflected that he had been defeated, when the Rhodian fleet was absent; if this fleet were present in an engagement, (and the Rhodians would certainly take care not to be dilatory a second time,) he required a vast number of ships to set him on an equality with the fleet of the enemy, considering the strength and size of their vessels." For this reason, he sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring in the Phœnician navy, and gave orders to Polyxenidas, that, the more unsuccessful he had been before, the more diligence he should now exert, in repairing the ships which he had, and procuring others. He himself passed the winter in Phrygia, calling in auxiliaries from every quarter. He even sent for that purpose to Gallogræcia. The people of that country were then more warlike than at present, retaining the Gallic spirit, as the generation which had emigrated thither was not yet extinct. He left his son Seleucus with an army in Æolia, to keep in obedience the maritime cities, which were solicited to revolt, on one side, by Eumenes, from Pergamum; on the other, by the Romans from Phocæa and Erythræ. The Roman fleet, as mentioned before, wintered at Canæ; thither, about the middle of the season, came king Eumenes, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse. He affirmed, that vast quantities of spoil might be brought off from the enemy's country round Thyatira; and, by his persuasions, prevailed on Livius to send with him five thousand soldiers. This party within a few days carried off an immense booty.

IX. Meanwhile, a sedition broke out at Phocæa, in consequence of the endeavours used by some, to bring over the multitude to the party of Antiochus. The people were distressed by the ships wintering there: they were distressed by a tax imposed, for they were ordered to furnish five hundred gowns and five hundred tunics; and they were further distressed by a scarcity of corn, which obliged the Roman garrison and ships to leave the place. The faction, which laboured in their assemblies to draw the commonalty over to Antiochus, was now freed from all apprehension: the senate, and higher ranks, were



disposed to adhere to the alliance with Rome, but the advisers of a revolt had greater influence with the multitude. The Rhodians, sensible of having been too tardy the year before, were therefore the earlier in their proceedings now; and, at the vernal equinox, they sent the same Pausistratus, commander of the fleet, with thirty-six ships. At this time, Livius, with thirty ships, and seven quadriremes, which king Eumenes had brought with him, was on his passage from Canæ to the Hellespont, in order to prepare every thing necessary for the transportation of the army, which he expected to come by land. He first put into the harbour called the Achæan; whence going up to Ilium, he offered sacrifice to Minerva, and gave a kind reception to several embassies from the states in the neighbourhood: from Elæus, Dardanus, and Rhetæum, who came to surrender their respective states to him. Then he sailed to the entrance of the Hellespont; and, leaving ten ships stationed opposite to Abydos, he crossed over to Europe with the rest of the fleet, to attack Sestos. As the troops were advancing up to the walls, they were met, first, by a number of the priests of Cybele,<sup>1</sup> using extravagant gestures, and clad in the dress worn on their solemn processions. These said, that, "by order of the Mother of the gods, they, the immediate servants of the goddess, were come to pray the Roman commander to spare the walls and the city." No violence was offered to any of them; and, presently, the whole senate, and the magistrates, came out to surrender the place. The fleet then sailed over to Abydos; where, on sounding the temper of the inhabitants, in conferences, and finding no disposition to peaceful measures they prepared themselves for a siege.

X. While these transactions passed at the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the commander of the king's fleet, an exile from Rhodes, having heard that the ships of his countrymen had sailed from home, and that Pausistratus, who commanded them, had, in a public speech, uttered several haughty and contemptuous expressions respecting him, conceived the most violent jealousy against him in particular, and studied nothing else, night or day, but how, by deeds, to refute his arrogant words. He sent a person, who was known to him, to say, that,

"if allowed, he was ready to perform an eminent service to Pausistratus, and to his native country: and that Pausistratus might restore him to the same." Pausistratus, in surprise, asked by what means such things could be effected; and, at the other's request, pledged his faith, that he would either concur in the execution of the design, or bury it in silence. The emissary then told him, that "Polyxenidas would deliver into his hands, either the whole of the king's fleet, or the greater part of it; and that in return for so great a service, he stipulated for nothing more, than being allowed to return to his native country." The proposal was of such magnitude, as made him neither implicitly credit, nor at once reject it. He sailed to Panormus, in the Samian territory, and halted there, in order to examine thoroughly the business proposed to him. Several messengers passed between them, nor was Pausistratus satisfied of the other's sincerity, until, in the presence of his messenger, Polyxenidas wrote, with his own hand, an engagement that he would perform all that he had promised, and sent the tablets sealed with his own seal. By such a pledge as this, he thought he had acquired a kind of absolute dominion over the plotter; for that "he who lived under a king would never act so absurdly, as to give evidence of guilt against himself, attested by his own signature." The method of conducting the pretended plot was then settled: Polyxenidas said, that "he would neglect every kind of preparation; that he would not keep any considerable numbers on board, either of rowers or mariners; that he would haul up, on land, some of the ships, under pretence of refitting them; would send away others into the neighbouring ports, and keep a few at sea before the harbour of Ephesus; which, if circumstances made it necessary to come out, he would expose to a battle." The negligence which Pausistratus was told Polyxenidas would use in his fleet, he himself immediately practised. Part of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus to bring provisions, another part to the city of Samos, while he himself waited at Panormus, that he might be ready to make an attack, when he should receive the signal from the traitor. Polyxenidas continued to encourage his mistake by counterfeiting neglect; hauled up some ships, and, as if he intended to haul up others, put the docks in repair; he did not call the rowers from their winter-quarters

<sup>1</sup> Called Gelli, and Corybantes.

to Ephesus, but assembled them secretly at Magnesia.

XI. It happened, that one of Antiochus's soldiers, having come to Samos on some business of his own, was seized as a spy, and brought to Panormus to Pausistratus. This man, moved either by fear or treachery towards his countrymen, on being asked, what was doing at Ephesus, laid open every particular: that the fleet lay in harbour, fully equipped, and ready for sea; that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia; that very few of the ships had been hauled on land; that the docks were shut, and that never was greater diligence employed in conducting the business of the fleet. But the mind of Pausistratus was so prepossessed, by misplaced confidence, and vain hopes, that he gave no credit to this account. Polyxenidas, having fully adjusted all his measures, called in the rowers from Magnesia, launched hastily the ships that were in dock, and letting the next day pass, not so much because he had any preparations to make, as because he was unwilling that the fleet should be seen going to sea, set sail after sun-set, with seventy decked ships, but the wind being contrary, put into the harbour of Pygelia, before day appeared. After lying by there, during the day, for the same reason as before, he passed over, in the night, to the nearest part of the Samian territory. From this place, he detached one Nicander, an archpirate, at the head of a squadron of five decked ships, with orders to sail to Palinurus, and thence to lead his armed men, by the shortest road, through the fields towards Panormus, and so to come behind the enemy. In the meantime, himself, with his fleet in two divisions, in order that it might command the mouth of the harbour on both sides, proceeded to Panormus. This event, so utterly unexpected, at first, confounded Pausistratus; but, being an experienced warrior, he quickly recollected his spirits, and judging that it would be easier to repel the enemy from the land than on sea, he marched his armed forces, in two bodies, to the promontories, which, by their heads projecting into the deep, formed the harbour; for he thought that he should be able, with ease, to effect his purpose by the discharges of weapons from both sides. The sight of Nicander on the land quite disconcerted this design; he, therefore, suddenly changed his plan, and ordered all to go on board the ships. This produced the greatest dismay and con-

fusion among both soldiers and sailors, who seeing themselves inclosed by the enemy, on land and sea at once, hurried on board like men running away. The only method of saving the fleet, that occurred to Pausistratus, was, to force through the narrow entrance of the port, and push out into the open sea. As soon, therefore, as he saw his men embarked, ordering the rest to follow, he himself led the way, and, with the utmost exertions of his oars, pressed to the mouth of the harbour. Just as his ship was clearing the entrance, Polyxenidas, with three quinqueremes, surrounded it. The vessel, shattered by their beaks, sunk; the crew were overwhelmed with weapons, and, among them Pausistratus, fighting gallantly, was slain. Of the rest of the ships, some were taken outside of the harbour, some within, and others by Nicander, while they were putting off from the shore. Only five Rhodian, and two Coan ships, effected an escape; making a passage for themselves through the thick of the enemy, by the terror of blazing flames; for they carried before them, on two poles projecting from their prows, a great quantity of fire contained in iron vessels. Some Erythræan triremes, which were coming to their assistance, met the Rhodian ships flying, not far from Samos, and therefore steered away to the Hellespont to join the Romans. About the same time, Seleucus got possession of Phocæa, which was betrayed by the guards admitting him by one of the gates, Cyme, with the other cities on that coast, were induced by their fears to join him.

XII. During these transactions in Ætolia, Abydos endured a siege of several days, a garrison of the king's troops defending the walls; but then, all growing weary, Philotas himself, the commander of the garrison, giving his permission, the magistrates entered into a treaty with Livius, about the terms of a capitulation. The business was protracted for some time, as they could not agree whether the king's troops should march out with their arms, or without them. While this negotiation was depending, news arrived of the defeat of the Rhodians; in consequence of which, the whole matter was dropped, when on the point of being concluded. For Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas, elated by his recent success in such an important enterprise, might surprise the fleet which lay at Canæ, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydos, and the guard of the Hellespont, and drew out the



ships that were in dock at Canæ. Eumenes came, at this time, to Elea. Livius, with the whole fleet, which had been joined by two triremes of Mitylenè, sailed to Phocæa; but, having learned that this place was held by a strong garrison of the king's troops, and that Seleucus was encamped at no great distance, he ravaged the sea-coast, hastily conveying on board the booty, which consisted chiefly of men, and waiting only until Eumenes, with his fleet, came up, bent his course to Samos. Among the Rhodians, the news of their misfortune excited, at first, both consternation, and the greatest grief, at the same time. For, besides the loss of their ships and soldiers, the whole flower of their youth had perished, many young men of distinction having embarked in the expedition, led, among other motives, principally, by the character of Pausistratus, which was deservedly very high among his countrymen. Afterwards, when they reflected that they had been circumvented by treachery, and that, of all men, a countryman of their own had been the perpetrator, their grief was converted into anger. Immediately they sent out ten ships, and, in a few days, ten more, giving the command of the whole to Eudamus; who, though far inferior to Pausistratus in warlike qualifications, would yet, they supposed, prove a more cautious leader, as he was not of so high a spirit. The Romans, and king Eumenes, put in with their fleet, first, at Erythræa; and, staying there one night, they, next day, reached Corycus, a promontory in Teios. They intended to pass over hence, to the nearest part of the Samian territory; but, not waiting for the rising of the sun, from which the pilots could learn the state of the weather, they exposed themselves to a storm, which deprived them of the power of directing their course. About the middle of the passage, the wind changed from north-east to north, and they found themselves tossed about on the sea, which rolled in very tremendous billows.

XIII. Polyxenidas, taking it for granted that the enemy would go to Samos to join the Rhodian fleet, set sail from Ephesus, and halted, first, at Myonnesus, from whence he crossed over to the island of Macris; in order that, when the enemy's fleet should sail by, he might attack, with advantage, either any ships that straggled from the main body, or the rear of the fleet itself. When he saw the same dispersed by the storm, he thought this a good

opportunity to attack it; but, in a little time, the wind increased, and raised the waves to such a height, that he could not possibly come up with them: he therefore steered to the island of Æthalia, that, from thence, he might, next day, fall on the ships, as they made for Samos, from the main sea. A small number of Roman vessels, just as it grew dark, got into a desert harbour on the Samian coast; the rest, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same harbour in the morning. Having learned here, from the country people, that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, they held a consultation whether they should attack them immediately, or wait for that of the Rhodians. Their determination was to postpone the attack, and they sailed away to Corycus, whence they had come. Polyxenidas, also, having kept his station for some time, without effecting any thing, sailed home to Ephesus. On this, the Roman ships, having the sea now clear of the enemy, sailed to Samos; where, a few days after, they were joined by the fleet from Rhodes; and, to show that they had only waited for this, they immediately sailed away to Ephesus, resolved either to fight the enemy, or, in case they should decline a battle, to extort from them a confession of fear, which would have the best effect on the minds of the states of Asia. They lay for some time opposite the entrance of the harbour, with the fleet formed in a line abreast, but none came out against them; on which they divided; and while one port lay at anchor, before the mouth of the harbour, the other landed a body of soldiers. These made depredations over a great extent of the country, and, as they were conveying to the ships the great booty which they had seized, Andronicus, a Macedonian, who was in garrison at Ephesus, sallied out on them, when they came near the walls, stripped them of the greatest part of their plunder, and drove them down to the shore to their ships. On the day following, the Romans laid an ambuscade about the middle of the way, and marched in a body to the city, in order to entice the Macedonians out of the gates; but these were deterred from coming out, and the Romans returned to their ships. As the enemy thus avoided fighting, either on land or sea, the fleet sailed back to Samos, whence it came. The prætor then detached two Rhodian triremes, and two belonging to the Italian allies, under the command of Epicrates, a Rhodian, to guard

the strait of Cephallenia, which was infested with piracies by Hybristas, a Lacedæmonian, at the head of a band of young Cephallenians, so that the passage was shut against the convoys from Italy.

XIV. Epicrates met, at Piræus, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who was on his way to take the command of the fleet. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he had only two quinqueremes, he carried back with him, to Asia, Epicrates and his four ships. He was attended also by some undecked vessels of the Athenians. He crossed the Ægean sea to Chios, to which place came, in the middle of the night, Timasicrates, a Rhodian, with two quadriremes from Samos, and, being presented to Æmilius, he told him, that he was despatched for the purpose of convoying him in safety, because the king's ships, by frequent excursions from the Hellespont, and Abydos, rendered the sea on that coast dangerous to transports. In his passage from Chios to Samos, Æmilius was met by two Rhodian quadriremes, sent by Livius to attend him, and by king Eumenes with two quinqueremes. On his arrival at Samos, as soon as he had received the command of the fleet from Livius, and duly performed the usual sacrifices, he called a council. Here, Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said, that "no one could give advice with more sincerity, than he, who recommended to another, what himself would do in the same case. That his intention had been, to have sailed with the whole fleet to Ephesus; to have taken with him ships of burden, heavily laden with ballast, and to have sunk them in the entrance of the harbour. That the passage might be shut up, in this manner, with little difficulty; because the mouth of it was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals. By this expedient, he would have cut off the enemy's communication with the sea, and rendered their fleet useless."

XV. This plan was not approved by any of the council. King Eumenes asked, "whether, when, by sinking the ships, they should have barred the pass to the sea, their own fleet would be at liberty to go away and succour their allies, and infuse terror into their enemies; or whether they might not, nevertheless, be obliged to block up the port, with their whole force? For, if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the hulks that were sunk, and open the port with less labour

than it had cost to shut it? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage would accrue from the harbour being closed? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe haven, and an opulent city, furnished, at the same time, with every thing from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease, while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard, without intermission; and might more properly be said to be, themselves, tied down, and hindered from doing any thing that ought to be done, than to keep the enemy shut up." Eudamus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather showed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than recommended any himself. Epicrates, the Rhodian, advised, "not to think of Ephesus for the present, but to send a part of the fleet to Lycia, and bring Patara, the metropolis of that nation, into a treaty of alliance. This would conduce to two important purposes: first, the Rhodians, by peace being established in the countries opposite to their island, would be at liberty to apply the whole of their strength to the war against Antiochus; and then, the fleet, which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia, would be blocked up, and prevented from joining Polyxenidas." This plan was the most approved of. Nevertheless, it was determined, that Regillus should sail, with the entire fleet, to the harbour of Ephesus, to strike terror into the enemy.

XVI. Caius Livius was sent to Lycia, with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two open vessels of Smyrna; being ordered to proceed, first, to Rhodes, and to communicate all his designs to the government there. The states, which he passed in his way, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cous, cheerfully obeyed his orders. When he came to Rhodes, he explained, to the persons in authority, the business on which he was sent, and, at the same time, desired their opinion. They all approved the design; and gave him three quadriremes, in addition to his squadron; and, with these he set sail for Patara. The wind being favourable at first, carried them very near the city, and they were in hopes of effecting something by surprise; but this suddenly veering, they had to labour in a very heavy sea. However, by dint of rowing, they reached the land, but there was no safe anchorage there, nor could they ride in the road, as the sea was rough, and night was coming on.



They therefore sailed past the city, to the port of Phellus, which was not quite two miles distant, and which afforded shelter from the violence of the waves, but was overlooked by high cliffs; and these the townspeople, joined by the king's troops in garrison there, immediately seized. Livius, though the landing-place was rugged and difficult, sent against them a party of the auxiliaries, composed of Issæans, and light infantry of Smyrna. These (as long as the business was carried on with missile weapons, and in slight attacks on the few who were there at first, and which was rather a skirmish than a battle) supported the contest sufficiently well. But greater numbers flocking thither from the city, and at length, the whole multitude poured out, which made Livius fear, not only that the auxiliaries might be cut off, but that the ships would be in danger lying so near the land. In consequence he led out to the engagement, not only the soldiers, but the marines, and even the crowd of rowers, armed with such weapons as each could find. After all, however, the fight was doubtful: and besides, a considerable number of soldiers, Lucius Apustius fell in this disorderly combat. At last, the Lycians were routed, and driven within their gates: and the Romans, victorious, but, not without loss of blood, returned to their ships. They then proceeded to the gulf of Telonessus, which washes Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other, where all thoughts of any farther attempt on Patara, were laid aside, the Rhodians were sent home, and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece, that he might have a meeting with the Scipios, who were at that time in Thessaly, and then take his passage to Italy.

XVII. Æmilius, although himself had been driven off from Ephesus by a storm, and had returned to Samos, without effecting any thing, yet hearing that the expedition to Lycia was dropped, and that Livius had gone to Italy, he thought the miscarriage of the attempt on Patara disgraceful, and accordingly resolved to go thither, and attack the city with his utmost force. Having sailed past Miletus, and the rest of the coast of the allies, he made a descent in the bay of Bargyllæ, with design to reduce Jassus. The city was held by a garrison of the king's troops, and the Romans made hostile depredations on all the country round. He then sent persons to confer with the magistrates, and principal inhabitants, and sound

their dispositions; but, being told by them, that nothing was in their power, he advanced to lay siege to the city. There were, with the Romans, some exiles from Jassus, who, in a body, earnestly importuned the Rhodians "not to suffer an unoffending city, which was both their neighbour, and connected with them in consanguinity, to be ruined. They themselves were banished for no other cause than their faithful attachment to the Romans; and those, who remained in the place, were held in subjection by the same force by which they had been expelled. The people of Jassus had all but one wish, to escape from a state of slavery under the king." The Rhodians, moved by their entreaties, and calling in the assistance of king Eumenes, represented, at the same time, their own connexions with them, and also the unfortunate condition of the city, which was kept in bondage by the king's garrison; and by these means prevailed on Æmilius to drop the siege. Departing hence, and coasting along the shore of Asia, where every other place was favourably disposed, he arrived at Loryma, a port opposite to Rhodes. Here, the military tribunes, in their meeting at the Prætorium, began, at first, in private conversation, to make observations, which afterwards reached the ears of Æmilius, that the fleet was going off to a distance from Ephesus, from the war which concerned themselves; so that the enemy, being left behind, without control, might safely make whatever attempts they pleased against so many states of the allies, in their neighbourhood. Æmilius felt the justness of these remarks, and calling the Rhodians to him, asked them, whether the whole fleet could lie in the harbour of Patara; to which they answered in the negative. Furnished with this excuse for laying aside the design, he sailed back to Samos.

XVIII. In the mean time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had kept his army in Ætolia, through the whole of the winter, employing it, partly in succouring his allies, partly in ravaging the lands of those whom he could not seduce to his side, resolved to make an incursion on the territory of king Eumenes, while he, at a great distance from home, was assisting the Romans and Rhodians, in attacks on the maritime parts of Lycia. He advanced, as an enemy, first, to Eleæ, but soon laid aside the design of besieging it; and, having wasted the country, in a hostile manner, he led his army to lay siege to

Pergamus, the capitol, and the principal fortress of the kingdom. Attalus, at first, placing advanced guards outside the city, and sending out parties of cavalry and light-infantry, acted an offensive, rather than a defensive part. But, after some time, having discovered, in slight skirmishes, that he was not a match for the enemy, in any respect, he drew back his men within the fortifications, and then the siege was formed. About this time, Antiochus leaving Apamea, with a vast army compounded of various nations, encamped, first, at Sardis, and afterwards took post at a small distance from the camp of Seleucus, at the head of the river Caicus. The most formidable part of his force was a body of four thousand Gauls, whom he had procured for hire: these, with a few others intermixed, he detached, with orders to waste utterly the country about Pergamus. When news of these transactions arrived at Samos, Eumenes being thus recalled by a war in his own dominions, sailed with his fleet to Elæa; and finding there, in readiness, some light troops of horse and foot, he took them for an escort, and proceeded directly to Pergamus, before the enemy could be apprised of his arrival, or take any steps to intercept him. The garrison now began again to sally out, and skirmish; but Eumenes evidently avoided risking a decisive engagement. In a few days after, the combined fleet of the Romans and Rhodians came from Samos to Elæa, to support the king. When Antiochus was informed that these had landed troops at Elæa, and that so many fleets were assembled in one harbour, and at the same time, heard that the consul, with his army, was already in Macedonia, and was making the necessary preparations for his passage over the Hellespont, he judged that now was the time for negotiation, before he should be pressed on sea and land at once; and with this view he chose for his camp a rising ground opposite to Elæa. Leaving there all the infantry, with his cavalry, amounting to six thousand, he went down into the plains, which lay under the walls of the town, having despatched a herald to Æmilius, to acquaint him that he wished to treat of peace.

XIX. Æmilius sent to Pergamus for Eumenes, and, desiring the Rhodians to be present, held a council on the message. The Rhodians were not averse from a pacification; but Eumenes affirmed that "they could not

treat of peace, at such a juncture; nor could a business of the kind be concluded. "For," said he, "how can we, shut up as we are, within our walls, and besieged, with honour accept terms of peace? Or who will deem such treaty valid, which we shall conclude, without the presence of the consul, without a vote of the senate, and without an order of the Roman people? For, let me ask, supposing the matter concluded by you, would you immediately go home to Italy, and carry away your fleet and army, or would you wait to know the consul's determination on the case; what the senate should decree, or the people order? It is plain then, that you must stay in Asia, that your troops must be led back to the quarters, where they wintered, and, without having any thing to do against the enemy, exhaust the allies by their consumption of provisions; and then, if it seem fit to those who have the power of determining, we must begin the whole war anew. Whereas, if the present vigorous proceedings suffer no obstruction from delay, we may, with the will of the gods, bring it to a conclusion before the winter." His opinion was approved; and the answer given to Antiochus was, that no treaty of peace could be admitted before the arrival of the consul. Antiochus, frustrated in this scheme for putting an end to the war, ravaged, first, the territory of Elæa, then that of Pergamus; and, leaving there his son Seleucus, marched in a hostile manner to Adramyttium, whence he proceeded to an opulent tract of country called the Plain of Thebes, a city celebrated in one of Homer's poems; and in no other place in Asia did the king's soldiers find such a plenty of booty. Æmilius and Eumenes also sailing round with the fleet, came to Adramyttium, to protect the city.

XX. It happened, just at this time, that ten thousand foot and one hundred horse, all under the command of Diophanes, arrived from Achaia at Elæa; who, on landing, were conducted, in the night, into Pergamus, by persons sent for the purpose, by Attalus. They were all veterans, well skilled in war; and their commander was a disciple of Philopemen's, the most consummate general among the Greeks in that age. They set apart two days to give rest to the men and horses, and, at the same time, to view the posts of the enemy, and to learn at what places, and what times, they advanced and retired. The king's troops gen-



erally approached to the foot of the hill on which the town stands ; so that their detachments could plunder all the country behind at will, for not a man ever sallied out, even to throw darts from a distance, against their guards. When the garrison once became so dispirited as to confine themselves within the walls, the king's troops conceived a great contempt of them, and thence fell into a carelessness on their part. The greater number did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled ; while few remained under arms, and in the ranks ; the rest slipping away, were scattered all over the plain, some diverting themselves with youthful sports and tricks, others eating in the shade, and some even stretched on the ground asleep. When Diophanes observed all these particulars, which the high situation of Pergamus enabled him to do fully, he ordered his men to take arms, and to be ready at a particular gate. He himself went to Attalus, and told him that he had a mind to try his fortune against the enemy's advanced guards. Attalus gave consent, but not without reluctance ; as he saw that one hundred horse must fight against three hundred, one thousand foot against four thousand. Diophanes then marched by the gate, and took post at a small distance from the enemy's guard, waiting his opportunity. On one side, the people in Pergamus thought that he was actuated by madness, rather than by courage ; and, on the other, the enemy, after observing his party for a short time, and seeing no movement among them, were not in any degree roused from their supineness, but even ridiculed the smallness of the number. Diophanes, for a long time, kept his men quiet, as if they had been brought out merely for the purpose of looking about them ; but as soon as he perceived that the enemy had quitted their ranks, ordering the infantry to follow as fast as they could, he himself, with his own troop, led the way at the head of the cavalry, and pushing on, with all possible speed, made a sudden charge on the enemy's party, while a shout was raised by every horseman and footman at once. Not the men only so attacked were terrified, but the horses also ; insomuch that they broke their collars, and caused great confusion and tumult throughout. A few of the horses, indeed, stood unaffrighted ; but even these the troopers could not easily saddle, or bridle, or mount ; for the Achæans struck much greater terror than would be supposed from so small a

party of horse. But now the infantry, in due order and preparation, assailed the enemy, dispersed through their own negligence, and almost half asleep ; and slaughter and flight ensued in every part of the plain. Diophanes pursued the runaways as far as he could with safety, and then returned into garrison, after acquiring very great honour to the Achæan nation ; for the whole affair had been seen from the walls of Pergamus, by the men, and even by the women.

XXI. Next day, the enemy's guard, in more regular and orderly condition, pitched their camp five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achæans marched out at nearly the same time as before, and to the same place. During many hours, both parties stood, attentively watching each other, in continual expectation of an immediate attack. At the approach of sunset, the usual time of their returning to the main camp, the king's troops, forming together in a body, began to retire. Diophanes did not stir until they were out of sight ; and then he rushed on their rear guard with the same vehemence as before, and again excited such dismay and confusion, that, though the hindmost were put to the sword, not one of them halted, or thought of fighting ; so that they were driven into their camp in confusion, and scarcely observing any order in their march. These daring exertions of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to decamp, and quit the territory of Pergamus. Antiochus, having learned that the Romans and Eumenes were come to protect Adramyttium, made no attempt on that city, but ravaged the country adjoining. He afterwards reduced Peræa, a colony of Mityleneans ; while Corylenus, Corylenus, Aphrodisias, and Crene, were all taken at the first assault. He then returned through Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus remained on the sea-coast, keeping the favourers of one party in fear, and protecting those of the other. The Roman fleet, with Eumenes and the Rhodians, retired, first to Mitylene, and then to Elæa, whence they had set out. On their way to Phocæa they put in at an island called Bachiæ, near the city of Phocæa ; and, though they had formerly spared the temples and statues, with which kind of decorations the island abounded in an extraordinary degree, yet they now pillaged them all, and then passed over to the city. They commenced the attack of it on three different sides, according to a plan concerted ; but soon perceiv-

ing that it could not be taken by scalade and assault, without regular works, and learning that a reinforcement of three thousand soldiers, sent by Antiochus, had got into the city, they immediately broke up the siege, and the fleet retired to the island, without having effected any thing more than the devastation of the enemy's country in the neighbourhood.

XXII. Here it was resolved that Eumenes should return home, and make every necessary preparation for the passage of the consul and his army over the Hellespont; and that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should sail back to Samos, and remain stationed there, to prevent any attempt being made by Polyxenidas. Accordingly the king returned to Elæa, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos. There, Marcus Æmilius, brother to the prætor, died. When his obsequies were performed, the Rhodians, on a report that a fleet was on its way from Syria, sailed away, with thirteen of their own ships, one Coan, and one Cnidian quinquere, to Rhodes; where they were to lie. Two days before the arrival of Eudamus, and the fleet, from Samos, another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Pamphilidas, had been sent out against the same Syrian fleet; and taking with them four ships, which had been left to protect Caria, they relieved Dædala, and several other fortresses of Peræa, which were besieged by the king's troops. It was determined that Eudamus should put to sea directly, and an addition of six undecked ships was made to his fleet. He accordingly set sail; and using all possible expedition, overtook the first squadron at a port called Magiste, from whence they proceeded in one body to Phaselis, resolving to wait there for the enemy.

XXIII. Phaselis stands on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia; it projects far into the sea, and is the first land seen by persons coming from Cilicia to Rhodes, and, from hence, ships can be seen at a great distance. For this reason, chiefly, this place was made choice of, that they might lie directly in the way of the enemy's fleet. But an event took place, which they did not foresee; for, in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the place, and of the season of the year, it being now the middle of summer, diseases began to spread with violence, particularly among the rowers. The fear of this pestilential malady made them quit the place; and, sailing by the Pamphylian bay,

they put into port at the river Eurymedon, where they learned, from the people of Aspendæ, that the enemy were then at Sida. The king's fleet had been the slower in its passage, by reason of the unfavourable wind, called the Etesian; that being the time when it blows periodically from the north-west. The Rhodians had thirty-two quadriremes, and four triremes. In the king's fleet were thirty-seven ships of the larger rates; among which were three of seven, and four of six banks of oars; and besides these ten triremes. Both fleets, at the dawn of the next day, moved out of port, as resolved to come to an immediate engagement; and, as soon as the Rhodians passed the promontory that stretches into the deep from Sida, they descried the enemy, and were descried by them. The left squadron of the king's fleet, which was on the outside next the main sea, was commanded by Hannibal, the right by Apollonius, one of the nobles, and they had their ships already formed in a line, a-head. The Rhodians approached in a long line, a-head also. Eudamus, in the commander's ship, led the van; Chariclitus brought up the rear; and Pamphilidas commanded the centre division. When Eudamus saw the enemy's line formed, and ready for battle, he pushed out towards the main, ordering the ships that followed to form, regularly, as they came up, in a line of battle. This caused some confusion, at first; for he had not stretched out to the main far enough to give room for all the ships to come into a line between him and the land, while himself was so impatient, as, with only five ships, to engage with Hannibal; the rest, having received orders to form their line, did not come up. The rear division had no room left for it next to the land; and, while they were in disorder, the fight was already begun, on the right against Hannibal.

XXIV. But the goodness of their ships, and the expertness of their men in nautical business, quickly freed the Rhodians from all embarrassment. They pushed out, hastily, towards the main; by which means each made room, next the land, for the one immediately behind; and when any made a stroke with its beak against a ship of the enemy, it either shattered its prow, or swept off its oars; or, passing by it, in the clear space between the vessels, made an attack on its stern. One of the king's seven banked ships, being sunk, with one stroke, by a Rhodian vessel of



much smaller size, dispirited his fleet in a very great degree; insomuch that their right squadron gave evident indications of an intention to fly. Hannibal, in the open sea, pressed Eudamus hard, by means chiefly of his superior number of ships; for, in every other respect, Eudamus had greatly the advantage; and he would have surrounded and overpowered him, had not the signal for a dispersed fleet collecting together again, been displayed from the commander's ship. On which, all the ships which had been victorious in the left squadron, hastened up to succour their friends. This made Hannibal himself, with all his division, betake themselves to flight; while the Rhodians could not pursue, because their rowers, being most of them sick, were, therefore, the sooner wearied. While lying to take refreshment, Eudamus, observing the enemy towing, by means of their open vessels, several damaged and crippled ships, with more than twenty that were going off unhurt, commanded silence from the castle of the commander's ship, and then called out, "Arise, and feast your eyes with an extraordinary sight." They all started up, and, perceiving the disorderly flight of the enemy, cried out, almost with one voice, that they ought to pursue. Eudamus's ship was bulged in many places; he, therefore, ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to pursue as far as they should think it safe. They, accordingly, pursued for a considerable time; but, seeing Hannibal make-in close to the land, fearing to be wind-bound on an enemy's coast, they steered back to Eudamus, and with difficulty towed to Phaselis a captured seven-banked ship, which had been damaged in the beginning of the engagement. They then sailed home to Rhodes, not so much exulting in their victory, as blaming one another for not, when it was in their power, having sunk or taken the whole of the enemy's fleet. Hannibal was so disheartened by the loss of this one battle, that, notwithstanding their departure, he durst not sail along the coast of Lycia, though he wished to join the king's main fleet, as soon as possible. That he might not effect this junction without opposition, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus, with twenty ships, to Patara, and the harbour of Megiste. They then ordered Eudamus, with seven of the largest vessels belonging to the fleet which he had commanded, to rejoin the Romans at Samos, and to endeavour, by every

argument, and by all his influence, to prevail on the Romans to besiege Patara.

XXV. Great was the joy felt by the Romans; first, on receiving the news of the victory, and, afterwards, on the arrival of the Rhodians: and there was abundant reason to believe, that, if these were freed from care, they would render the seas in that part of the world safe. But, as Antiochus had marched out of Sardis, they could not allow them to quit the guard of Ionia and Æolia, lest the maritime cities should be crushed by his arms. However, they sent Pamphilidas, with four decked ships, to join the fleet which was at Patara. Antiochus not only collected aids from the circumjacent states, but, also, sent ambassadors to Prusias, king of Bithynia, with a letter in which he represented, in strong colours, the evil designs of the Romans in coming into Asia. "Their intentions were," he said, "to abolish all kingly governments; so that there should be no empire in any part of the world. They had already reduced Philip and Nabis; and they were now falling on him. Thus the conflagration would spread, without interruption, from one to another, as each lay nearest to the one last ruined, until it enveloped them all. From him there was but one step to Bithynia, now that Eumenes had submitted to voluntary servitude." This letter made a strong impression on Prusias; but he was convinced of such a suspicion being groundless, by a letter from the consul, Scipio; and still more so, by one from his brother Africanus, who, besides urging the invariable practice of the Roman people, of augmenting, by every honourable addition, the grandeur of kings in alliance with them, demonstrated, by instances taken from his own family, that it was the interest of Prusias to court their friendship. "The petty chieftains in Spain," he said, "and who had been received into alliance, he had left kings. Masinissa he had not only re-established in his father's kingdom, but had put him in possession of that of Syphax, by whom he had been formerly dethroned: so that he was, at the present, not only by far the most powerful of all the kings in Africa, but equal, both in dignity and strength, to any monarch in any part of the world. Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quintius; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms. Philip even had the tri-

bute remitted to him last year, and his son, who was a hostage, restored. Through the indulgence of the Roman commanders, he had also got possession of several states beyond the boundaries of Macedonia. As to Nabis, he might have remained in the same honourable rank, had not, first, his own madness, and, afterwards, the treachery of the *Ætolians*, brought him to ruin." But what contributed, more than all, to fix the king's resolution, was, that *Caius Livius*, who had commanded the fleet as prætor, came to him ambassador from Rome. *Livius* showed him how much better reason the Romans had to expect success than *Antiochus*; and how much more scrupulously and constantly, they would maintain a friendship once formed.

XXVI. *Antiochus*, having lost all prospect of an alliance with *Prusias*, went from *Sardis* to *Ephesus*, to review the fleet which was fitted out, and lay there ready, for several months past; to which he now gave attention, rather because he saw it impossible, with his land forces, to make any stand against the Roman army and the two *Scipios*, its commanders, than that his naval force, by itself, had ever been successful, in any trial that he had made of it, or afforded at this juncture any great or well-grounded expectation. Yet there were at the time some circumstances which flattered his hopes; for he had heard, that a large portion of the *Rhodian* fleet was at *Patara*, and that king *Eumenes* had gone to the *Hellespont*, with all his ships, to meet the consul. Besides,—the destruction of the *Rhodian* fleet at *Samos*, under circumstances in which it had been artfully entangled, helped to inspire some degree of confidence. Buoyed up by these considerations, he sent *Polyxenidas*, with orders to try, at all events, the fortune of a naval engagement; while he himself marched his land forces to *Notium*. This town, which belongs to *Colophon*, stands close to the sea, at the distance of about two miles from *Old Colophon*. He wished to get this city into his power, because it was so near to *Ephesus* that nothing could be done there, on sea or land, that was not open to the view of the *Colophonians*, and, through them, instantly known to the Romans; and he had no doubt that the latter, on hearing of the siege, would bring their fleet from *Samos* to the relief of an ally, which would give *Polyxenidas* an opportunity of coming to action. He therefore laid regu-

lar siege to the city, making his approaches at the same time on the two sides next the sea; in both places advancing his engines and mounds to the wall, and bringing up the rams under covered galleries. The *Colophonians*, terrified at the dangers threatening them, sent envoys to *Lucius Æmilius*, at *Samos*, imploring the protection of the prætor and people of Rome. *Æmilius*, thinking nothing more improbable than that *Polyxenidas*, whom he had twice challenged, in vain, to fight, should ever offer him battle, was, for some time past, uneasy at lying so long inactive at *Samos*; and he considered it as dishonourable, that the fleet of *Eumenes* should assist the consul in conveying the legions into *Asia*, while himself should be confined to one particular spot, and assisting *Colophon* under a siege, without knowing what would be the issue. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian*, (who had before prevailed upon him to stay at *Samos*, when he wished to go to the *Hellespont*;) with all the other offices, pressed him to comply, representing "how much more eligible it would be, either to relieve confederates from a siege, or to vanquish that fleet which he had vanquished before; in a word, to drive the enemy entirely away, than to abandon allies to destruction, leave *Antiochus* master of *Asia*, by sea and land, and, deserting that share of the war which properly belonged to him, to sail for the *Hellespont*, when the fleet of *Eumenes* was sufficient for that station."

XXVII. They, accordingly, set sail from *Samos* in quest of provisions, their stock being consumed, with an intention to pass over to *Chios*. *Samos* served as a granary to the Romans, and thither all the storeships, sent from Rome, directed their course. When they had sailed round from the city, to the back of the island, which looks northward towards *Chios* and *Erythræ*, and were preparing to cross over, the prætor received a letter informing him, that a vast quantity of corn had arrived at *Chios*, from *Italy*; but that the vessels, laden with wine, were detained by storms. At the same time accounts were received, that the people of *Teos* had furnished large supplies of provisions to the king's fleet, and had promised five thousand vessels of wine. On this the prætor immediately changed his course, and steered away to *Teos*, resolved either to make use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the inhabitants, or to treat them as foes. As the ships were making up to the



land, about fifteen vessels appeared in sight near Myonnesus. The prætor, at first, thought that these belonged to the king's fleet, and sailed in pursuit of them; but it appeared afterwards, that they were a squadron of pirates. They had ravaged the seacoast of Chios, and were returning with booty of every kind, when, on seeing the fleet approaching from the main sea, they betook themselves to flight. They had much the advantage, both in point of swiftness, as being lighter, and constructed for the purpose, and also in being nearer the land; so that before Æmilius could overtake them, they made their escape to Myonnesus, while he, unacquainted with the place, followed in expectation of forcing their ships out of the harbour. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It consists of a hill rising from a pretty large base to a sharp top, in shape of an obelisk. From the land, the access to it is by a narrow path; towards the sea it is terminated by cliffs undermined by the waves, so that in some places, the superimpending rocks project beyond the vessels that lie at anchor. The ships not daring to approach lest they should be exposed to the weapons of the pirates, who stood above on the cliffs, wasted the day to no purpose. At length, a little before nightfall, they gave over the attempt, and retired, and next day reached Teos. Here the prætor, after mooring in the port at the back of the city, called by the inhabitants Geræsticum, sent out the soldiers to ravage the adjacent ports.

XXVIII. The Teians, as these ravages passed under their eyes, sent deputies to the Roman commander, carrying fillets, and other badges of suppliants, who assured him, that their state was innocent of any hostile word or deed against the Romans. But he strongly charged them with "having assisted the enemy's fleet with provisions, and with having promised a supply of wine to Polyxenidas." He farther told them, that "if they would furnish the same supplies to the Roman fleet, he would recall his troops from plundering; otherwise, they should be treated as enemies." When the deputies carried back this distressing answer, the people were summoned to an assembly, by the magistrates, to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It happened that Polyxenidas, who had sailed with the king's fleet from Colophon, having heard that the Romans had left Samos and pursued the pirates to Myonnesus; that they were

ravaging the lands of the Teians, and that their fleet lay in the harbour of Geræsticum, cast anchor, just at this time, in a retired harbour of an island called Macris, opposite to Myonnesus. Lying so near, he easily discovered the motions of the enemy; and, at first, entertained strong hopes of vanquishing the Roman fleet here, in like manner as he had vanquished the Rhodian at Samos: by securing, with a proper force, both sides of the harbour's mouth. Nor was the place in its nature unlike to that at Samos: by the promontories advancing their points towards each other, the harbour is inclosed in such a manner, that two ships can scarcely go out together. Polyxenidas intended to seize this narrow pass in the night; and, while ten ships stood at each of the promontories, to attack, from the right and left, both sides of the enemy's fleet sailing out, to land the armed men out of the rest of the fleet, as he had done at Panormus, and by that means to overpower the Roman, on land and sea, at once. His plan would probably have succeeded to his wish, had not the Romans, on the Teians promising to comply with their demands, judged it more convenient for receiving the provisions, to remove the fleet into the inner port in front of the city. It is said, also, that Eudamus, the Rhodian, had pointed out the fault of the outer harbour, on occasion of two ships happening to entangle their oars together, so as to break them, in the narrow entrance. Among other motives, the consideration of the danger to be apprehended from the land, as Antiochus lay encamped at no great distance, inclined the prætor to change his station.

XXIX. When the fleet was brought round to the city, as they had not the least notion of the enemy being so near, both soldiers and sailors went on shore to divide the provisions, and the wine particularly, among the ships; when, about mid-day, a peasant happened to be brought before the prætor, who told him, that the enemy's fleet was lying at the island of Macris these two days; and that, a little while ago, some of them were observed to be in motion, as if preparing to sail. Greatly alarmed at this unexpected event, the prætor ordered the trumpets to sound, to call in such as might have straggled into the country, and sent the tribunes into the city, to hasten the soldiers and sailors on board. The confusion was not less than if the place were on fire, or taken by

an enemy; some running to call out the men; others hurrying to the ships, while the orders of the officers were confounded by irregular shouts, intermixed and heightened by the clangor of the trumpets, until at length the crowd collected at the ships. Here scarcely could each know his own ship, or make his way through the tumult; and the disorder would probably have been productive of much mischief, on land and sea, if the commanders had not exerted themselves quickly. *Æmilius*, in the commander's ship, sailed out, first, into the main; where, receiving the rest, he put each into its own place, so as to form a line abreast: and *Eudamus*, with the Rhodian fleet, waited at the shore, that the men might be embarked without confusion, and that every ship, as soon as ready, might leave the harbour. By these means, the foremost division formed under the eye of the prætor, while the rear was brought up by the Rhodians; and then, the whole line, in as regular order as if within sight of the foe, advanced into the open sea. They were between *Myonnesus* and the promontory of *Corycus*, when they first got sight of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was coming in a long line, with only two vessels abreast, then formed themselves in order of battle, stretching out their left division so far, as that it might inclose the right of the Romans. When *Eudamus*, who commanded in the rear, perceived that the Romans could not form an equal front, but were just on the point of being surrounded, he pushed up his ships. They were Rhodians, by far the fastest sailers of any of the fleet; and having filled up the deficiency in the extent of the line, he opposed his own ship to the commander's, on board of which was *Polyxenidas*.

XXX. The fleets were, by this time, engaged in every part. The Romans fought eighty ships, of which twenty-two were Rhodian. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty-eight ships, and they had of the largest rates, three of six, and two of seven banks. In the strength of the vessels, and valour of the soldiers, the Romans had greatly the advantage of the king's party, as had the Rhodians in the activity of their vessels, the skill of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers: yet the enemy was chiefly terrified by those that carried fires before them; and what was the sole cause of their preservation, when they were surrounded at *Panormus*, proved here the principal means

of victory to the Romans. For the king's ships, through fear of the fire, turned aside, and to avoid at the same time encountering the enemy's prow with their own; so that they could not strike their antagonist with the beaks, but exposed the side of their ships to his strokes; and if any did venture an encounter, it was immediately overspread with the fire that was poured in; while the men were more hurried and disordered by their efforts to quench the flames, than by fighting. However, the bravery of the soldiers, as is generally the case, was what chiefly availed in deciding the fate of the battle. For the Romans, having broke through the centre of the enemy's line, tacked about and fell upon the rear of the division which was engaged with the Rhodians; and, in an instant of time, both *Antiochus's* centre division, and the ships on the left, were sunk. The squadron on the right, which was still entire, was terrified rather by the disaster of their friends, than any immediate danger threatening themselves; but, when they saw the others surrounded, and *Polyxenidas's* ship deserting its associates, and sailing away, they quickly hoisted their topsails, and betook themselves to flight, having a favourable wind making for *Ephesus*. They lost, in that battle, forty-two ships; of which thirteen struck, and fell into the hands of the Romans; the rest were burned or sunk. Two Roman ships were so shattered that they foundered, and several were much damaged. One Rhodian vessel was taken by an extraordinary casualty: for, on its striking a Sidonian ship with its beak, its anchor, thrown out by the force of the shock, caught fast hold of the other's prow with its fluke, as if it were a grappling iron thrown in. Great confusion ensuing, the Rhodians, who wished to disengage themselves, pulled back; by which means its cable being dragged forcibly, and at the same time entangled with the oars, swept off the whole set on one side. The vessel, thus crippled, became the prize of the very ship which it had wounded with its beak and grappled. Such was the issue of the sea-fight at *Myonnesus*.

XXXI. *Antiochus* was much dismayed at this defeat, and on finding himself driven from the sea; despairing therefore of being able to defend distant posts, he commanded the garrison to be withdrawn from *Lysimachia*, lest it should be overpowered by the Romans. This was ill-judged, as events afterwards proved. For



it would have been easy for him, not only to defend Lysimachia from the first attack of the Romans, but to have protracted the siege through the whole winter; and by thus prolonging the time, to have reduced the besiegers to the extremity of want; while he might, in the meantime, have tried every opportunity that offered for effecting an accommodation. But, after the defeat at sea, he not only gave up Lysimachia, but even raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis. Here, bending all his thoughts to one single object, that of meeting the enemy in the field, he sent into Cappadocia, to Ariarathes, to request assistance, and to every other place within his power, to collect forces. Æmilius Regillus, after his victory at sea, proceeded to Ephesus, drew up his ships before the harbour, and, having extorted from the enemy a final acknowledgment of their having surrendered the dominion of the sea, sailed to Chios, whither he intended to have gone, before the sea-fight happened. As soon as he had refitted the ships that had been damaged in the battle, he sent off Lucius Æmilius Scaurus, with thirty others, to the Hellespont, to carry over the army; and decorating the Rhodian vessels with naval spoils, and allowing them a part of the booty, he ordered them to return home. The Rhodians spiritedly resolved to do business first. They therefore proceeded to assist in transporting the consul's forces, and when they had completed that service they returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phocæa. This city stands at the bottom of a bay, and is of an oblong shape. The wall encompasses a space of two miles and a half in length, and then contracts on both sides into a narrow wedge-like form, which place they call Lampter, or the light-house. The breadth here, is one thousand two hundred paces; and a tongue of land stretching out about a mile towards the sea divides the bay nearly in the middle, as if with a line, and where it is connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, so as to form two very safe harbours, one on each side. The one that fronts the south is called Naustathmos, the station for ships, from the circumstance of its being capable of containing a vast number; the other is close to Lampter.

XXXII. The Roman fleet, having taken possession of these harbours, where they rode in perfect safety, the prætor thought proper, before he attempted the fortifications, either

by scalade or works, to send persons to sound the disposition of the magistrates and principal people in the place; but finding them obstinate, he formed two attacks, which he carried on at the same time. In the part against which one attack was directed, the houses were few, the temples of the gods occupying a great deal of the ground. In this place he first brought up his rams, and began to batter the wall and towers; and when the multitude within ran thither to defend that spot, the battering rams were applied in the other quarter. The walls now began to fall in both places; on which the Romans made an assault, scrambling over the ruins as they fell, while others of them attempted to scale the parts that were standing; but the townsmen made such an obstinate resistance, as plainly showed that they had a firmer dependence on their arms and courage than on their fortifications. The prætor, therefore, seeing the danger which awaited his men, was obliged to sound a retreat; the more especially as they were now become so furious through rage and despair, as to expose themselves rashly. Although the fighting ceased, yet the besieged did not, even then, think of rest; but all hastened, from every quarter, to strengthen the walls, and to raise new ones in the place of those that had been demolished. While they were busily employed in this manner, Quintus Antonius came to them, with a message from the prætor. After blaming them for their obstinacy, he assured them, that "the Romans were more anxious than they were themselves to prevent the siege being carried to the ruin of the city. If they would desist from their madness, Æmilius would allow them to capitulate on the same terms on which they formerly surrendered to Caius Livius." On hearing this, they desired five days' time to deliberate; during which they sent to learn whether they might hope for succour from Antiochus; and having received an answer, by their deputies, that it was not in his power to relieve them, they opened their gates on the single condition of not being ill treated. When the troops were marching into the city, and the prætor had proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the surrendered townsmen should be spared, there arose an universal clamour, that it was shameful "to suffer the Phocæans, who had never been faithful to any alliance, and had always been bitter in enmity, to escape with impunity." After which words, as if a signal had been

given by the prætor, they ran, in parties, every way, to plunder the city. Æmilius, at first, endeavoured to stop them; calling them back, and telling them, that "towns taken by storm, and not such as surrendered, were to be plundered; and that, even with regard to the former, the determination lay with the commander, not with the soldiers." But rage and avarice were too strong for his authority; wherefore, despatching heralds, through all parts of the city, he ordered, that all persons of free condition should come to him in the forum, to avoid ill-treatment; and in every particular, as far as he was able, he fulfilled his promise to them. He restored to them their city, their lands, and their laws; and, as the winter now approached, he chose the harbour of Phocæa for the station of his fleet until spring.

XXXIII. About the same time, as the consul was marching along the frontiers of the Ænians and Maronites, he received the news of the victory over the king's fleet at Myonnesus; and of Lysimachia being evacuated by the garrison. This latter event gave much more satisfaction than even the success at sea; especially, when, arriving at that city, which was replenished with stores of every kind, as if purposely laid in for the reception of the army, the troops found comfortable accommodation; a place in the besieging of which they had expected to meet with extreme want and hardship. There they halted a few days, to give time for the coming up of the baggage, and of the sick; for many, overcome by diseases, or the length of the way, had been left behind in all the forts of Thrace. When all had joined, they began again their march through the Chersonese, and arrived at the Hellespont; where, every thing requisite for their passage having been previously got ready, by the care of king Eumenes, they crossed over, without opposition or confusion, as if to friendly shores, and the ships put in at several different places. This raised, to a high degree, the spirits of the Romans, who saw the passage into Asia left open to them; for they had always supposed that they could not accomplish it without a violent contest. They afterwards remained encamped, a considerable time, at the Hellespont; this happening to be the time of the festival, wherein the sacred bucklers are carried about, during which it is not allowed to march. The same festival had occasioned Publius

Scipio's being separated from the army; for he was bound by a duty more particularly incumbent on him, as being one of the Salian priests; himself therefore caused some further delay.

XXXIV. In the mean time an ambassador came from Antiochus to the camp,—Heraclides, a Byzantian, with a commission to treat of peace. His hopes of obtaining it were greatly encouraged by the dilatory proceeding of the Romans; for he had imagined, that, as soon as they set foot in Asia, they would have advanced rapidly against the king. He resolved, however, not to address himself to the consul until he had first applied to Publius Scipio, having received instructions to that purpose, from the king. Indeed, his highest expectations were from Scipio, because his greatness of soul, and the fullness of his glory, naturally tended to produce a placable temper. Besides, all the world knew how he had behaved during a flow of success, both in Spain and afterwards in Africa, and also, and more especially, because his son was then a prisoner with Antiochus. Where, and when, and by what accident he became a prisoner, are points, like very many others, not ascertained among writers. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, as he was going from Chalcis to Oreum, he was intercepted by some of the king's ships; others, that after the army came into Asia, he was sent with a troop of Fregellans, to Antiochus's camp, to gain intelligence; that, on the cavalry sallying out against him, he retreated, and having fallen from his horse, in the confusion, he was, together with two horsemen, overpowered, and thus conducted to the king. In one particular all are agreed; that, if peace had still subsisted with the Romans, and likewise a personal friendship between the king and the Scipios, the young man could not have been treated and distinguished with greater generosity and kindness than he met with. The ambassador, for these reasons, waited the arrival of Publius Scipio; and, as soon as he came, applied to the consul, requesting his permission to lay before him the business with which he was charged.

XXXV. A full council being assembled, audience was given to the ambassador, who said, that, "notwithstanding many embassies about peace had already been sent, backwards and forwards, without producing any effect, yet he conceived strong hopes of obtaining it from



the very circumstance of the former delegates having obtained nothing. For the objects of contention in those discussions were Smyrna and Lampsacus, the Trojan Alexandria, and Lysimachia in Europe. Of these, the king had already ceded Lysimachia, that it might not be said that he possessed any thing in Europe; and those cities which lay in Asia, he was now ready to deliver up as well as any others, which the Romans, in consideration of having joined their party, might wish to render independent of the king's government. The king was also willing to pay to the Roman people half of the charges of the war." These were the conditions proposed. In the rest of his discourse he exhorted them to "consider the instability of human affairs; to use with moderation the advantages afforded by their own situation, and not to bear too hard on that of others; to be content with the empire of Europe; that in itself was immense. It was an easier matter to make acquisitions, one after another, than to retain them when acquired. But, if their wishes were so unbounded as not to be satisfied, without taking away part of Asia, also, if they would define it by indisputable limits, the king, for the sake of peace and harmony, would willingly suffer his own moderate temper to be overcome by the insatiableness of the Romans." These concessions, which appeared to the ambassador of great moment towards obtaining a peace, the Romans deemed trifling. They thought it reasonable, that "the king should defray the whole expense occasioned by the war; because it was, through his fault that it was begun. And that, not only Ionia, and Æolia, ought to be evacuated by the king's troops; but as all Greece had been set free, so all the cities of that nation, in Asia, should also be free, which could no other way be effected, than by Antiochus relinquishing the possession of that part of Asia on the hither side of mount Taurus."

XXXVI. The ambassador, perceiving that no reasonable terms were to be obtained from the council, made a separate application to Publius Scipio, as he had been ordered: and, to prevail on him to favour his cause, told him first that the king would restore him his son, without a ransom; and then, as ignorant of the disposition of Scipio, as he was of the Roman manners, he promised an immense weight of gold, and, excepting the title of king, an ab-

solute partnership in the sovereignty, if, through his means, he should obtain a peace. To which Scipio answered, "I am the less surprised at your ignorance of the Roman character in general, and of mine, to whom you have been sent, when I see that you are unacquainted with the situation, even of the person from whom you come. You ought to have kept Lysimachia, to prevent our entering the Chersonese, or to have opposed us at the Hellespont, to hinder our passing into Asia, if you meant to ask peace from us, as from people solicitous about the issue of the war. But, after leaving the passage into Asia open, and receiving not only a bridle, but also a yoke, how can you pretend to negotiate on a footing of equality, and when you know that you must submit to orders? I shall consider my son as the greatest gift that the king's munificence can confer; any other instances of it, I trust in the gods, my circumstances will never need, my mind certainly never will. For such an act of generosity to me he shall find me grateful, if, for a personal favour, he will accept a personal return of gratitude. In my public capacity, I will neither accept from him, nor give him any thing. All that is in my power, at present, to give him, is sincere advice. Go then, and desire him, in my name, to cease hostilities, and to refuse no terms of peace." This counsel had no effect on the king, who thought that no chance of war could make his condition worse, since terms were dictated to him already, as if he were totally vanquished. Laying aside, therefore, for the present, all farther mention of peace, he turned his whole attention to the preparations for war.

XXXVII. The consul, having made the necessary preparations for the execution of his designs, quitted the post where he lay, and marched, first, to Dardanus, and then, to Rhœteum; from both which places the people came out in crowds to meet him. He then advanced to Troy, and having pitched his camp in the plain, under the walls, went up to the city, and into the citadel, where he offered sacrifices to Minerva, the tutelar deity of the place. The Trojans, by every act and expression of respect, showed themselves proud of the Romans being descended from them, while the Romans testified their happiness in having sprung from that origin. The army, marching thence, arrived, on the sixth day, at the source of the river Caicus. Here they were joined by king Eume-

nes. He had, at first, endeavoured to bring back his fleet, from the Hellespont to Elæa, for the winter ; but being prevented, during many days, by contrary winds, from passing the promontory of Lectos, and unwilling to be absent at the commencement of operations, he landed and came, with a small body of men, by the shortest road to the Roman camp. From the camp he was sent home to Pergamus, to hasten supplies of provisions ; and, as soon as he had delivered the corn, to the persons appointed by the consul, he returned to the camp, which remained on the same spot. The plan now adopted was, to have provision prepared sufficient for a great many days, and to march, directly, against the enemy, before the winter should come on to stop them. The king's camp was near Thyatira ; and Antiochus hearing there that Publius Scipio had fallen sick, and was conveyed to Elæa, sent ambassadors to conduct his son to him. As this present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave no less salutary to his body. After long indulging his rapture, in the embraces of his son, at length he said to the ambassadors, " Tell the king, that I return him thanks ; that, at present, I can make him no other requital, than my advice ; which is not to come to an engagement, until he shall have heard that I have rejoined the army." Although an army of seventy thousand foot and more than twelve thousand horse, inspired Antiochus at times with confidence, to hope for a favourable issue of a battle ; yet moved by the advice of so great a man as Scipio, in whom, when he considered the uncertainty of the events of war, he placed his greatest hope for safety, in any kind of fortune that might befall him, he retired beyond the river Phrigius, and pitched his camp near Magnesia of Sipylus. However, and lest, while he wished to prolong the time, the Romans might attempt his works, he drew round it a fosse six cubits deep and twelve broad ; and on the outside, a double rampart, raising, on the inside bank, a wall flanked with towers at small distances, by means of which it was easy to hinder the enemy from passing the moat.

XXXVIII. The consul, thinking that the king was still in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, marched five days without halting, until he came down into the Hyrcanian plains. Then hearing of his departure, he followed his tracks, and encamped on the hither side of

the river Phrigius, at the distance of four miles from his post. Here, a body of about one thousand horse, the greatest part of whom were Gallogræcians, the rest Dahans, and archers on horseback, of other nations intermixed, passing the river with great fury, made an attack on the advanced Roman guards, who, being unprepared, were at first thrown into disorder. But, as the dispute was maintained, notwithstanding, and as the Romans, (who could easily be reinforced from their camp lying so near,) increased in strength, the king's troops becoming weary, and unable to withstand superior numbers, endeavoured to retreat ; but, before they could reach the river, very many were killed, on the bank, by the enemy pressing on their rear. For two days after, all remained quiet, neither party passing the river. On the third, the Romans passed it with their whole force, and encamped at the distance of about two miles and a half from the enemy. While they were laying out and fortifying the camp, a body of the king's troops, consisting of three thousand chosen horse and foot, approached with great rapidity and violence. The party on guard, though much inferior in number, (being only two thousand,) without calling off any of the soldiers from the fortifying of the camp, sustained the combat with equal success at first, and, in the progress of it, repulsed the enemy, killing one hundred, and taking about the same number. For the four ensuing days, both armies stood in order of battle, before their respective camps. On the fifth, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus did not stir ; so that his rear was not so far as one thousand feet from his rampart.

XXXIX. Æmilius, seeing him unwilling to fight, called a council next day, and asked their opinion, " how he ought to act if Antiochus would not give him an opportunity of engaging. For the winter was at hand, and he must either keep the soldiers in camp ; or, if they chose to retire to winter quarters, defer the business of the war until summer." The Romans never entertained a more contemptuous opinion of any people. The whole assembly therefore, called on him to lead on immediately, and make use of the present ardour of the troops ; who, as if the business were not to fight against so many thousands, but to slaughter an equal number of cattle, were ready to force their way, through trenches and ram-



parts, into the camp, if the enemy would not come out to battle. Cneius Domitius was then sent to discover the nature of the ground, by which they were to march, and on what side they could best approach the enemy's rampart. On his returning, with a full account of every particular, it was resolved that the camp should next day be moved nearer to the enemy.

On the third day, the standards were carried forward into the middle of the plain, and the troops began to form their line. Antiochus now thought it would be wrong to defer matters longer, lest, by declining a battle, he should damp the courage of his men, and add to the confidence of the enemy. He, therefore, drew out his forces, advancing only so far as to show, that he was willing to come to an engagement. The Roman line was nearly uniform throughout in respect both of men and armour. There were two Roman legions, and two brigades of allies and Latines, each containing five thousand four hundred men. The Romans formed the centre, the Latines the wings. The spearmen composed the first line, the first-rank men the second, and the veterans closed the rear. Besides this regular body, the consul formed, on the right of it, and in a straight line with it, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, intermixed with Achaean targeteers, making about three thousand foot; beyond these he posted somewhat less than three thousand horse, of which, eight hundred belonged to Eumenes; all the rest of the cavalry was Roman: and, in the extremity of the line, he placed bodies of Trallians and Cretans, equal in number, each making up five hundred men. His left wing did not need such supports, because it was flanked by a river with steep banks. However, four troops of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Roman force. Two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who had, of their own accord, accompanied the army, were left to guard the camp. Sixteen elephants were placed behind the veterans in reserve; for, besides that they were not supposed capable of withstanding the great number of the king's elephants, no less than fifty-four, the African elephants are not able to cope with an equal number of Indians, being inferior to them both in size, and in steadiness of courage.

XL. The king's line was more chequered with troops of many nations, dissimilar both in their persons and armour. There was a body of sixteen thousand men armed after the manner

of the Macedonians, which they called a phalanx. This formed the centre, had five hundred men in front, and was divided into ten parts, which parts were separated by two elephants placed between each two; its depth, from the front, was thirty-two ranks. This was the main strength of the king's army, and it exhibited a formidable sight, both in the other particulars of its appearance, and in the elephants, towering so high above the heads of the soldiers. They were of huge bulk, and were rendered more terrific by the caparisons of their foreheads and crests, and the towers fixed on their backs; four armed men stood on each tower, besides the managers of the beasts. On the right of the phalanx, were placed five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen, to whom were joined three thousand horsemen, clad in complete armour, whom they call Cataphracti, or mailed. To these were added a brigade of near a thousand horse, which body they called Agema. They were Medes, all picked men, with a mixture of horsemen from many other nations in that part of the world. Adjoining these, a body of sixteen elephants was placed in reserve. On the same side, a little farther on towards the wing, was the royal cohort; these were called *Argyraspides*,<sup>1</sup> from the kind of armour which they wore. Next to these, stood one thousand two hundred Dahan bowmen on horseback; then, three thousand light-infantry, nearly half Cretans, and half Trallians; adjoining these, two thousand five hundred Mysian archers, and the flank of the whole was covered by four thousand Cyrtæan slingers, and Elymæan archers, intermixed. Next to the left flank of the phalanx, stood one thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horse, and two thousand Cappadocians, sent by king Ariarathes, wearing the same kind of armour; then, auxiliaries of all kinds, mixed together, two thousand seven hundred; then, three thousand mailed horsemen: then, one thousand other horsemen, being a royal cohort, equipped, with lighter coverings, for themselves and their horses, but, in other respects, not unlike the rest: they were mostly Syrians, with a mixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In the front of this body of cavalry were the chariots, armed with scythes, and a kind of camels called dromedaries. These were rode by Arabian archers, who carried thin swords four cubits long, that they

<sup>1</sup> Silver shield-bearers.

might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then followed another multitude, like that in the right wing,—first, Tarentines; then, two thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen; then, one thousand new Cretans, and one thousand five hundred Carians and Cilicians, armed in the same manner; then, an equal number of Trallians, with three thousand targeteers, Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Lycians; then came brigades of Cyrtæans and Elymæans, equal to those posted in the right wing, and sixteen elephants, standing at a small distance. The king himself took post in the right wing; the command of the left he gave to his son Seleucus, and Antipater, the son of his brother; that of the centre to Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip, the master of the elephants.

XLI. A morning fog, which as the day advanced, rose up in clouds, spread a general darkness; and the moisture, issuing from it, and coming from the southward, wetted every thing. This circumstance, which was scarcely any inconvenience to the Romans, was of extreme prejudice to the king's troops. For the line of the Romans was of a moderate length, and the obscuring of the light did not hinder their seeing every part of it; they were, besides, mostly heavy-armed troops, so that the fog had no tendency to blunt their swords and javelins. But the king's line was so very extensive, that, from the centre of it, the wings could not be seen, much less could those at the extremities see one another; and then, the moisture relaxed the strings of their bows, their slings, and the thongs of their javelins. Besides, the armed chariots, by means of which Antiochus had trusted utterly to disorder the enemy's line, turned the terror of their operations on their owners. The manner in which they were armed was this: from the yoke, on both sides of the pole, they had ten scythes, each of a cubit in length, standing out like horns, to transfix any thing that they met; at each extremity of the yoke, two scythes projected, one on a line with the yoke, the other on its lower side, pointing to the ground; the former to cut through any thing that might come within its reach on the side, the other to catch such as fell, or endeavoured to go under it. At each extremity of the axle of the wheels, two knives were fastened in the same manner. The chariots, thus armed, if they had been placed in the rear, or between the ranks, must have been driven through his own ranks; the king there-

fore, as already mentioned, placed them in front. Eumenes, seeing this, and being not unexperienced in such kind of fight; knowing, likewise, that those machines might prove as dangerous to their employers, as to their antagonists, if means were used to frighten the horses, rather than a regular attack; ordered the Cretan bowmen, and slingers, and javelin-bearers, with some troops of horse, not in a body, but scattering themselves as widely as possible, to rush forwards, and pour weapons on them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly, by the wounds made by the missile weapons, thrown from every quarter, and, partly, by the discordant shouts raised, so terrified the horses, that, immediately, as if unbridled, they galloped about at random. The light-infantry, the lightly accoutred slingers, and the active Cretans, quickly evaded their encounter. The horsemen, following them, increased the tumult and the terror of the horses and camels at the same time, while the crowd of followers redoubled their shouts. By these means, the chariots were driven out of the ground between the two lines. When this empty piece of parade was removed, both parties gave the signal, and advanced to a regular engagement.

XLII. But these chariots, thus ineffective against the enemy, soon proved the cause of great mischief to the army of the king. For the troops, posted next behind, being terrified at the wild disorder of the horses, betook themselves to flight, leaving all exposed, as far as to the post of the mailed horsemen; and even these, when the Romans, after dispersing the reserves, approached, did not sustain their first onset. Some fled, and others, being delayed by the weight of their coverings and armour, were put to the sword. The whole left wing then gave way, and the auxiliaries, posted between the cavalry and the phalanx, being thrown into confusion, the terror spread even to the centre. Here the ranks were broken, by the flying soldiers rushing in between them, while the same cause deprived the men of the use of their long spears, called by the Macedonians, sarissas. While they were in this disorder, the Roman legions, advancing, discharged their javelins among them. Even the elephants, standing in the way, did not deter the Roman soldiers, who had learned by experience in the African wars, both to evade the onset of the animal, and, getting at one side of it,



either to ply it with darts, or, if they could come near enough, to wound its sinews with their swords. The front of the centre was now almost cut to pieces, and the reserve, being surrounded, was attacked on the rear, when the Romans perceived their troops in another quarter flying, and heard shouts of dismay almost close to their camp. For Antiochus, who commanded on the right wing, having observed that the enemy, relying on the river for security, had placed no reserve there, except four troops of horse, and that these, keeping close to the infantry, left an open space on the bank of the river, made a charge on them, with a body of auxiliaries and mailed horsemen. He not only attacked them in front, but, going round the extremity of their line, near the river, pressed them in flank also; until having routed the cavalry first, and then the infantry, he made them fly with precipitation to their camp.

XLIII. The camp was commanded by Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, son of Marcus Lepidus, who, in a few years after, became chief pontiff. On seeing the troops flying, he went out, with his whole guard, to meet them. He ordered them, first, to halt, and then to return to the fight; at the same time, upbraiding them with cowardice. He then proceeded to threats,—that if they did not obey his orders, they would rush blindly on their own destruction. At last, he gave orders to his own men to kill the foremost of the runaways, and with their swords to drive the crowd, that followed, back to their station. The greater fear now overcame the less. Compelled by the danger on either side, they first halted, and then marched, as commanded, to meet the enemy. Æmilius, with his guard, consisting of two thousand men of distinguished valour, gave a vigorous check to the furious pursuit of Antiochus. At the same time, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having, from the right wing, where the left of the enemy had been routed, at the beginning of the engagement, observed the flight of his friends on the left, and the tumult near the camp, came up seasonably, with two hundred horse. When Antiochus saw those men renewing the fight, whom, but just before, he had seen running away, and another large body advancing from the camp, with a third from the line, he turned about his horse and fled. The Romans, thus victorious in both wings, advanced over heaps of slain, which were most numerous in the centre, where the

strength of the bravest men and the heavy armour had prevented flight, and proceeded to rife the camp. The horsemen of Eumenes, first, and then the rest of the cavalry, pursued the enemy through all parts of the plain, and killed the hindmost as they overtook them. But the fugitives were exposed to more severe distress by the chariots, elephants, and camels intermixed, and by their own disorderly haste; for, after they once broke their ranks, they rushed, as if blind, one upon another, and were trodden to death by their numerous beasts. In the camp also there was great slaughter committed, rather greater than even in the field: for the first that quitted it, in general, directed their flight to the camp. The guard, encouraged by the great number of these, defended their works with the more obstinacy. The Romans having been stopped at the gates and rampart, which they had expected to master at the first push, when they did at length break through, were led by rage to make the more dreadful carnage.

XLIV. According to the accounts given by historians, there were killed, on that day, fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse; taken one thousand four hundred, with fifteen elephants and their managers. Of the Romans, many were wounded, but no more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen killed; and of the troops of Eumenes twenty-five. That day, the victors, after plundering the enemy's camp, returned with great store of booty to their own. On the day following, they stripped the bodies of the slain, and collected the prisoners. Ambassadors came from Thyatira and Magnesia, near Sipylos, with a surrender of those cities. Antiochus fled, with very few attendants; but greater numbers, collecting about him on the road, he arrived at Sardis, with a numerous body of soldiers, about the middle of the night, and hearing there that his son Seleucus, and several of his friends, had gone on to Apamea, he likewise, at the fourth watch, set out for that city, with his wife and daughter, having committed to Zeno the command of the city, and the government of Lydia to Timon; but the townspeople disregarding both these, and the soldiers who were in the citadel, agreed to send deputies to the consul.

XLV. About this time deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Meander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities. Poly-

xemidas had quitted Ephesus, as soon as he heard of the battle; and, sailing with the fleet as far as Petara, in Lycia, where, through fear of the Rhodian fleet stationed at Megiste, he landed, and, with a small retinue, pursued his journey, by land, into Syria. The several states of Asia submitted themselves to the disposal of the consul, and to the dominion of the Roman people. He was now at Sardis, whither Publius Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he was able to endure the fatigue of travelling. Shortly after, arrived a herald from Antiochus, who solicited, through Publius Scipio, and obtained from the consul, permission for the king to send ambassadors. In a few days' time, Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater the king's nephew, arrived in that character. These, having first had a meeting with Eumenes, whom they expected to find most averse from peace, on account of old disputes, and seeing him better disposed to a reconciliation than either they or the king had hoped, addressed themselves then to Publius Scipio, and, through him, to the consul. At their request, a full council was assembled to hear the business of their commission, when Zeuxis spoke to this effect: "Romans, we are not prepared to make any proposal from ourselves: but rather desire to know, from you, by what atonements we can expiate the error of our king, and obtain pardon and peace from our conquerors. You have ever displayed the greatest magnanimity, in pardoning vanquished kings and nations, and ought you not to show a much greater, and more placable spirit, after your late victory, which has made you masters of the whole world? You ought, now, like deities, laying aside all disputes with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race." It had been determined, before the ambassadors came, what answer were to be given them: and it was agreed that Africanus should deliver it. He is said to have spoken thus: "Of those things that are in the gift of the immortal gods, we Romans possess as much as the gods have been pleased to bestow. Our spirit, which is in the direction of our own mind, is the same to-day that it has always been, in every state of fortune: prosperity has never elated, nor adversity depressed it. Of the truth of this, (to omit other instances,) I might produce your friend Hannibal as a convincing proof; but I can appeal to yourselves. After we had passed the Hellespont; before we saw the king's camp or his

army; when the chance of war was open to both, and the issue uncertain; on your proposing to treat of peace, we offered you terms, at a time when we were, both of us, on a footing of equality; and the very same terms we offer you now, when we are victorious, and you vanquished. Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia, which lies on this side of Mount Taurus. Then, towards the expenses of the war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa; five hundred immediately, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people of Rome shall have ratified the peace, and one thousand, annually, for twelve years after. It is likewise thought fit, that four hundred talents be paid to Eumenes, and the quantity of corn remaining unpaid, of what was due to his father. When we shall have settled these articles, it will be a kind of assurance to us of your performance of them, if you give twenty hostages, such as we shall choose. But never can we be properly satisfied, that the Roman people will enjoy peace on the side of that country in which Hannibal shall be. Him, therefore, we demand, above all. Ye shall also deliver up Thaos, the Ætolian, the fomentor of the Ætolian war, who armed you against us by the assurances of their support, and them by assurances of yours; and, together with him, Mnesilochus, the Acarnanian, and Philo, and Eubulias, of Chalcis. The king will now make peace under worse circumstances, on his side, because he makes it later than he might have done. If he now causes any delay, let him consider, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings, from the highest to the middle stage, than it is to precipitate it from the middle to the lowest." The king's instructions to his ambassadors were to accede to any terms of peace. It was settled, therefore, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Mæander, Tralles, and Ephesus. In a few days after, the king brought the hostages to Ephesus to the consul; and also the ambassadors who were to go to Rome, arrived. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with the king's ambassadors, and they were followed by embassies from all the states of Asia.

XLVI. During the time of these transactions in Asia, two proconsuls arrived, almost



together, at Rome, from their provinces, with hopes of triumphing: Quintus Minucius, from Liguria, and Manfus Acilius, from Ætolia. After hearing recitals of their services, the senate refused a triumph to Minucius, but, with great cheerfulness, decreed one to Acilius, and he rode through the city in triumph over king Antiochus and the Ætolians. In the procession were carried, two hundred and thirty military ensigns; of unwrought silver, three thousand pounds weight; of coin, one hundred and thirteen thousand Attic tetradrachms;<sup>1</sup> and two hundred and forty-eight thousand<sup>2</sup> cistophoruses;<sup>3</sup> of chased silver vessels, a great number, and of great weight. He bore, also, the king's plate, furniture, and splendid wardrobe; golden crowns, presents from the allied states, forty-five; with spoils of all kinds. He led thirty-six prisoners of distinction, officers in the armies of the king, and of the Ætolians. Damocritus, the Ætolian general, a short time before, escaped out of prison in the night; but, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, he stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized. Nothing was wanted but the soldiers, to follow the general's chariot; in every other respect the triumph was magnificent, both in the grandeur of the procession, and the splendour of his exploits. The joy, however, was much damped by melancholy news from Spain:—that the army, under the command of Lucius Æmilius, proconsul, had been defeated in a battle with the Lacitanians, at the town of Lycon, in the country of the Vastitans; that six thousand of the Romans were killed; and that the rest, being driven in a panic within their rampart, found it difficult to defend the camp, and had retreated, by long marches, as if flying, into a friendly country. Such were the accounts from Spain. From Gaul, Lucius Aurunculeius, prætor, introduced to the senate deputies from Placentia and Cremona, who represented those colonies as distressed by the want of inhabitants; some having been carried off by the casualties of war, others by sickness; and several weary of the neighbourhood of the Gauls, having removed from them. On this, the senate decreed, that “Caius Lælius, the consul, if he thought pro-

per, should enrol six thousand families, to be distributed and settled at the before mentioned places; and that Lucius Aurunculeius, prætor, should appoint commissioners to conduct them.” Accordingly, Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappus, son of Caius, were named to that office.

XLVII. Not long after, as the time of the consular elections drew nigh, the consul, Caius Lælius, came home to Rome from Gaul. He not only enrolled the colonists, ordered by the decree of senate, passed in his absence, as a supplement to Cremona and Placentia, but proposed,—and, on his recommendation, the senate voted,—that two new colonies should be established in the lands which had belonged to the Boians. At the same time arrived a letter from the prætor, Lucius Æmilius, containing an account of the sea-fight at Myonesus, and of the consul, Lucius Scipio, having transported his army into Asia. A supplication for one day was decreed, on account of the naval victory, and another, for a second day, to implore the gods, that, as the Roman army had then, for the first time, pitched a camp in Asia, that event might, in the issue, prove prosperous and happy. The consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty of the greater victims, on occasion of each supplication. The election of consuls was then held, and was attended with a strong contest. One of the candidates, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, lay under general censure, for having, in order to sue for the office, left his province of Sicily without asking leave of the senate. The other candidates were Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Valerius Messala. Fulvius alone was elected consul, the rest not having gained a majority of the centuries; and, the next day, rejecting Lepidus (for Messala had declined) he declared Cneius Manlius his colleague. Then were chosen prætors, two of the name of Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Pictor; the latter of whom had, in that year, been inaugurated flamen quirinalis; Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, and Lucius Bæbius Dives.

XLVIII. Valerius Antias says, that at the time when Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Cneius Manlius Vulso came into the consulship, [Y. R. 563. B. C. 189.] a rumour prevailed strongly at Rome, and was received as almost

1 14,596*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

2 4,270*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

3 A coin so called, from its bearing the image of a priest carrying in a box (*cistus*) the consecrated things, used in the mysteries of Ceres, and of other deities. In value  $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* were equal to four drachmas.

certain, that the consul, Lucius Scipio, and, with him, Publius Africanus, had been invited by the king to a conference, under pretence of restoring young Scipio; that they were both seized, and that, when the leaders were thus made prisoners, the enemy's army was immediately led up to the Roman camp; that this was stormed, and the forces entirely cut off; that, in consequence of this, the Ætolians had taken courage, and refused to obey orders; and that several of their principal men had gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace, to hire auxiliaries; that Aulus Tarentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus, had been sent by Aulus Cornelius, prætor, from Ætolia, to carry this intelligence to Rome. To this story he adds, that the Ætolian ambassadors being asked in the senate, among other questions, from whom they had received the account of the Roman generals being made prisoners in Asia by king Antiochus, and the army being cut off, answered, that they had the information from their own ambassadors, who were with the consul. As I do not find that any other writer mentions this rumour, I neither take upon myself to affirm the account as true, nor yet to pass it by as groundless.

XLIX. When the Ætolian ambassadors were brought to an audience of the senate, although their cause, and their circumstances, rather required that they should confess, and humbly seek pardon for their crime, or error, yet they began with enumerating their services to the Roman people; and, in an upbraiding kind of manner, talked of their own bravery, in the war with Philip, so as to give very general offence by the insolence of their discourse. The effect of their thus recalling to people's minds old matters which had been forgotten, was, that the senators recollected many more injuries than services done by the Ætolians; and that, when they stood in need of compassion, they provoked anger and hatred. They were asked by one senator, whether they submitted themselves to the disposal of the Roman people; then, by another, whether they would have the same allies and enemies as the Roman people: but they gave no answer; on which they were ordered to withdraw. The whole senate then, almost with one voice, cried out, that "the Ætolians were still entirely devoted to Antiochus; and that they were supported solely by their expectations from him. Wherefore the war ought to be car-

ried on against such open enemies, and their haughty spirits tamed." Another circumstance which helped to inflame the resentment of the senate, was, that in the very moment of soliciting peace from the Romans, they were making war on Dolopia and Athamania. A decree of the senate was made, on the motion of Manius Acilius, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians, that "the Ætolian ambassadors should be ordered to leave the city that day, and to quit Italy within fifteen days." Aulus Terentius Varro was appointed to escort them on the road; and notice was given to them, that, "if any ambassadors from the Ætolians should thenceforward come to Rome, without the permission of the general commanding in that province, and without being accompanied by a Roman deputy, all such would be treated as enemies."—In this manner were the Ætolians dismissed.

L. The consuls then consulted the senate on the distribution of the provinces; and it was resolved, that they should cast lots for Ætolia and Asia. To him, to whose lot Asia should fall, was assigned the army, then under Lucius Scipio; and, to recruit its numbers, four thousand Roman foot, and two hundred horse, and, of the allies and Latines, eight thousand foot, and four hundred horse: with which force he was to carry on the war with Antiochus. To the other consul was decreed, the army in Ætolia; and he was allowed to raise, for a reinforcement, the same number of natives and allies, allotted to his colleague. He was, likewise, ordered to equip, and take with him, the ships that had been fitted out the year before; and not only to wage war with the Ætolians, but also to pass over into the island of Cephallenia. He was further directed, if he could do it without injury to the public service, to come home to Rome to hold the elections; for, besides replacing the annual magistrates, it was resolved, that censors also should be created; and if any particular business should detain him, he was, then, to acquaint the senate, that he could not attend at the time of the elections. Ætolia fell, by lot, to Marcus Fulvius; Asia to Cneius Manlius. The prætors then cast lots, and Spurius Postumius Albinus obtained the city and foreign jurisdiction. Marcus Sempromnius Tuditanus, Sicily; Quintus Fabius Pictor, the flamen quirinalis, Sardinia; Quintus Fabius Labeo, the fleet; Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, Hither Spain; Lucius Bæbius Dives Farther



Spain. For Sicily, was allotted one legion, with the squadron then in the province; and the prætor was ordered to levy, on the Sicilians, two tenths of the corn; one of which he was to send into Asia, the other into Ætolia. It was also ordered, that the same impost should be collected in Sardinia, and the corn sent to the same armies as the Sicilian corn. A reinforcement was given to Lucius Bæbius, for Spain, of one thousand Roman foot and fifty horse, with six thousand Latine foot and two hundred horse; To Plautius Hypsæus, for the Hither Spain, were assigned one thousand Roman foot, and two thousand Latines, with two hundred horse; so that, with these supplies, each of the two Spains should have a legion. Of the magistrates of the preceding year, Caius Lælius was continued in command, for a year, with his present army, as was Publius Junius, prætor in Etruria, with the forces then in the province, and Marcus Tuccius, prætor in Brutium and Apulia.

LI. Before the prætors went into their provinces, a dispute arose between Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, and Quintus Fabius Pictor, flamen quirinalis; such as had happened, in the time of their fathers, between Lucius Metellus, and Postumius Albinus. Metellus, who was chief pontiff at the time, had detained, for the performance of the business of religion, Albinus, who was consul, and was setting out, with his colleague, Caius Lutatius, to the fleet at Sicily; and now, Publius Licinius detained the prætor Fabius, from going to Sardinia. The matter was agitated in very warm debates, both in the senate, and before the commons: authoritative commands were issued on both sides; pledges seized to secure appearance, fines imposed, applications made to the tribunes, and appeals to the people. At last, considerations of religion prevailed, and the flamen obeyed the order of the pontiff; whereupon, the fines were remitted, by order of the people. The prætor, thus bereft of his province, resolved to abdicate his office, but was deterred by the authority of the senate, who decreed, that he should hold the civil jurisdiction between natives and foreigners. The levies being finished in a few days, (for the soldiers to be enlisted were not many,) the consuls and prætors repaired to their provinces. There was spread, at this time, an unauthenticated report, the author of which no one knew, of the transactions that had passed in Asia; and, in a few

days after, certain information, and a letter from the general, arrived at Rome. The satisfaction which this occasioned was great, not so much because of any apprehensions, entertained of late,—(for Antiochus, since his defeat in Ætolia, was no longer an object of dread,) as because of the opinion which had been formerly conceived; for when this war was first begun, he was considered as a very formidable enemy, both on account of his own strength, and of his having Hannibal to direct the business of the war. The senate, however, made no change in the plan of sending the consul into Asia; nor did they lessen the force intended for that province, because they feared that they might be engaged in a war with the Gauls settled in that country.

LII. In a short time after, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, deputy from Lucius Scipio, also ambassadors from king Eumenes, Antiochus, with others from Rhodes, arrived at Rome. Cotta, first in the senate, and then, by their order, in the assembly of the people, gave a narrative of the services performed in Asia. On which a decree was passed, ordering a supplication, of three days, continuance, and that forty victims of the greater kinds should be offered on the occasion. Then audience was given, first, to Eumenes. After briefly returning thanks to the senate, for having relieved him and his brother from a siege, and protected his kingdom from the unjust attacks of Antiochus; and then, congratulating them on the success of their arms, by sea and land, whereby they had utterly routed Antiochus, driven him out of his camp, and expelled him, first, from Europe, and then from all Asia, on this side of Mount Taurus; he added, that with respect to his services, he wished them to be learned from their own generals and their own deputies, rather than from his mouth. All were pleased with his discourse, and desired him to lay aside his modesty so far as to tell frankly what recompence he thought himself deserving of from the senate and people of Rome: assuring him, that “the senate were inclined to act with greater zeal, and more abundant liberality, if possible, than even his deserts demanded.” To this the king answered, that “had others offered him a choice of rewards, and allowed him the privilege of consulting the Roman senate, he would have applied to that most august body for their advice; that he might not appear to have wanted either modera-

tion in his wishes, or modesty in his requests. But now, when they themselves were the donors, it was much more proper that their munificence, towards him and his brothers, should be regulated by their own judgment." The senate, not discouraged by this answer, still urged him to speak; and, after a long contest of kindness on one side, and reservation on the other, Eumenes, with a degree of complaisance as insuperable as it was equal in both parties, withdrew from the senate-house. The senate persisted in their resolution, and said, that "it was idle to suppose that the king was unable to inform them of the objects of his hopes, and of his views in coming. He best knew what would be suitable to his own dominions. He was much better acquainted with Asia than were the senate. They ought therefore to call him back, and insist on his explaining his wishes and sentiments."

LIII. The king being brought back by the prætor, and desired to speak freely, began thus: "Conscript fathers, I should have persevered in declining to speak, but that I knew you would presently call in the Rhodian ambassadors, and that when they had been heard, I must, of necessity, have spoken. And my task therein will be the more difficult as their demands will be of such a nature, that, so far from appearing to contain any thing detrimental to me, they will not even seem to have any immediate connection with their own interest. For they will plead the cause of the Grecian states, and allege, that they ought to be set free; which point being gained, is it not plain to every one, that they will alienate from us not only those states which shall be liberated, but likewise those that have been tributary to us since the earliest times; and that, after having bound them under so great an obligation, they will keep them under the denomination of allies, in reality subject to their government, and entirely at their disposal? Now, while they are aspiring to such a height of power, they will pretend, that the business no way concerns themselves; they will only say, that it is becoming of you, and conformable to your past conduct. It will be proper, therefore, to be on your guard, lest you be deceived by such specious arguments; and lest by an unfair distribution, you not only depress some of your allies too much, while you exalt others beyond measure, but, also, put those, who bore arms against you in a better state than your friends.

As to what regards myself, in other cases, I should rather wish it to be thought I had yielded somewhat of the full extent of my right, than that I had kept up too obstinate a struggle to maintain it; but in a contest of friendship and good-will towards you, and of the respect to be paid to you, I cannot with any patience, bear to be outdone. Friendship with you was the principal inheritance that I received from my father; who, of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece, was the first who formed a league of amity with you; and this he maintained, with constant and invariable fidelity, to the last hour of his life. Nor did he demonstrate, merely, a faithful and kind inclination towards you, but took an active part in all the wars which you waged in Greece, whether on land or sea; he supplied you with all kinds of provisions in such a manner, that not one of your allies could vie with him in any respect; and, finally, while he was exhorting the Boeotians to alliance with you, in the middle of his discourse, he was struck by a fit, and expired soon after. In his steps I have trod; and though I could not surpass the warmth of his wishes, and the zeal with which he cultivated your friendship,—for these could not be exceeded,—yet fortune, the times, Antiochus, and the war waged in Asia, afforded me occasions of outdoing him in real acts, in meritorious and expensive services. Antiochus, king of Asia, and of a part of Europe, offered me his daughter in marriage; offered to restore immediately the states that had revolted from us, and gave great hopes of enlarging my dominions, if I would have joined him in the war against Rome. I will not boast, as of a matter of merit, that I was guilty of no trespass against you; but I will rather mention those instances of conduct which are worthy of the very early friendship between our house and you. I gave your commanders such succours of land and sea forces, that not one of your allies can stand in competition with me. I supplied them with provisions for both services; in all the naval engagements, fought in various places, I took my share, and I never was sparing of my labour and danger. What, among all the calamities of war, is the most grievous, I underwent a siege; being shut up in Pergamus, in the utmost danger both of my kingdom and of my life. When this was raised, notwithstanding that Antiochus was encamped on one side of the capital of my dominions, and Seleucus on another,



regardless of my own affairs, I went with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet your consul Lucius Scipio, and to assist in transporting his army. From the time that the army came over into Asia, I never quitted the consul; no Roman soldier was more regular in his attendance in your camp, than I and my brothers. No expedition, no battle of cavalry, was undertaken without me. In the field, I took that post, and I maintained that ground, which the consul's pleasure allotted to me. I do not intend, conscript fathers, to say who can compare his services, during that war, to mine. There is not one of all those nations, or kings, you hold in high esteem, with whom I do not set myself on a level. Masinissa was your enemy before he became your ally; nor did he, while his kingdom flourished, come to your aid at the head of his troops; but dethroned, exiled, and stripped of all his forces, he fled for refuge to your camp with one troop of horse. Nevertheless, because he faithfully and diligently adhered to your cause in Africa, against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to the throne of his father, but, by adding to his domain, the most opulent part of the kingdom of Syphax, rendered him the most potent of all the kings in Africa. What reward then, and what honour do we deserve at your hands, who have never been foes, but always allies? My father, myself, my brothers, have carried arms in your cause by sea and land, not only in Asia, but in countries remote from our home; in Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, in Ætolia, during the wars with Philip, and Antiochus, and the Ætolians. It may be asked me, What then are your demands? Conscript fathers, since I must comply with what I perceive is your desire, and explain my wishes: if you have removed Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the intention of holding those countries yourselves, I wish for no other people to settle near me, no other neighbours than you; nor do I expect that any other event could give greater safety and stability to my government. But, if your purpose is to retire hence, and withdraw your armies, I may venture to affirm, that not one of your allies is more deserving than I am of possessing what you have acquired. But then it will be a glorious act to liberate states from bondage. I agree that it will, provided they have committed nothing hostile against you. But, if they took part with Antiochus, is it

not much more becoming your wisdom and equity, to consult the interest of your well-deserving friends, than that of your enemies?"

LIV. The senate was well pleased with the king's discourse, and plainly manifested a disposition to act, in every particular, with liberality, and an earnest desire to gratify him. An embassy from Smyrna was next introduced, because some of the Rhodian ambassadors were not present; but this was quickly despatched. The Smyrnæans were very highly commended for having resolved to endure the last extremities rather than surrender to the king. The Rhodians were next introduced. The chief of their embassy, after taking a view of the early periods of their friendship with the Roman people, and displaying the merits of the Rhodians in the war with Philip, and, afterwards, in that with Antiochus, proceeded thus: "Conscript fathers, there is nothing in the whole course of our business that gives us more trouble and uneasiness than having a debate with Eumenes; with whom alone, of all the kings in the world, each of us, as individuals, and what weighs more with us, our state, as a community, is closely connected in friendship. But, conscript fathers, not our own inclinations disunite us, but the nature of things, whose sway is all-powerful, according to which, we being free ourselves, plead the cause of other men's freedom; while kings wish to have all things subservient and subject to their will. Yet, however that matter may be, we are more embarrassed by our respect towards the king, than either by any intricacy in the subject of debate, or any perplexity which it seems likely to occasion in your deliberations. For if you could make no honourable requital to the king, your friend and ally, who has merited highly in this very war, and the rewarding of whose services is now under your consideration, by any other means than by delivering free states into his power, you might then, indeed, find it hard to determine between the sending away your friend, the king, without an honourable requital, and the departing from your own established practice; tarnishing, now, by the servitude of so many states, the glory which you acquired in the war with Philip. But, from this necessity of retrenching, either from your grateful intentions towards your friend, or from your own glory, fortune completely frees you. For through the bounty of the gods, your victory is not more glorious than it is

rich, so that it can easily acquit you of that debt. Lycaonia, and both the Phrygias, with Pisidia, the Chersonese, and the adjoining parts of Europe, are all in your power; and any one of these, added to Eumenes' possessions, would more than double his dominions; but, if they were all conferred upon him, they would set him on a level with the greatest of kings. You have it, therefore, in your power to enrich your allies with the prizes of the war; and, at the same time, to adhere to your established mode of conduct, by keeping in mind what motive you assigned as your cause of war, first against Philip, now against Antiochus; what line of conduct you pursued after your conquest of Philip; what is now desired and expected from you, not so much because you have done it before, as because it is suitable to your character to do it. For, what to some is both a specious and an honourable incitement for taking arms, is not so to others. Some go to war to get possession of land, some of villages, some of towns, some of ports, and some of the sea-coast. Such things you never coveted, when you had them not; and you cannot covet them now, when the whole world is under your dominion. You ever fought for the exaltation of your dignity and glory, in the sight of the whole human race, who, for a long time past, have revered your name and empire next to that of the immortal gods. What was arduous in the pursuit and acquisition, may, perhaps, prove more difficult to be maintained. You have undertaken to deliver out of bondage under kings, a nation the most ancient and most highly distinguished, both by the fame of its exploits, and by universal praise for politeness and learning; and the whole of it, having been received under your care and protection, has a claim on you for your patronage for ever. The cities, standing on the original soil, are not more Grecian than their colonies, which formerly migrated thence into Asia; nor has change of country changed either their race or manners. Every state among us has ventured to maintain a dutiful contest with its parents and founders, vying with them in every virtue and valuable qualification. Most of you have visited the cities in Greece, and those in Asia. We acknowledge an inferiority in no other respect, than in our being farther distant from you. The Massilians, (whom, if the nature implanted, as it were, in the disposition of their country, could have been overcome, the many

barbarous tribes, surrounding them, would, by this time, have rendered as savage as themselves,) are, as we hear, deservedly held in as high esteem by you as if they were inhabitants of the very heart of Greece. For they have preserved, not only the sound of the language, the mode of dress, and the habit; but, what is more material than any thing else, the manners, the laws, and a mind pure and untainted by contagion from their neighbours. The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote. To whatever extent your arms have reached, let the emanations of your justice, from this centre, reach to the same length. Let barbarians, with whom the commands of masters have always served instead of laws, have kings, as it is their wish; but Greeks, in whatever condition fortune assigns them, carry spirits like your own. They too, in former times, supported empire by their internal strength. They now pray that empire may remain to eternity, where it is lodged at present. They are well pleased at their liberty being protected by your arms, since they are unable to protect it by their own. But it is objected, that some of their states sided with Antiochus. So did others, before, with Philip; so did the Tarentines with Pyrrhus. Not to enumerate other nations, Carthage enjoys liberty and its own laws. Consider, conscript fathers, how much you owe to this precedent, set by yourselves. You will surely be disposed to refuse to the ambition of Eumenes, what you refused to your own most just resentment. With what brave and faithful exertions, we, Rhodians, have assisted you, both in this late war, and in all the wars that you have waged in that part of the world, we leave to your own judgment. We, now, in peace, offer you such advice, that if you conform to it, all the world will judge, that your use of the victory redounds more to the splendour of your glory, than the victory itself." Their arguments seemed well adapted to the Roman grandeur.

LV. After the Rhodians, the ambassadors of Antiochus were called. These, after the common practice of petitioners for pardon, acknowledged the king's error, and besought the conscript fathers to let their deliberations be directed rather by their own clemency, than by the misconduct of the king; who had suffered punishment fully sufficient; in fine, to



ratify, by their authority, the terms of the peace granted by their general Lucius Scipio." The senate voted, that the peace should be observed; and the people, a few days after, passed an order to the same purpose. The treaty was concluded in the capitol with Antipater, chief of the embassy, and nephew of king Antiochus. Then audience was given to the other embassies from Asia, to all of whom was returned the same answer, that "the senate, in conformity to the usage of their ancestors, would send ten ambassadors to examine and adjust the affairs of Asia. That the outline of the arrangement was to be this: that the places on the hither side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Mæander; and that these last mentioned should become the property of the Rhodians. The other states of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, should likewise pay tribute to Eumenes; and such as had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and independent." The ten ambassadors appointed were, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Tubero.

LVI. These were commissioned, with full powers, to determine all points, that required investigation on the spot. The general plan the senate settled thus: That "all Lycæonia, both the Phrygias, and Mysia, the royal forests, and Lydia, and Ionia, excepting those towns which had been free on the day whereon the battle was fought with Antiochus, and excepting, by name, Magnesia at Sipylus; then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Mæander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war, and excepting, by name, Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; all these should be given to king Eumenes. Lycia was assigned to the Rhodians, excepting the same Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, with the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; these were withheld from both Eumenes and the Rhodians. To the latter was given also that

part of Caria which lies beyond the river Mæander nearest to the island of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns which had been in a state of freedom on the day before that of the battle with Antiochus." The Rhodians, after returning thanks for these favours, mentioned the city of Soli in Cilicia, "the inhabitants of which," they said, "as well as themselves, derived their origin from Argos; and, in consequence of this relation, a brotherly affection subsisted between the two states. They, therefore, requested the senate, as an extraordinary favour, to exempt that city from subjection to the king." The ambassadors of Antiochus were called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but their consent could not be obtained; Antipater appealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, the Rhodians were striving to become masters, not only of the city of Soli, but of all Cilicia, and to pass beyond the summits of Taurus. The Rhodians were called again before the senate, and the fathers, after acquainting them how earnestly the king's ambassadors opposed the measure, added, that "if the Rhodians were of opinion that the affair was particularly interesting to the dignity of their state, they would use every means to overcome the obstinacy of the ambassadors." Hereupon the Rhodians, with greater warmth than before, testified their gratitude, and declared, that they would rather give way to the arrogance of Antipater, than afford any reason for disturbing the peace. So no change was made with respect to Soli.

LVII. During the time of these transactions intelligence was brought, by messengers from Marseilles, that Lucius Bæbius, the prætor, on his way into his province of Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians, great part of his retinue slain, and himself wounded; that he had made his escape, without his lictors, and with but few attendants, to Marseilles, and in three days after expired. The senate, on hearing of this misfortune, decreed, that Publius Junius Brutus, who was prætor in Etruria, should leave the command of the province and army to a lieutenant-general, and go himself into Farther Spain, which must be his province. This decree, accompanied with a letter, the prætor, Spurius Posthumius, sent into Etruria, and Publius Junius Brutus, the prætor, set out accordingly. But long before the new governor's arrival in that

province, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who afterwards, with great glory, conquered king Perseus, though his efforts had been unsuccessful the year before, hastily collected a body of troops, and fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, and put to flight; eighteen thousand were killed, three thousand three hundred taken, and their camp stormed. This victory contributed much to tranquillize affairs in Spain. During the same year, on the third day before the calends of January, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Lucius Valerius Tappus, triumvirs, pursuant to a decree of senate, settled a Latine colony at Bononia. The number of the settlers was three thousand men. Seventy acres were given to each horseman, fifty to each of the other colonists. The land had been taken from the Boian Gauls, who had formerly expelled the Tuscans.

LVIII. There were many candidates for the censorship this year, all of them men of illustrious characters; and this business, as if it were not in itself sufficient to excite dispute, gave rise to another contest of a much more violent nature. The candidates were, Titus Quintius Flaminius, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians at Thermopylæ. The general favour inclined chiefly to this last; because he had been liberal of his largesses, and had thereby attached great numbers to his interest. As it was a severe mortification to so many of the nobility to see a new man preferred so far before them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus, and Caius Sempronius Rutilus, plebeian tribunes, commenced a prosecution against him, on a charge, that he had neither exhibited in his triumph, nor lodged in the treasury, a large part of the royal treasure, and of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus. The depositions of the lieutenants-general and military tribunes varied. Beyond all the other witnesses Marcus Cato was remarkable; but the deference due to his assertions, from the constant tenor of his life, was greatly impaired by the circumstance of his being himself a candidate. On being examined, he affirmed, that he had not observed, in the triumph, the gold and silver vessels which, on the taking of the camp, he had seen among the other spoils of the king. At last, Glabrio declared, that he declined the

election, and that chiefly with the view of reflecting discredit on Cato. Men of noble families resented the matter in silence, but he, a competitor, (whose pretensions to nobility were no higher than his own,) endeavoured to counterwork him by perjury, so atrocious, that no fine could be adequate to its guilt. The penalty which his prosecutors proposed to have inflicted was an hundred thousand asses;<sup>1</sup> and this point was twice argued, but, at a third hearing, as the accused had declined the election, and the people were unwilling to vote about the fine, the tribunes, also, dropped the business. The censors elected were, Titus Quintius Flaminius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

LIX. At the same time, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who, at the head of the Roman fleet, had defeated that of king Antiochus, had audience of the senate in the temple of Apollo, outside the city; and, after hearing the recital of his services; his numerous engagements with the enemy; how many of their ships he had sunk and taken, they unanimously voted him a naval triumph. He triumphed on the calends of February. In this procession were carried forty-nine golden crowns; but the quantity of money was not near so great as might be expected in a triumph over a king, being only thirty-four thousand seven hundred Attic tetradrachms,<sup>2</sup> and one hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred cistophoruses.<sup>3</sup> Supplications were then performed, by order of the senate, in consideration of the successful services to the state, achieved in Spain by Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Not long after, Lucius Scipio arrived at the city; and, that he might be equal to his brother in point of a surname, he chose to be called Asiaticus. He recited his services before both the senate and a general assembly. There were some who imagined that the war he had conducted was magnified in the representation beyond its real importance; for it was terminated entirely by one memorable engagement; and that, of the glory acquired there, a share was due to those who conquered before at Thermopylæ. But, to any person judging impartially, it must appear, that the fight at Thermopylæ was with the Ætolians, rather than with the king. For how small a portion of his own strength did Antiochus employ in that battle? whereas, in

1 322l. 18s. 4d.    2 4482l. 1s. 8d.    3 About 2260l.



the other, in Asia, the strength of the whole Asiatic continent stood combined; for he had collected auxiliaries of all nations from the remotest quarters of the east. With good reason, therefore, the greatest possible honours were paid to the immortal gods, for having rendered a most important victory easy in the acquisition; and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He triumphed in the intercalary month, the day before the calends of March; but his triumph, though in the magnificence of the procession, superior to that of his brother Africanus, yet when we recollect the exploits on which they were grounded, and estimate the dangers and difficulties surmounted, it was no more to be compared to it, than one general to the other, or Antiochus, as a captain, to Hannibal. He carried, in his triumph, military standards, two hundred and thirty-four; models of towns, one hundred and thirty-four; elephants' teeth one thousand two hundred and twenty; crowns of gold, two hundred and twenty-four: pounds weight of silver, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty; Attic tetradrachms, two hundred twenty-four thousand;<sup>1</sup> cistophoruses, three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy;<sup>2</sup> gold pieces called Philippics, one hundred and forty thousand;<sup>3</sup> silver vases, all engraved, to the amount of one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds weight; of golden vases, one thousand and twenty-four pounds weight; and of the king's generals, governors, and principal courtiers, thirty-two, were led before his chariot. He gave to his soldiers twenty-five denariuses<sup>4</sup> each; double to a centurion, triple to a horseman: and after the triumph, their pay and allowance of corn were doubled. He had

already doubled them after the battle in Asia. His triumph was celebrated about a year after the expiration of his consulship.

LX. Cneius Manlius, consul, arrived in Asia, and Quintus Fabius Labeo, prætor, at the fleet, nearly at the same time. The consul did not want reasons for employing his arms against the Gauls; but, at sea, since the final defeat of Antiochus, all was quiet. Fabius, therefore, turned his thoughts to consider what employment he should undertake, that he might not appear to have held a province where nothing was to be done; and he could discover no better plan than to sail over to the island of Crete. The Cydonians were engaged in war against the Gortynians and Gnosians; and it was reported, that there were a great number of Roman and other Italian captives, in slavery, in various parts of the island. Having sailed with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he touched the shore of Crete, he despatched orders to all the states to cease from hostilities, and each of them to search for the captives in its own cities and territory, and bring them to him; also, to send ambassadors to him, to treat of matters which equally concerned the Romans and Cretans. The Cretans took little notice of his message. Excepting the Gortynians, none of them restored the captives. Valerius Antias writes, that there were restored out of the whole island, no less than four thousand captives, in consequence of the fears excited by his threats of a war; and that this was deemed a sufficient reason for Fabius obtaining from the senate a naval triumph, although he performed no other business. From Crete he returned to Ephesus, and despatched thence three ships to the coast of Thrace, with orders to remove the garrisons of Antiochus from Ænos and Maronea, that these cities might be left at liberty.

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1 28,984l. 6s. 8d.

2 5699l. 8s. 5d.

3 77,629l. 3s. 4d.

4 16s. 1½d.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXXVIII.

Marcus Fulvius, consul, receives the surrender of Ambracia, in Epirus; subdues Cephallenia; grants peace to the Ætoliens. His colleague, Manlius, subdues the Gallogræcians, Tolistobians, Tectosagians, and Trocmians. A census held, in which the number of Roman citizens is found to amount to two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight. Treaty of friendship with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Manlius triumphs over the Gallogræcians. Scipio Africanus, prosecuted by the plebeian tribunes, on a charge of embezzling the public money, goes into a voluntary exile at Liternum. Whether he died there, or at Rome, is uncertain, monuments to his memory being erected in both places. Scipio Asiaticus, charged with the like crime, convicted, and ordered to prison, is enlarged by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, hitherto at enmity with him. His property being found unequal to the discharge of his fine, his friends raise it by contribution amongst themselves, which he refuses.

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I. WHILE the war raged in Asia, Ætolia was not free from commotions, which took their rise from the nation of the Athamanians. At that period, since the expulsion of Amynder, Athamania was kept in subjection by royal garrisons, under governors appointed by Philip, who by their haughty and overbearing conduct in command, had made the people regret the loss of Amynder. Amynder, then in exile in Ætolia, from the letters of his friends, which discovered the condition of Athamania, conceived hopes of recovering his throne, and sent persons to Argitheia, the metropolis, to inform the principal men, that if they were sufficiently assured of the inclinations of their countrymen, he would obtain succours from the Ætoliens, and come into Athamania with the select council of that nation, and their prætor, Nicander. Finding that they were ready for any undertaking, he gave them notice, from time to time, of the day on which he would enter Athamania at the head of an army. Four persons, at first, conspired against the Macedonian garrison; then each of these associated with himself six assistants for the execution of the business; but, afterwards, thinking it unsafe to rely upon so small a number, which was rather calculated

for the concealment, than for the execution of the design, they took in a number of associates, equal to the former. Being thus increased to fifty-two, they divided themselves into four parties, one of which repaired to Heraclea, another to Tetraphylia, where the royal treasure used to be kept, a third to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argitheia. It was agreed that they should at first appear in the forum publicly, without any bustle, as if they had come about their own ordinary concerns; and then, on a certain day, raise the whole populace, so as to dislodge the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. At the appointed time, Amynder appeared on the frontiers with a thousand Ætoliens, when, as had been concerted, the Macedonian garrisons were driven from the four places at once; while letters were despatched to the other cities, calling on them to rescue themselves from the exorbitant tyranny of Philip, and to reinstate their hereditary and lawful prince. Accordingly, the Macedonians were, every where, expelled. The town of Theium, (in consequence of the letters being intercepted by Teno, commander of the garrison, and of the citadel being occupied by the king's troops,) stood a siege of a few



days, and then surrendered, as the rest had done, to Amynder, who had now all Athamania in his power, except the fort of Athenæum, on the borders of Macedonia.

II. When Philip heard of the defection of Athamania, he set out, at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded, with the utmost speed, to Gomphi. There he left the greater part of his force, as they would not have been equal to such long marches, and went forward, with two thousand, to Athenæum, the only place of which his troops had kept the possession. From some trials, which he made on the nearest places, he clearly perceived, that all the rest of the country was hostile to him; returning, therefore, to Gomphi, he brought the whole of his army into Athamania. He then sent Zeno, at the head of one thousand foot, with orders to seize on Ethiopia, which stands advantageously for commanding Argitheia; and, as soon as he understood that his party were in possession of that post, he himself followed, and encamped near the temple of Acræan Jupiter. Here he was detained one whole day, by a tremendous storm; and on the next, marched on towards Argitheia. The troops had but just begun to move, when they immediately descried the Athamanians, hastening to the hills which overlooked the road. On the sight of these, the foremost battalions halted, fear and confusion spread through the whole army, and every one began to consider what might have been the consequence, if the troops had gone down into the valleys commanded by those cliffs. The king, who wished, if his men would follow him, to push on rapidly through the defile, was obliged, by the confusion that prevailed among them, to call back the foremost, and return by the same road by which he came. The Athamanians, for some time, followed at a distance, without making any attempt; but, being joined by the Ætolians, they left these to harass the rear, while themselves pressed forward on both flanks. Some of them, by taking a shorter way, through known paths, got before the enemy, and seized the passes; and with such dismay were the Macedonians struck, that they repassed the river in a manner more like a hasty flight, than a regular march, leaving behind many of their men and arms. Here the pursuit ended, and the Macedonians, without farther injury, returned to Gomphi, and from thence into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Ætolians ran

together, from all sides, to Ethiopia, to crush Zeno and his thousand Macedonians; who having little dependence on that post, removed to a hill, which was higher and steeper on all sides. But the Athamanians, making their way up, in several places, soon dislodged them; and while they were dispersed, and unable to find the road, through a pathless and unknown country, covered with rocks, slew many, and made many prisoners. Great numbers, in their panic, tumbled down the precipices; and a very few, with Zeno, effected their escape to the king. They were afterwards allowed liberty to bury the dead; for which purpose a suspension of arms was agreed to.

III. Amynder, on recovering possession of his kingdom, sent ambassadors, both to the senate at Rome, and to the Scipios in Asia, who, since the grand battle with Antiochus, resided at Ephesus. He requested a treaty of amity, apologized for having had recourse to the Ætolians, for the recovery of his hereditary dominions, and made many charges against Philip. The Ætolians from Athamania proceeded into Amphilochia, and, with the consent of the greater part of the inhabitants, reduced that nation under their power and dominion. After the recovery of Amphilochia, for it had formerly belonged to the Ætolians, they passed on, with hopes of equal success, into Aperantia, which, for the most part, surrendered likewise to the Ætolians without a contest. The Dolopians had never been subject to the Ætolians, but they were to Philip. These, at first, ran to arms; but when they were informed of the Amphilocheians taking part with the Ætolians, of Philip's flight out of Athamania, and the destruction of his detachment, they also revolted from Philip to the Ætolians. While these latter flattered themselves with being sufficiently secured against the Macedonians, as being screened on all sides by those states, they received the news of Antiochus being defeated in Asia, by the Romans; and, in a short time after, their ambassadors came home from Rome, not only without any prospect of peace, but also with intelligence, that the consul Fulvius, with his army, had already crossed the sea. Dismayed at these accounts, they first sent ambassadors to solicit Rhodes and Athens, hoping, through the influence of those states, that their petitions, lately rejected, might meet with a more favourable reception from the

senate. They then despatched some of the chief men of their nation to Rome, to try the issue of their last hope, as they had taken no kind of precaution to avert the war, until the enemy was almost within sight. Marcus Fulvius, having brought over his army to Apollonia, was, at this time, consulting with the Epirot chiefs where he should commence his operations. These recommended it to him to attack Ambracia, which had lately united itself to Ætolia; alleging, that, "in case the Ætolians should come to its relief, there were open plains around it, to fight in; and that if they should avoid a battle, there would be no great difficulty in the siege, as there were at hand abundant materials for raising mounds and other works, while the Aretho, a navigable river, affording an easy conveyance of every thing requisite, flowed by the walls; besides, the summer was just approaching, the fittest season for the enterprise." By these arguments they persuaded him to march on through Epirus.

IV. When the consul came to Ambracia, he perceived that the siege would be a work of no small difficulty. Ambracia stands at the foot of a rocky hill, called by the natives Peranthe: the city, where the wall faces the plain and the river, is situated towards the west; the citadel, which is seated on the hill towards the east. The river Aretho, which rises in Acarnania, falls here into a gulf of the sea, called the Ambracian, from the name of the adjacent city. Besides the place being strengthened, on one side by the river, and on another by hills, it was defended by a firm wall, extending in circuit somewhat more than three miles, on the side opposite the plain. Fulvius formed two camps, at a short distance from each other, with one fort on the high ground opposite to the citadel; all which he intended to join together by a rampart and trench, in such a manner as to leave no passage for the besieged to go out of the city; or for any reinforcement to get in. The Ætolians, on the report of Ambracia being besieged, were, by this time assembled at Stratum, in obedience to an edict of their prætor, Nicander. At first they intended to have marched hence, with their whole force, to raise the siege; but when they heard that the place was already, in a great measure, surrounded with works, and that the Epirots were encamped on level ground, on the other side of the river, they resolved to divide their forces. Eupolemus,

with one thousand light troops, marching to Ambracia, made his way into the city, through openings where the works were not yet joined. Nicander's first plan was, to have attacked the camp of the Epirots, in the night, with the rest of the troops, as it would not be easy for them to receive succour from the Romans, the river running between. This enterprise he afterwards judged too hazardous, lest the Romans might happen to discover it, and cut off his retreat. Being deterred by these considerations from the prosecution of that design, he marched away to ravage the country of Acarnania.

V. The consul having completed his works for the circumvallation of the city, and likewise those which were to be brought forward to the walls, formed five attacks, at once, against the place; three, at equal distances from each other, he directed against the quarter which they called Pyrrheum; to which, as it lay next the plain, the approach was the easier; one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and one against the citadel. The battlements were at one post battered with rams, and at another torn down with poles, armed at the end with hooks. At first, the formidable appearance of the works, and the shocks given to the walls, attended with a dreadful noise, filled the townsmen with terror and dismay: but, as beyond their hopes, these still stood, they again resumed courage, and, by means of cranes, threw down upon the battering rams weighty masses of lead, or stone, or beams of timber. Catching, likewise, the armed poles with iron grapples, they drew them within the walls, and broke off the hooks: while, by sallies, both in the night against the watch-guards, and, in the day, against the advanced posts, they kept the besiegers in a state of continual alarm. While affairs at Ambracia were in this state, the Ætolians, having returned, from ravaging Acarnania, to Stratum, their prætor, Nicander, conceived hopes of raising the siege by a bold effort. He sent a person called Nicodamus, accompanied by five hundred Ætolians, with orders to get into Ambracia, having fixed on a certain night, and even on the hour, when, from within the city, they were to assault the works of the enemy, opposite to the Pyrrheum, while himself should alarm the Roman camp. His opinion was, that, in consequence of the tumult in both places at once, and of darkness augmenting the



enemy's fears, he might be able to effect something of importance. Nicodamus, during the dead of the night, (having escaped the notice of some of the parties on watch, and broken through others,) without halting, passed the intrenchment, and made his way into the city; which gave the besieged new hopes, and courage for any enterprise. As soon as the appointed time arrived, according to concert, he made a sudden assault on the works; but the attempt, though formidable at first, produced no great effect, there being no attack made from without: for the prætor of the Ætolians had either been deterred by fear, or had judged it more advisable to carry succours to Amphilochia, which had been lately reduced, and was now very vigorously besieged by Philip's son Perseus, sent by his father to recover both that and Dolopia.

VI. The Romans, as has been mentioned, carried on their works against the Pyrrheum in three different places, all which works the Ætolians assaulted at once, but not with like weapons, or like force. Some advanced with burning torches, others carrying tow and pitch, and firebrands, so that their whole band appeared in a blaze of fire. Their first assault cut off many of the men on guard; but when the shout and uproar reached the camp, and the signal was given by the consul, the troops took arms, and poured out of all the gates to succour their friends. In one place, the contest was carried on with fire and sword; from the other two, the Ætolians retired with disappointment, after essaying, rather than supporting a fight; while the whole brunt of the battle fell on the one quarter with great fury. Here the two commanders, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, in their different posts, encouraged their men, and animated them with hope nearly certain, that Nicander would, according to his agreement, come up speedily, and attack the enemy's rear. This expectation, for some time, supported their courage in the fight; but, at last, as they did not receive the concerted signal from their friends, and saw the number of their enemies continually increasing, they slackened their efforts, considering themselves as deserted; and, in a short time, finally abandoned the attempt, when they could scarcely retreat with safety. They were obliged to fly into the city, after having burned a part of the works, however, and killed a much greater number than they lost. If the affair had been conducted according to the plan concerted, there was no reason

to doubt but one part, at least, of the works might have been stormed with great havoc of the Romans. The Ambracians, and the Ætolians who were within, not only renounced the enterprise of that night, but, supposing themselves betrayed by their friends, became much less spirited. None of them any longer sallied out, as before, against the enemy's posts, and standing on the walls and towers, fought without danger.

VII. Perseus, on hearing of the approach of the Ætolians, raised the siege of the city in which he was employed; and, having done nothing more than ravaged the country, quitted Amphilochia, and returned into Macedonia. The Ætolians, too, were called away by devastations committed on their coasts. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, entered the Corinthian gulf with sixty barks, and being joined by the ships of the Achæans lying at Patræ, wasted the maritime parts of Ætolia. Against these were sent one thousand Ætolians, who, to whatever place the fleet steered round, by taking shorter roads, across the winding of the coasts, were ready there to oppose them. The Romans at Ambracia, by the battering of their rams in many places at once, laid open a great part of the city; but nevertheless, were unable to penetrate into the heart of it. For no sooner was a part of the wall demolished, than a new one was raised in its place, while the armed men, standing on the ruins, formed a kind of bulwark. The consul, therefore, finding that he made no progress by open force, resolved to form a secret mine, covering the ground first with his machines. For a long time his workmen, though employed both night and day, not only in digging but also in carrying away the earth, escaped the observation of the enemy. A heap of it, however, rising suddenly, gave the townsmen the first intimation of what was going on, and, terrified lest the wall should be already undermined, and a passage opened into the city, they drew a trench within, opposite to the work that was covered with machines. This they sunk as deep as the bottom of the mine could well be; then, keeping profound silence, they applied their ears to several different places, to catch the sound of the miners employed. No sooner was this heard, than they opened a way directly towards them, which did not require much labour, for they came in a short time to where the wall was supported with props by the enemy. The works joining here, and the passage

being open, from the trench to the mine, the parties began to fight in the dark under ground; the miners with the tools which they had used in the works, but they were soon supported by armed men. The warmth, however, of this contest soon abated; for the besieged had it in their power, whenever they pleased, to stop the passage, sometimes by stretching strong hair-cloths across it, sometimes by hastily placing doors in the way of their antagonists. They also played off against those in the mine, a contrivance of an unusual kind, which required no great labour. They took a large vessel, and bored a hole in its bottom of a moderate size; in this they fixed an iron pipe, and put over the vessel a cover also of iron, perforated in many places: this vessel they filled with small feathers; and, turning the mouth of it towards the mine, through the holes in the covering, projected those long spears, which they call *sarissas*, to keep off the enemy. Then they put a small spark of fire among the feathers, which they kindled by blowing with a smith's bellows, inserted into the end of the pipe, and by this means filled the whole mine with smoke, which was not only thick, but so offensive, from the nauseous stench of the burnt feathers, that it was scarcely possible for any one to remain in the way of it.

VIII. While such was the situation of affairs at Ambracia,—Phæneas and Damoteles came to the consul, as ambassadors from the Ætolians, invested with full powers by a decree of the general assembly of that nation. For when their prætor saw, on one side, Ambracia besieged; on another, the sea-coast infested by the enemy's ships; on a third, Amphilochia and Dolopia ravaged by the Macedonians, and that the Ætolians were incapable of resisting the three enemies at once, he summoned a council, and demanded the judgment of the chiefs on the measures to be pursued. The opinions of all tended to one point: that "peace must be obtained on as easy terms as possible. Having undertaken the war, relying on the support of Antiochus, now that Antiochus had been vanquished on land and sea, and driven beyond the mountains of Taurus, indeed, almost out of the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it? Let Phæneas and Damoteles act to the best of their judgment, for the service of the Ætolians, in their present circumstances. But what room for counsel, what option had fortune left them?" The

ambassadors despatched with these instructions besought the consul to "have mercy on the city, and to take compassion on a nation, once acknowledged as an ally; and since driven to desperation, they would not say, by ill treatment, but undoubtedly by their sufferings. The Ætolians," they said, "had not in Antiochus' war, deserved a larger share of punishment, than they had of reward, in that against Philip; and as, in the last-mentioned case, the compensation made to them was not very liberal, neither ought their penalties now to be excessive." To this the consul answered, that "the Ætolians had often, indeed, sued for peace, but never with sincere intentions. Let them, in soliciting peace, imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia, on this side Mount Taurus. That he (the consul) would not listen to any overtures whatever from the Ætolians, until they laid down their arms. They must, in the first place, deliver up these, and all their horses; and then pay one thousand talents<sup>1</sup> to the Roman people; half of which sum must be laid down immediately, if they wished for peace. To these articles he would add, in the treaty, that they must have the same allies, and the same enemies, as the Roman people."

IX. The ambassadors, considering these terms as very unreasonable, and knowing the changeful tempers of their countrymen, made no reply, but returned home, that they might again, before any thing was concluded, receive the instructions of the prætor and council. They were received with clamour and reproaches, for protracting the business; and commanded to bring with them a peace of some kind or other. But as they were going back to Ambracia, they were caught in an ambuscade, laid, near the road, by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and carried to Tyrreum, into confinement. This accident delayed the conclusion of a peace. The ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, who had come to mediate in their favour, were now with the consul; and Amynder also, king of Athamania, having obtained a safe conduct, came into the Roman camp, being more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the



nation of the Ætolians. When the consul was informed by them of the accident which had befallen the ambassadors, he ordered them to be brought from Tyrrhæum: and, on their arrival, the negotiations for peace were opened. Amynander, as that was his principal object, laboured assiduously to persuade the Ambracians to a capitulation. But, finding that he could not accomplish this by coming under the walls, and conferring with their chiefs, he, at last, with the consul's permission, went into the city; where, partly by arguments, partly by entreaties, he prevailed on them to surrender themselves to the Romans. The Ætolians received also great assistance from the consul's uterine brother, Caius Valerius, the son of Lævinus, the first who had made a treaty of alliance with that nation. The Ambracians, having first stipulated that they might send away the auxiliary Ætolians in safety, opened their gates. The conditions then prescribed to the Ætolians were, that "they should pay five hundred Euboic talents,<sup>1</sup> two hundred at present, and three hundred at six equal annual payments; that they should deliver up to the Romans the prisoners and deserters; that they should not claim jurisdiction over any city, which, since the first coming of Titus Quintius into Greece, had either been taken by the arms of the Romans, or voluntarily entered into alliance with them: and that the island of Cephallenia should not be included in the treaty." Although these terms were more moderate than they themselves had expected, yet the Ætolians begged permission to lay them before the council, and their request was granted. The council spent some time in debating about the cities, which, having been once members of their state, they could not, without pain, bear to have torn off, as it were, from their body. However, they unanimously voted that the terms of peace should be accepted. The Ambracians presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds weight. The brazen and marble statues with which Ambracia was more richly decorated than any other city in that country, as having been the royal residence of Pyrrhus, were all removed and carried away; but nothing else was injured, or even touched.

X. The consul, marching into the interior parts of Ætolia, encamped at Amphilocheian

Argos, twenty-two miles from Ambracia. Here, at length, the Ætolian ambassadors, whose delay had surprised the consul, arrived. When they informed him that the council had approved the terms of peace, he ordered them to go to Rome to the senate; gave permission for the Athenian and Rhodian mediators to go with them; appointed his brother, Caius Valerius, to accompany them, and then himself passed over to Cephallenia. The ambassadors found the ears and minds of all the principal people at Rome prepossessed by charges made against them by Philip, who had complained both by ambassadors and by letters, that Doloopia, Amphilocheia, and Athamania, had been forcibly taken from him; that his garrison, and, at last, even his son Perseus, had been driven out of Amphilocheia; and these accusations had predisposed the senate to refuse to listen to their entreaties. The Athamanians and Rhodians were, nevertheless, heard with attention. One of the Athenian ambassadors, Leon, son of Icesias, is said to have even affected them much by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile, and comparing the multitude of the Ætolians to a calm sea, when it comes to be ruffled by the winds, he said, that "as long as they faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome, they rested in the calm state natural to the nations; but that, when Thoas and Dicaearchus began to blow from Asia, Menetas and Damocritus from Europe, then was raised that storm which dashed them on Antiochus as on a rock."

XI. The Ætolians, after long suspense and uncertainty, at length prevailed to have articles of peace concluded. They were these:—"The Ætolian nation, without fraud or deceit, shall maintain the empire and majesty of the Roman people: they shall not suffer to pass through their territories, nor, in any manner whatever, aid nor assist any army that shall march against the allies and friends of the Romans: they shall have the same enemies as the Roman people; and they shall bear arms against them, and take a share in their wars: they shall deliver up the deserters, fugitives, and prisoners, to the Romans and their allies, excepting such as, having been prisoners before, and returned home, were afterwards captured; and also such as at the time of their being taken, were enemies to Rome, while the Ætolians acted in conjunction with the Romans. The others shall

<sup>1</sup> About 96,000*l*.

be delivered up without reserve, to the magistrates of Corcyra, within one hundred days; and such as cannot now be found, as soon as they shall be discovered. They shall give forty hostages to be chosen by the Roman consul, none younger than twelve years nor older than forty; neither the prætor, nor the general of the horse, nor the public secretary, shall be a hostage; nor any person who has before been a hostage in the hands of the Romans. Cephalenia not to be included in these articles."

With respect to the sum of money which they were to pay, and the mode of payment, no alteration was made in the arrangement settled by the consul. If they chose to give gold instead of silver, it was agreed that they might do so, provided that one piece of gold should be deemed equivalent to ten of silver of the same weight. "Whatever cities, whatever lands, whatever men have been formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ætolians, and have, either in the consulate of Titus Quintius and Publius Ælius, or since their consulate, either been subdued by the arms of the Roman people, or that made a voluntary submission to them, the Ætolians are not to reclaim. The Cœnians, with their city and lands, are to belong to the Acarnanians." On these conditions was the treaty concluded with the Ætolians.

XII. During the same summer, and even at the very time, when the consul, Marcus Fulvius, was thus employed in Ætolia, the other consul, Cneius Manlius, carried on war in Gallogrecia; the progress of which I shall now relate. At the first opening of spring he came to Ephesus, and having received the command of the army from Lucius Scipio, and purified the troops, he made a harangue to the soldiers, in which he praised their bravery in having completely conquered Antiochus in a single battle. He then encouraged them to undertake, with spirit, a new war against the Gauls, who had supported him as auxiliaries; and were, besides, of such untractable tempers, that the removing of that monarch beyond the mountains of Taurus would answer no purpose, unless the power of the Gauls were reduced. He then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant. They listened to his discourse with much satisfaction, and universally applauded it; for considering the Gauls as having been a part of the strength of Antiochus, they thought, that, since that king had been vanquished, the forces of that people, by them-

selves, would be an easy conquest. The absence of Eumenes, who was then at Rome, seemed, to the consul, an unseasonable circumstance, as he was well acquainted with the nature of the country and of the inhabitants; and also, as his own interest must make him wish to crush the power of the Gauls. He therefore sent for his brother Attalus, from Pergamus, whom he persuaded to join in undertaking the war; and who, having promised his assistance, and that of his countrymen, was sent home to make the necessary preparations. A few days after, the consul began his march from Ephesus, and, at Magnesia, Attalus met him with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow with the rest of the troops, committing the care of Pergamus to persons whom he knew to be faithful to his brother, and to his government. The consul highly commended the young prince, and advancing with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Mæander, for that river not being fordable, it was necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.

XIII. Having passed the Mæander, they came to Hiera Come.<sup>1</sup> In this place there is a magnificent temple, and oracle of Apollo where responses are said to be given in not inelegant verses. From hence, in two days' march they reached the river Harpasus; whither came ambassadors from the Alabandians, entreating the consul, either by his authority or his arms, to compel a fort, which had lately revolted from them, to return to its former allegiance. At the same place he was joined by Athenæus, the brother of Eumenes, and Attalus, with Leusus, a Cretan, and Corragos, a Macedonian commander. They brought with them of various nations, one thousand foot and three hundred horse. The consul detached a military tribune, with a small party who retook the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He did not himself quit his route, but went on to Antiochia, on the Mæander, where he pitched his camp. The source of this river rises in Celæna, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants afterwards removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celæna, which new city they called Apamea, the name of the wife of king Seleucus. The river Marsyas also rising at a little distance from the head of the Mæander, falls into the

<sup>1</sup> Holy Town.



latter river, and the general opinion is, that at Celænæ happened the contest between Mar-syas and Apollo in playing on the flute. The Mæander, springing up in the highest part of the citadel of Celænæ, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Priene and Miletus. Seleucus, son of Antiochus, came into the consul's camp, at Antiochia, to furnish corn for the troops, in conformity to the treaty with Scipio. Here a small dispute arose, concerning the auxiliary troops of Attalus; for Seleucus affirmed, that the engagement of Antiochus went no farther than the supplying of corn to the Roman soldiers. This difference was soon terminated by the firmness of the consul, who sent a tribune, with orders that the Roman soldiers should receive none, until the auxiliaries, under Attalus, should have received their share. From hence the army advanced to Gordiutichos,<sup>1</sup> as it is called: from which place it marched, in three days, to Tabæ. This city stands on the confines of Pisidia, on the side opposite the Pamphylian sea. Before the strength of that country was reduced, its inhabitants had been remarkable as valiant warriors; and even on this occasion, their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused, by their first onset, no small confusion; but soon finding themselves overmatched both in number and bravery, they fled into the city, on which the townsmen, begging pardon for their transgressions, offered to surrender the place. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver,<sup>2</sup> and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms their surrender was accepted.

XIV. On the third day after their leaving this place, the army reached the river Chaos, and proceeding thence, took the city of Eriza at the first assault. They then came to Thabusias, a fort standing on the bank of the river Indus, so called from an Indian thrown into it from an elephant. They were now not far from Cibra, yet no embassy appeared from Moagetes, the tyrant of that state; a man, whose conduct, in every circumstance, was branded with infidelity and injustice. The consul, in order to learn his intentions, sent forward Caius Helvius, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. When this party

entered his frontiers, they were met by ambassadors, who declared that Moagetes was willing to submit to their orders; entreated Helvius to pass through the country without hostilities, and to restrain his soldiers from plundering it; bringing with them in lieu of a golden crown fifteen talents. Helvius promised to protect their territory, and ordered the ambassadors to go on to the consul, who, on the same message being delivered by them, answered, "We Romans see no sign of the tyrant having any good will towards us; and we are decidedly of opinion, that such is his character; that we ought rather to think of punishing than of contracting friendship with him." Struck with astonishment at such a reception, the ambassadors confined their request to his acceptance of the fifteen talents, with permission for their master to come before him, and vindicate his conduct. Having obtained the consul's leave, the tyrant came, next day, into the camp. His dress and retinue were in a style scarcely becoming a private person of moderate fortune; while his discourse was humble and incoherent, tending to diminish the idea of his wealth, being filled with complaints of his own poverty, and that of the cities in his state. He had under his dominion, (beside Cibra,) Syleum, and the city called Alimne. Out of these he promised, (but in such a manner as if he were diffident of his ability to accomplish it, by stripping himself and his subjects,) to raise twenty-five talents.<sup>3</sup> "This," said the consul, "is not to be endured. Was it not enough that you should endeavour to impose upon us by your ambassadors, but you must now come in person to persist in the falsehood. What! twenty-five talents will exhaust your dominions! If, within three days, you do not pay down five hundred talents,<sup>4</sup> expect to see your lands wasted, and your city besieged." Although terrified by this menace, yet he persisted obstinately in his plea of poverty; gradually advancing, however, with sordid reluctance, (sometimes cavilling, sometimes recurring to prayers and counterfeit tears,) he was brought to agree to the payment of one hundred talents,<sup>5</sup> to which were added ten thousand bushels of corn. All this was done within six days.

XV. From Cibra the army was led through the territory of the Sendians, and, after crossing

the river Caular, encamped. Next day they marched along the side of the lake of Caralis, and passed the night at Mandropolis. As they advanced to the next city, Lagos, the inhabitants fled through fear. The place being deserted, yet filled with abundance of every thing, was pillaged by the soldiers. They next day proceeded by the head of the river Lysis, to the river Cobulatus. At this time the Termessians were besieging the citadel of the Isiondians, after having taken the city. The besieged, destitute of every other hope of relief, sent ambassadors to the consul, imploring succour; adding, that, "being shut up in the citadel, with their wives and children, they were in daily expectation of perishing, either by the sword or famine." The consul was well pleased at an occasion offering for turning aside to Pamphylia. His approach raised the siege of Isionda. He granted peace to Termessus on receiving fifty talents;<sup>6</sup> and, likewise, to the Aspendians and other states of Pamphylia. In his return out of that country he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second at Come Xylene,<sup>7</sup> as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cornasa. The next city was Darsa, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants through fear, but plentifully stored with every thing useful. As he marched thence along the morasses, he was met by ambassadors from Lysinoë, with the surrender of that state. He then came into the Sagalassenian territory, rich and abounding in every kind of production. The inhabitants are Pisidians, the best soldiers, by far, of any in that part of the world. This circumstance, together with the fertility of their soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their city, which is stronger than most others, gave them boldness. Manlius, as no embassy attended him on the frontiers, sent a party to ravage the country; which overcame their obstinacy, as they saw their effects carried and driven away. They then sent ambassadors; and on their agreeing to pay fifty talents, with twenty thousand bushels of wheat and twenty thousand of barley, they obtained peace. The consul then marched to the source of the Obrina, and encamped at a village called Comi Aporidos. Hither Seleucus came, next day, from Apamea; to which place the sick, and

the useless baggage, were sent; and the army being furnished with guides by Seleucus, and marching that day into the plain of Metropolis, advanced on the day following, to Dinia in Phrygia, and thence to Synnas: all the towns on every side being deserted by the inhabitants through fear. The spoil of these overloaded the army, and retarded its motion so much, that it scarcely marched five miles in a whole day; when it reached the town called Old Beudi. Next day it encamped at Anabura; on the following, at the source of the Alander, and on the third at Abassus, where it lay for several days, being now arrived at the borders of the Tolistobians.

XVI. These Gauls, in a very numerous body, quitting their native country, under the conduct of Brennus, either through hopes of plunder, or in consequence of a scarcity of land; and, thinking that no nation through which they were to pass would be a match for them in arms; made their way into Dardania. There a dissension arose, and twenty thousand of them, under the chieftains Leonorius and Lutarius, separating from Brennus, turned their route to Thrace. As they went along, they fought with such as resisted them, imposed a tribute on such as sued for peace, and arriving at Byzantium, held possession, for a long time, of the cities in that quarter, laying the coast of the Propontis under contribution. They were afterwards seized by a desire of passing over into Asia, from the accounts which they heard, in its neighbourhood, of the great fruitfulness of its lands; and, having taken Lysimachia by treachery, and possessed themselves of the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they went down to the Hellespont. When they there beheld Asia on the other side of a narrow strait, their wishes to pass into it were much more highly inflamed, and they dispatched envoys to Antipater, governor of that coast, to adjust matters relating to their passage. But this business being protracted to a greater length than they expected, a new quarrel broke out between their chieftains; in consequence of which, Leonorius, with the greater part of the people, went back to Byzantium, whence they came; and Lutarius, having taken from some Macedonians, (sent by Antipater as spies, under the pretext of an embassy,) two decked ships and three barks, employed these in carrying over one division after another, by day or by night, until, within a few days, he had transported

6 96874. 10s.

7 The wood town.



his whole army. Not long after, Leonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed over from Byzantium. The Gauls then re-united their forces, and assisted Nicomedes in a war which he was carrying on against Zybœa, who held possession of a part of Bithynia. By their assistance chiefly, Zybœa was subdued, and the whole of Bithynia reduced under the dominion of Nicomedes. Then leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and, although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten carried arms, yet such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they visited, and those which they did not visit, the remotest as well as the nearest submitted to their authority. At length, as there were three tribes of them, the Tolistoboians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosagians, they made a division of Asia into three provinces, according to which the contributions imposed upon them were to be paid to each of their states respectively. The coast of the Hellespont was assigned to the Trocmians; Ionia and Æolia were allotted to the Tolistoboians, and the inland parts of Asia to the Tectosagians. They levied tribute throughout every part of Asia, but chose their own residence on the banks of the river Halys; and so great was the terror of their name, their numbers, too, increasing by a rapid population, that at last, even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants of Asia, who ventured a refusal, was Atalus, the father of king Eumenes; and beyond the expectation of all, fortune favoured his bold resolution. He defeated them in a pitched battle; yet he did not so effectually break their spirits, as to make them give up their pretensions to empire. Their power continued the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans; and, even then, after Antiochus was expelled the country, they still entertained a hope, that, as they lived remote from the sea, the Roman army would not come so far.

XVII. As the troops were about to act against this enemy, so terrible to all in that part of the world, the consul, calling them to an assembly, spoke to this effect: "It is not unknown to me, that, of all the nations inhabiting Asia, the Gauls have the highest reputation as soldiers. A fierce nation, after over-running the face of the earth with its arms, has

fixed its abode in the midst of a race of men the gentlest in the world. Their tall persons, their long red hair, their vast shields, and swords of enormous length; their songs also, when they are advancing to action, their yells and dances, and the horrid clashing of their armour, while they brandish their shields in a peculiar manner, practised in their original country; all these are circumstances calculated to strike terror. But let Greeks, and Phrygians, and Carians, who are unaccustomed to, and unacquainted with these things, be frightened by such; the Romans, long acquainted with Gallic tumults, have learned the emptiness of their parade. Once, indeed, in an early period, they defeated our ancestors at the Allia. Ever since that time, for, now, two hundred years, the Romans drive them before them in dismay, and kill them like cattle; there have, indeed, been more triumphs celebrated over the Gauls, than over almost all the rest of the world. It is now well known by experience, that if you sustain their first onset, which they make with fiery eagerness and blind fury, their limbs are unnerved with sweat and fatigue; their arms flag; and, though you should not employ a weapon on them, the sun, dust, and thirst, sink their enervate bodies, and their no less enervate minds. We have tried them, not only with our legions against theirs, but in single combat, man to man. Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius have demonstrated how far Roman valour surpasses Gallic fury. Marcus Manlius, singly, thrust back the Gauls who were mounting the capitol in a body. Our forefathers had to deal with genuine native Gauls; but they are now degenerate, a mongrel race, and, in reality, what they are named, Gallogræcians; just as is the case of vegetables; the seeds not being so efficacious for preserving their original constitution, as the properties of the soil and climate in which they may be reared, when changed, are towards altering it. The Macedonians who settled at Alexandria in Egypt, or in Seleucia, or Babylonia, or in any other of their colonies scattered over the world, have sunk into Syrians, Parthians, or Egyptians. Marseilles, by being situated in the midst of Gauls, has contracted somewhat of the disposition of its adjoining neighbours. What trace do the Tarentines retain of the hardy rugged discipline of Sparta? Every thing that grows in its own natural soil attains the greater perfection; whatever is planted in a foreign

land, by a gradual change in its nature, degenerates into a similitude to that which affords it nurture. You will therefore fight with men of the like description as those whom you have already vanquished and cut to pieces; those Phrygians, encumbered with Gallic armour, in the battle with Antiochus. I fear that they will not oppose us sufficiently so as that we may acquire honour from our victory. King Attalus often routed and put them to flight. Brutes retain for a time, when taken, their natural ferocity: but, after being long fed by the hands of men, they grow tame. Think ye, then, that Nature does not act in the same manner, in softening the savage tempers of men? Do you believe these to be of the same kind that their fathers and grandfathers were? Driven from home by want of land, they marched along the craggy coast of Illyricum; then fought their way, against the fiercest nations, through the whole length of Pæonia and Thrace, and took possession of these countries. After being hardened, yet soured, by so great hardships, they gained admittance here; a territory capable of glutting them with an abundance of every thing desirable. By the very great fertility of the soil, the very great mildness of the climate, and the gentle dispositions of the neighbouring nations, all that barbarous fierceness, which they brought with them, has been quite mollified. As for you, who are sons of Mars, believe me, you ought, from the very beginning, to guard against, and shun, above all things, the enticing delights of Asia; so great is the power of those foreign pleasures in extinguishing the vigour of the mind, so strong the contagion from the relaxed discipline and manners of the people about you. One thing has happened fortunately; that though they will not bring against you a degree of strength by any means equal to what they formerly possessed; yet they still retain a character among the Greeks equal to what they had at their first coming; consequently, you will acquire, by subduing them, as high renown among the allies for military prowess, as if they had kept up to their ancient standard of courage."

XVIII. He then dismissed the assembly; and, having despatched ambassadors to Eposognatus, (who alone, of all the petty princes, had remained in friendship with Eumenes, and refused to assist Antiochus against the Romans,) proceeded on his march. He came,

the first day, to the river Alander, and the next, to a village called Tyscos. Here he was met by ambassadors from the Oroandians, begging to be admitted into friendship. He ordered them to pay two hundred talents; <sup>1</sup> and, on their requesting liberty to report that matter at home, gave them permission. He then led the army to Plitendos, and, proceeding thence, encamped at Alyatti. The persons sent to Eposognatus returned to him here, and with them ambassadors from that chieftain, who, entreated him not to make war on the Tolis-toboians, for that Eposognatus himself would go among that people and persuade them to submission. This request of the prince was complied with. The army then marched through the country called Axylos\*, which name was given from the nature of the place, being entirely destitute not only of timber, but even of brambles, or any species of fire-wood. The inhabitants, instead of wood, use cow dung. While the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a fort of Gallogræcia, a party of the enemy's cavalry appeared, advancing with great fury. And they not only disordered by their sudden charge, the advanced guards of the Romans, but killed several of the men. No sooner, however, did the uproar reach the camp, than the Roman cavalry, pouring out hastily by all the gates, routed and dispersed the Gauls, killing many as they fled. The consul, now, perceiving that he had reached the enemy's country, took care, for the future, to explore the ground through which his route led, and to keep a proper guard on his rear. Having, by continued marches, arrived at the river Sangarius, he set about constructing a bridge, no passable ford being any where found. The Sangarius, running from the mountain of Adoreos, through Phrygia, joins the river Thymbris at the confines of Bithynia. After doubling its quantity of water by this junction, it proceeds, in a more copious stream, through Bithynia, and empties itself into the Euxine sea. Yet it is not so remarkable for the size of its current, as for the vast quantity of fish which it supplies to the people in its vicinity. When the bridge was finished, and the army had passed the river, as they were marching along the bank, they were met by the Gallic priests of the Great Mother, from Pessinus with the symbols of their office; who, in



rhymes, which they chanted as if they were inspired, foretold that the goddess would grant the Romans a safe passage, success in the war, and the empire over that country. The consul, saying that he embraced the omen, pitched his camp on that very spot. On the following day he arrived at Gordium. This town, though not very large, is a celebrated and well-frequented mart, exceeding, in that respect, most other inland places. It has the advantage of three seas, nearly equidistant from it, that at Hellespontus, that at Sinope, and that on the opposite coast of Cilicia. It is also contiguous to the borders of many and great nations, the commerce of which, mutual convenience caused to centre, principally, in this place. The Romans found the town deserted by the inhabitants through fear, yet at the same time filled with plenty of every thing. While they halted here, ambassadors came from Epossognatus, with information, that "he had applied to the petty princes of the Gauls, but could not bring them to reason; that they were removing in crowds from the villages and lands in the open country; and, with their wives and children, carrying and driving whatever could be carried or driven, were going to Mount Olympus, where they hoped to defend themselves by their arms and the nature of the ground."

XIX. Deputies from the Oroandians brought, afterwards, more particular intelligence; that "the state of the Tolistoboians had seized Mount Olympus, but that the Tectosagians, taking a different route, were gone to another mountain, called Magaba; and that the Trocmians, leaving their wives and children in charge with the Tectosagians, had resolved to carry their armed force to the assistance of the Tolistoboians." The chieftains of the three states, at that time, were Ortia-gon, Combolomarus, and Gæulotus; and their principal reason for choosing this mode of conducting the war was, that as they had possession of the highest mountains in that part of the world, and had conveyed thither stores of every kind, sufficient for their consumption during a long time, they thought that the enemy would be wearied out by the tediousness of the enterprise: being fully persuaded, that "they would never venture to climb over places so steep and uneven; that if such an attempt should be made, a small number would be able to repulse and drive them down; and that they never could

bring themselves to sit inactive, at the foot of bleak mountains, exposed to cold and hunger." Although the height of their posts was, in itself, a strong defence, yet they drew, besides, a trench and other fortifications round the summits which they occupied. The least part of their care was employed in providing a stock of missile weapons; for they trusted that the rocky ground itself would furnish stones in abundance.

XX. The consul, having foreseen that his men could not come to a close engagement, in the attack of the enemy's post, had prepared an immense quantity of javelins, light infantry, spears, arrows, balls of lead, and small stones, fit to be thrown with slings. Furnished with this stock of missile weapons, he marched towards Mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. Next day, accompanied by Attalus, he advanced, with an escort of four hundred horse, to examine the nature of the mountain, and situation of the camp of the Gauls; but a party of the enemy's cavalry, double in number to his, sallying out, obliged them to retire. He even lost some men in the retreat, and had more wounded. On the third day he went to make his observations, at the head of all his cavalry; and none of the enemy coming out beyond their fortifications, he rode round the mountain with safety. He saw that, on the south side, the hills were composed of earth, and rose to a certain height, with a gentle slope, but that, on the north, there was nothing but steep and almost perpendicular cliffs. He found, too, that there were but three ways by which the troops could ascend; one at the middle of the mountain, where the ground was earthy, and two others, both very difficult, one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. After taking a full view of all these places, he pitched his camp, that day, close to the foot of the mountain. On the day following, after offering sacrifice, in which the first victims afforded the desired omens, he advanced against the enemy with his army in three divisions. He himself, with the greatest part of the forces, marched up where the mountain afforded the easiest ascent. He ordered his brother, Lucius Manlius, to mount on the south-east side, as far as the ground allowed him to ascend with safety; but, if he should meet such precipices as he could not surmount without danger, then, not to contend with the unfavourable nature of the place, or attempt to conquer obstacles insuper-

able, but to come sloping across the mountain towards him, and join the body under his command; and he directed Caius Helvius, with the third division, to march round, leisurely, by the foot of the mountain, and to climb the hill on the north-east. The auxiliary troops of Attalus he distributed equally among the three divisions, ordering the young prince to accompany them himself. The cavalry and elephants he left in the plain, at the foot of the hills, charging the commanding officers, to watch attentively every thing that should happen, and to be expeditious in bringing succour wherever circumstances should require.

XXI. The Gauls, (thoroughly satisfied that the ground on their two flanks was impassable,) in order to secure, by arms, the ascent on the south side, sent about four thousand soldiers to keep possession of a hill which hung over the road, at the distance of near a mile from their camp; hoping that this would serve as a fortress, to stop the enemy's progress. On seeing this, the Romans prepared for the fight. The light-infantry advanced, at a small distance, in the front of the line; and, of Attalus's troops, the Cretan archers and slingers, the Trallians and Thracians. The battalions of infantry, as the ground was steep, marched at a slow pace, holding their shields before them, merely to ward off missile weapons, for there was no likelihood of a close engagement. As soon as they came within reach, the fight commenced with the missile weapons, and continued for a short time equal; the Gauls having the advantage in situation, the Romans in variety and plenty of weapons. But, as the contest advanced, this equality was soon lost: the Gauls carried long shields, but too narrow for the breadth of their bodies; and even these were flat, and therefore afforded but a bad defence. Besides, in a little time they had nothing left but swords, which, as the enemy did not come close, were useless. They had only stones to throw, and those not of a proper size, as they had laid in no store of such, but used whatever each, in his hurry and confusion, found next at hand; and then being unused to this manner of fighting, they did not know how to aid the blow with either skill or strength. At the same time every part was assailed with arrows, leaden balls, and darts; the approach of which they could not perceive, and scarcely conscious, indeed, of what they were doing, so blinded were they by rage and fear together;

while they found themselves engaged in a kind of fight, for which they were utterly unqualified. When closed with an enemy, and where they can receive and give wounds in turn, rage inflames their courage; but when they are wounded at a distance, with light weapons from unknown hands, and have no object on which they can vent their intemperate fury, like wounded wild beasts, they rush forward at random, and often upon their own party. Their wounds made the greater show, because they always fight naked. Their bodies are plump,—consequently the blood flowed in the greater quantity,—and their skins white, being never stripped except in battle. Thus the cuts appeared the more shocking, while the whiteness of their skins made the black stains of the blood more conspicuous. But they were not much affected by open wounds. Sometimes they even cut off the skin, when the wound was more broad than deep, thinking that in this condition they fought with the greater glory. But when the point of an arrow, or a ball, sinking deep in the flesh tormented them, and while, notwithstanding all their endeavours to extract it, the weapon could not be got out, then they fell into fits of phrenzy and shame, at being destroyed by so small a hurt; and dashing themselves on the ground, lay scattered over the place. Some rushing against the enemy were overwhelmed with darts; and, when any of them came near, they were cut to pieces by the light-infantry. A soldier of this description carries a shield three feet long, and, in his right hand, javelins, which he throws at a distance. He has at his side a Spanish sword, which, when he has occasion to fight close, he draws, and shifts the spears into his left hand. There were few of the Gauls now left; and these, seeing themselves overpowered by the light-infantry, and the battalions of the legions advancing, fled in confusion to the camp; which, by this time, was full of tumult and dismay, as the women, children, and others, unfit to bear arms, were all crowded together there. The hills, thus abandoned by the enemy, were seized by the victorious Romans.

XXII. At this juncture, Lucius Manlius and Caius Helvius, having marched up as high as the sloping hills allowed them to do, and, indeed, to insuperable steep, turned towards that side of the mountain, where, only, the ascent was practicable; and began, as if by concert, to follow the consul's party at mode-



rate distances; being driven by necessity to adopt the plan, now, which would have been the best at the beginning. For in such disadvantageous ground reserves have often been of the utmost use; as, should the first line happen to be repulsed, the second may both cover their retreat, and succeed to their place in the fight. The consul, as soon as the vanguard of the legions reached the hills taken by the light-infantry, ordered the troops to halt, and take breath; at the same time he showed them the bodies of the Gauls spread about the hills, asking them, "Since the light troops had fought such a battle, what might be expected from the legions, from a regular army, and from the spirit of the bravest soldiers? They ought certainly to take the camp into which the enemy had been driven, especially, now, that they were in dismay." He then sent forward the light-infantry, who, while the army halted, had employed even that time to good purpose in collecting missiles from about the hills, that they might have a sufficient stock for the occasion. They now approached the camp. The Gauls, not confiding in the strength of their works, had posted themselves, in arms, on the outside of the rampart. The Romans assailed them with a shower of weapons of every sort; and, as they stood thick, the less apt was any to fall without effect. They were driven in an instant within their trenches, leaving only strong guards at the entrances of the gates. Against the crowd that fled into the camp a vast quantity of missile weapons were discharged, and the shouts, intermixed with lamentations of the women and children, showed that great numbers were wounded. The first line of the legions hurled their javelins against the guards posted at the gates; however, these, in general, were not wounded, but most of them, having their shields pierced through, were entangled and fastened together, nor did they longer withstand the attack.

XXIII. The gates being now open, the Gauls, in order to escape the conquerors, fled out of the camp to all quarters. They rushed on, without looking before them, where there were roads, and where there were none; no craggy cliffs, nor even perpendicular rocks, stopped them, for they now feared nothing but the enemy. Great numbers, therefore, falling down precipices of vast height, were either maimed or killed. The consul, taking possession of the camp, restrained the soldiers from

plundering it; ordering all to pursue with their utmost speed, to press on the enemy, and to increase their present panic. The other party, under Lucius Manlius, now came up. These he did not suffer to enter the camp, but sent them forward in the pursuit, and whom he followed shortly after, committing the guard of the prisoners to some military tribunes: for he hoped, from their present consternation, that he might by exertion put an entire end to the war. After the consul's departure, Caius Helvius arrived, with the third division. It was not in his power to prevent their sacking the camp; and, by one of fortune's most unjust dispensations, the booty fell into the hands of men who had not had any concern in the action. The cavalry stood for a long time ignorant of the fight, and of the success of their army. At last, they also, as far as their horses could climb up the hills, pursued the Gauls, (who were now dispersed round the foot of the mountain,) killing and taking many. The number of the slain could not easily be ascertained, on account of the windings of the hills, among which they were pursued. Many likewise fell from impassable cliffs, into cavities of prodigious depth; others were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who mentions two battles on mount Olympus, asserts, that forty thousand fell in them; yet Valerius Antias, who is generally addicted to great exaggeration in point of numbers, says, not more than ten thousand. That the number of prisoners amounted to forty thousand there is no doubt, because the Gauls had dragged along with them a crowd of people of all descriptions and of all ages, like men removing to another country, rather than going out to war. The consul collected in one heap, and burned, the arms of the enemy; he then ordered all to bring together the rest of the booty, and selling that portion which was to be applied to the use of the public, distributed the remainder among the soldiers, taking care that the shares should be as just as possible. He likewise commended them in public assemblies, and conferred presents according to the deserts of each; distinguishing Attalus above all others, with the general approbation of all. For not only by his courage and activity in undergoing dangers and fatigue, but also by the modesty of his deportment, that young prince had rendered himself eminently conspicuous.

XXIV. The war with the Tectosagians

remained still to be begun. The consul, marching against them, arrived, on the third day, at Ancyra, a city remarkable in those parts, from which the enemy were but a little more than ten miles distant. While he lay encamped here, a memorable action was performed by a female. Among many other captives, was the wife of the Gallic chieftain, Ortiagon, a woman of exquisite beauty. The commander of the guards was a centurion, avaricious and lustful, as soldiers often are. He, first, endeavoured to learn her sentiments; but, finding that she abhorred the thought of voluntary prostitution, he employed violence. Afterwards, in order to make some atonement for the injury and insult, he gave her hopes of liberty to return to her friends; but even this he would not grant, without a compensation. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, but, being unwilling that his countrymen should be privy to the business, gave her leave to send any one of the prisoners, whom she chose, with a message to her friends. He appointed a spot near the river, to which two of this woman's friends, and not more, were to come with the gold in the night following, and to receive her from his hands. It happened that, among the prisoners, under the same guard, was a servant of her own: he was employed as the messenger, and the centurion, as soon as it grew dark, conveyed him beyond the advanced posts. Her friends came to the place at the appointed time, as did the centurion with his prisoner. Here, on their producing the gold, which amounted to an Attic talent, for that was the sum demanded, in her own language, she ordered them to draw their swords, and kill the centurion, while he was weighing the gold. After he was slain, she caused his head to be cut off, and wrapping it up in her garment, carried it to her husband Ortiagon, who had fled home from Olympus. Before she would embrace him, she threw down the centurion's head at his feet; and, on his asking, with astonishment, whose head it was, and what was the meaning of such a proceeding, so unaccountable in a female, she acknowledged to her husband the injury committed on her person, and the vengeance she had taken for the forcible violation of her chastity. It is said, that, she maintained to the last, by the purity and strictness of her life, the glory of this achievement, so honourable to her sex.

XXV. The Tectosagians sent envoys to the consul at Ancyra, entreating him not to decamp,

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until he had held a conference with their kings; adding, that they preferred peace, on any conditions, to war. The time was fixed for the next day, and the place, a spot which seemed the most central between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. The consul came thither, at the appointed hour, with a guard of five hundred horse, but, seeing none of the Gauls there, he returned into his camp: after which the same envoys came again, with an apology, that their kings could not come, being prevented by religious considerations; but, that the principal men of the nation would attend, and that the business might be as well transacted by them. To which the consul answered, that he would send Attalus on his part. To this meeting both parties came, Attalus, attended by an escort of three hundred horse, when a conversation ensued respecting the terms of peace; but, as this could not be finally concluded without the presence of the commanders in chief, it was agreed, that the consul and the kings should meet in the same place on the following day. The intention of the Gauls in postponing matters, was, first, to waste time, that they might remove their effects, so as not to be encumbered in case of danger, and also their wives and children, to the other side of the river Halys; and, secondly, to favour a plot which they were forming against the consul, while he should harbour no suspicion of treachery during the conference. They chose for this purpose, one thousand horsemen of approved intrepidity; and their plan would have taken effect, had not fortune exerted herself in favour of the law of nations, which they plotted to violate. The Roman parties, who went out for forage and wood, were led towards that quarter where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes judged that to be the safest course, as they would have the consul's escort, and himself, as a guard between them and the enemy. However, they posted another guard of their own, of six hundred horse, nearer to the camp. The consul, being assured by Attalus that the kings would come, and that the business might be concluded, set out from his camp with the same attendants as before. When he had advanced about five miles, and was near the place appointed, he saw, on a sudden, the Gauls coming on with hostile fury, as fast as their horses could gallop. He halted, and ordering his horsemen to make ready their arms, and their courage, received the enemy's

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first charge with firmness, and kept his ground. At length, overpowered by numbers, he began to retreat leisurely, without disturbing the order of the troops, but, at last, the danger of delay appearing greater than any advantage to be derived from keeping their ranks, they all fled in hurry and disorder. The Gauls, seeing them disperse, pursued eagerly, and killed several; and a great part of them would have been cut off, had not the six hundred horse, the guard of the foragers, come up to meet them. These, on hearing, at a distance, the shout of dismay, raised by their friends, made ready their weapons and horses, and, with their vigour fresh, renewed the fight after it had become desperate. The fortune of the battle, therefore, was instantly reversed, and dismay retorted on the victors. At the first charge the Gauls were routed; at the same time the foragers from the fields ran together towards the spot, so that wherever the fugitives turned they met an enemy. Thus, they could not retreat with either ease or safety, especially as the Romans pursued on fresh horses, while theirs were fatigued. Few therefore escaped; yet not one was taken; the far greater part paid their lives as a forfeit for having violated the faith of a conference. The whole army of the Romans, with minds burning with rage, marched up, next day, close to the enemy.

XXVI. The consul, resolved that no particular should escape his knowledge, spent two days in examining the nature of the mountain with his own eyes. On the third day, after taking the auspices, and then offering sacrifice, he formed his troops in four divisions, that two might go with him up the middle of the mountain, while the other two should march, one on each side, against the wings of the Gauls. The main strength of the enemy, the Tectosagians and Trocmians, amounting to fifty thousand men, formed the centre of their line. The cavalry, about ten thousand men, being dismounted, (their horses being useless among the uneven rocks,) were placed on the right wing, and the Cappadocians of Ariarathes, with the auxiliary troops of Morzes, making up near four thousand, on the left. The consul, as he had done before, at Mount Olympus, placed his light troops in the van, taking care that they should have ready at hand the same abundance of weapons of every sort. When they approached the enemy, all circumstances, on both sides, were the same as in the

former battle, excepting that the spirits of the Romans were elated by their success, and those of the Gauls depressed; because, though themselves had not been defeated, yet they considered, as their own, the overthrow of people of their own race. The battle, therefore, commencing under like circumstances, had the same issue. The cloud, as it were, of light weapons that were thrown, overwhelmed the army of the enemy; and, as none of them dared to come forward, for fear of exposing all parts of their bodies open to the blows, so while they stood still, the closer they were together the more wounds they received, as the assailants had the better mark to aim at. The consul now judged, that as they were already disordered, if he should once let them see the standards of the legions, they would all instantly turn about and fly; receiving, therefore, the light-infantry, and the rest of the irregulars, between the ranks, he ordered the line to advance.

XXVII. The Gauls, discouraged by reflecting on the defeat of the Tolistoboians, and distressed by carrying weapons sticking in their flesh, fatigued also by long standing, were not able to support even the first shout and onset of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp; but a few of them entered within the trenches; the greater part, passing by on the right and left, fled whichever way each man's giddy haste carried him. The conquerors followed, cutting off the hindmost; but then, through greediness for booty, they stopped in the camp, and not one of them continued the pursuit. The Gauls in the wings stood some time longer, because it was later when the Romans reached them; but fled at the first discharge of weapons. The consul, as he could not draw off the men who had got into the camp for plunder, sent forward those who had been in the wings to pursue the enemy. They, accordingly, followed them a considerable way; yet, in the pursuit, for there was no fight, they killed not more than eight thousand men: the rest crossed the river Halys. A great part of the Romans lodged that night in the enemy's camp; the rest the consul led back to his own. Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as might be expected to have been heaped together by a nation most greedy of rapine, after holding possession by force of arms, of all the

country on this side Mount Taurus, during a space of many years. The Gauls, after this dispersion, re-assembled in one place, a great part of them being wounded or unarmed; and as all were destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of Mount Taurus, it being now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter-quarters on the sea-coast.

XXVIII. During the time of those transactions in Asia, the other provinces were in a state of tranquillity. At Rome, the censors, Titus Quintius Flamininus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, read over the roll of the senate; Publius Scipio Africanus was, a third time, declared prince of the senate, and only four members were struck out, none of whom had held any curule office. In their review of the knights, also, the censors acted with great mildness. They contracted for the erection of a building in the *Æquimalium*, on the capitoline mount, and for paving, with flint, a road from the Capuan gate to the temple of Mars. The Campanians, having requested the directions of the senate, respecting the place where their census should be held, an order passed, that it should be performed at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars, and the lower parts of the city. The war with the Gauls in Asia having been brought to a conclusion by the consul, Cneius Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, as the *Ætolians* were now completely reduced, passed over to Cephallenia, and sent messengers round the states of the island, to inquire whether they chose to submit to the Romans, or to try the fortune of war. Fear operated so strongly on them all, that they did not refuse to surrender. They gave the number of hostages demanded, which was proportioned to the abilities of a weak people, the *Nesians*, *Cranians*, *Pallenians*, and *Samæans*, giving twenty each. Peace had, now, beyond what could have been hoped for, begun to diffuse its benign influence through Cephallenia, when one state, the *Samæans*, from what motive is uncertain, suddenly broke out in opposition. They said, that as their city was commodiously situated, they were afraid that the Romans would compel them to remove from it. But whether they conceived

this in their own minds, and under the impulse of a groundless fear, disturbed the general quiet, or whether such a project had been mentioned in conversation among the Romans, and reported to them, has not been discovered: thus much is certain, that after having given hostages they suddenly shut their gates, and could not be prevailed upon to relinquish their design, even by the prayers of their friends, whom the consul sent to the walls, to try how far they might be influenced by compassion for their parents and countrymen. As their answers showed nothing of a pacific disposition, siege was laid to the city. The consul had a sufficient store of engines and machines, which had been brought over from *Ambracia*; and the works necessary to be formed were executed by the soldiers with great diligence. The rams were therefore brought forward in two places, and began to batter the walls.

XXIX. The townsmen omitted nothing that could serve to obstruct the works or the motions of the besiegers. But the two methods of defence, which they found most effectual, were, first the raising always, instead of a part of the wall that was demolished, a new wall of equal strength on the inside; and the other, making sudden sallies, at one time, against the enemy's works, at another, against his advanced guards; and in those attacks, they generally got the better. The only means of confining them, that could be contrived, seems of no great consequence; it was, however, this,—the bringing one hundred slingers from *Ægium*, *Patræ*, and *Dymæ*. These men, according to the customary practice of that nation, were exercised from their childhood, in throwing with a sling, into the open sea, the round pebbles which, mixed with sand, generally cover the shores; and by this means they acquired such a degree of dexterity, as to cast weapons of that sort to a greater distance, with surer aim, and more powerful effect, than even the *Balearian* slingers. Besides, their sling does not consist merely of a single strap, like the *Balearic*, and that of other nations, but the receptacle of the bullet is three-fold, and made firm by several seams, that it may not, by the yielding of the strap in the act of throwing, be let fly at random, but that lying here steady, while whirled about, it may be discharged as if sent from the string of a bow. Being accustomed to drive their bullets through circular marks of small circumference, placed



at a great distance; they not only hit the enemy's heads, but any part of their face that they aimed at. These slings checked the Samæans from sallying either so frequently, or so boldly; insomuch that they would, sometimes, from the walls, beseech the Achæans to retire for a while, and be quiet spectators of their fight with the Roman guards. Some supported a siege of four months. At last, as some of their small number were daily killed or wounded, and the survivors were, through continual fatigues, greatly reduced both in strength and spirits, the Romans, one night scaling the wall of the citadel, which they call Cyatides, made their way into the forum. The Samæans, on discovering that a part of the city was taken, fled, with their wives and children, into the greater citadel; but submitting next day, they were all sold as slaves, and their city was plundered.

XXX. As soon as he had settled the affairs of Cephallenia, the consul, leaving a garrison in Same, sailed over to Peloponnesus, where his presence had been often solicited for a long time past, chiefly by the Ægians and Lacedæmonians. From the first institution of the Achæan council, the assemblies of the nation had been held at Ægium, whether out of respect to the dignity of the city, or on account of the commodiousness of its situation. This usage Philopœmen first attempted to subvert in that year, and determined to introduce an ordinance, that these should be held in every one of the cities, which were members of the Achæan union, in rotation; and a little before the arrival of the consul, when the Demiurguses, who are the chief magistrates in the states, summoned the representatives to Ægium, Philopœmen, then prætor, by proclamation, appointed their meeting at Argos. As it was apparent that, in general, all would repair to the latter place, the consul likewise, though he favoured the cause of the Ægians, went thither, but, after the matter had been debated, seeing that the opposite party was likely to succeed, he declined being farther concerned. The Lacedæmonians, then, drew his attention to their disputes. Their state was kept in constant uneasiness, principally by the exiles, of whom great numbers resided in the maritime forts on the coast of Laconia, all which had been taken from the Lacedæmonians. At this the latter were deeply chagrined, as they wished to enjoy free access to the

sea, if they should have occasion to send ambassadors to Rome, or any other place: and at the same time, to possess some mart and repository for foreign merchandise, for their necessary demands. They, therefore, attacked in the night, a maritime village, called Las, and seized it by surprise. The inhabitants, and the exiles residing in the place, were terrified, at first, by the sudden assault; but afterwards collecting in a body, before day, after a slight contest, they drove back the Lacedæmonians. A general alarm, nevertheless, spread over the whole coast, and all the forts and villages, with the exiles resident there, united in sending a common embassy to the Achæans.

XXXI. The prætor, Philopœmen,—(who, from the beginning, had ever been a friend to the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to reduce the power and influence of the Lacedæmonians,)—on the request of the ambassadors, gave them an audience of the council. There, on a motion made by him, a decree was passed, that, “whereas Titus Quintius and the Romans had committed their forts and villages, on the coast of Laconia, to the protection and guardianship of the Achæans; and whereas, according to treaty, the Lacedæmonians ought to leave them unmolested; notwithstanding which, the village of Las had been attacked by them, and bloodshed committed therein; therefore, unless the authors and abettors of this outrage were delivered up to the Achæans, they would consider it as a violation of the treaty.” To demand those persons, ambassadors were instantly despatched to Lacedæmon. This authoritative injunction appeared to the Lacedæmonians so haughty and insolent, that if their state had been in its ancient condition, they would undoubtedly have flown to arms. What distracted them most of all was, the fear, lest, if by obeying the first mandates they once received the yoke, Philopœmen, pursuant to a scheme which he had long had in contemplation, should put the exiles in possession of Lacedæmon. Enraged, therefore, to madness, they put to death thirty men of the faction which had held some correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, passed a decree, renouncing all alliance with the Achæans, ordering ambassadors to be sent immediately to Cephallenia, to surrender Lacedæmon to the consul, Marcus Fulvius beseeching him to come into Pelopon-

nesus, and to receive Lacedæmon under the protection and dominion of the Roman people.

XXXII. When the Achæan ambassadors returned with an account of these proceedings, war was declared against the Lacedæmonians, by a unanimous vote of all the states of the confederacy; and nothing but the winter prevented its being commenced immediately. However, they detached several small parties, not only by land, but by sea, which, making incursions more like freebooters than regular troops, laid waste the Lacedæmonian frontiers. This commotion brought the consul into Peloponnesus, and, by his order, a council was summoned at Elis; the Lacedæmonians being called on to attend, and to plead their own cause. The debates there were violent, and proceeded even to altercation. But the consul, who, in other respects, acted in a very conciliatory manner, and who gave no explicit opinion, put an end to the dispute by one decisive order, that they should desist from hostilities, until they sent ambassadors to Rome, to the senate. Both parties sent ambassadors accordingly. The Lacedæmonian exiles, also, authorised the Achæans to act in their cause, and negotiate on their behalf. Diophanes and Lycortas, both of them Megalopolitans, were at the head of the Achæan embassy; and, as they were of different sentiments with regard to public affairs at home, so their discourses on the occasion were of quite different tendencies. Diophanes proposed to leave the determination of every point entirely to the senate, "who," he said, "would best decide the controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians;" while Lycortas, according to the instructions of Philopœmen, required, that the senate should permit the Achæans to execute their own decrees, made conformable to treaty, and their own laws: and to possess, unfringed, the liberty which themselves had bestowed. The Achæan nation was, at that time, in high esteem with the Romans; yet it was resolved, that no alteration should be made respecting the Lacedæmonians; but the answer given was so obscure, that, while the Achæans understood that they were left at liberty to act as they pleased towards Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians construed it, as not conveying any such license.

XXXIII. The use which the Achæans made of this power was immoderate and tyrannical. They continued Philopœmen in office,

who, in the beginning of spring, collecting an army, encamped in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and thence sent ambassadors to insist on their delivering up the authors of the insurrection; promising, that if they complied, their state should remain in peace, and that those persons should not suffer any punishment, without a previous trial. The rest were held silent by their fears; but the persons demanded by name, declared, that they would voluntarily go, provided they received assurance from the ambassadors, that they should be safe from violence until their cause were heard. Several other men, of illustrious characters, went along with them; both from a wish to aid those private individuals, and because they thought their cause concerned the public interest. The Achæans had never before brought the Lacedæmonian exiles into the country, because they knew that nothing would so much disgust the people; but now, the vanguard of almost their whole army was composed of them. When the Lacedæmonians came to the gate of the camp, these met them in a body, and, first, began to provoke them with ill language; a wrangle then ensuing, and their passions being inflamed, the most furious of the exiles made an attack on the Lacedæmonians. While these appealed to the gods, and the faith of the ambassadors; and while the ambassadors and the prætor, driving back the crowd, protected the Lacedæmonians, and kept off some who were already binding them in chains,—the multitude, roused by the tumult, gathered about them in prodigious numbers. The Achæans, at first, ran thither to see what was doing; but then, the exiles, with loud clamours, complained of the sufferings that they had undergone, implored assistance, and at the same time insisted, that, "such another opportunity, if they neglected this, could never be hoped for; that these men had been the means of rendering useless the treaties, solemnly ratified in the capitol at Olympia; and in the citadel of Athens; and that before their hands should be tied up by a new treaty, they ought to punish the guilty." By these expressions, all were inflamed, so that on one man calling out, to fall on, the whole crowd attacked them with stones; and seventeen persons, who, during the disturbance, had been put in chains, were killed. The next day, sixty-three, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he wished them



safe, but because he was unwilling that they should perish, before they were tried, were taken into custody, brought before an enraged multitude, and, after addressing a few words to such prejudiced ears, they were all condemned and executed.

XXXIV. After this terrible example had been made, to humble the Lacedæmonians, orders were sent to them, first that they should demolish their walls: then, that all the foreign auxiliaries, who had served for pay under the tyrants, should quit the Laconian territories; then, that the slaves, whom the tyrants had set free, who amounted to a great multitude, should depart, before a certain day, after which, should any remain in the country the Achæans were authorised to seize, sell, and carry them away. That they should abrogate the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, and adopt those of the Achæans, by which all would become one body, and concord would be established among them. They obeyed none of these injunctions, more willingly, than that of demolishing the walls; nor suffered any with more reluctance, than the giving up of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was made at Tegea, in a general council of the Achæans; where, an account being brought, that the foreign auxiliaries had been sent away, and that the newly-registered Lacedæmonians, (so they called the slaves enfranchised by the tyrants) had left the city and dispersed through the country, it was resolved, that, before the army was disbanded, the prætor should go with some light troops, and, seizing that description of people, sell them as spoil. Great numbers were accordingly seized, and sold; and with the money, arising from the sale, a portico at Megalopolis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished, was rebuilt, with the approbation of the Achæans. The lands of Belbinis, of which the Lacedæmonian tyrants had unjustly kept possession, were also restored to that state, according to an old decree of the Achæans, made in the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas. The state of Lacedæmon having, by these means, lost the sinews of its strength, remained long in subjection to the Achæans; but nothing hurt it so materially as the abolition of the discipline of Lycurgus, in the practice of which they had continued during seven hundred years.

XXXV. After the sitting of the council, wherein the debate between the Achæans and

Lacedæmonians was held in presence of the consul, as the year was near expiring, Marcus Fulvius went home to Rome to hold the elections. The consuls elected were Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, having, this year, procured the rejection of his enemy, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Then were elected prætors, Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Stertinus, Caius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. When the elections were finished, it was resolved that the consul, Marcus Fulvius, should return into his province to the army, and that he, and his colleague, Cneius Manlius, should be continued in command for a year. In this year, in pursuance of directions from the decemvirs, a statue of Hercules was set up in his temple, and a gilded chariot with six horses, in the capitol, by Publius Cornelius. The inscription mentioned, that Publius Cornelius, consul, <sup>1</sup> made the offering. The curule ædiles, also, Publius Claudius and Servius Sulpicius Galba, dedicated twelve gilded shields, out of money raised by fines on corn merchants, for raising the market by hoarding the grain. And Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, plebeian ædile, having prosecuted to conviction one malefactor, (for the ædiles prosecuted separately) dedicated two gilded statues. His colleague, Aulus Cæcilius, did not convict any one. The Roman games were exhibited entire, thrice; the plebeian, five times. Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, entering into office on the ides of March, proposed to the senate's consideration the state of the commonwealth, the provinces, and the armies. With respect to Ætolia and Asia no alteration was made. The provinces assigned to the consuls, were, to one, Pisæ, where he was to act against the Ligurians; to the other, Gaul. They were ordered to cast lots for these, or to settle the matter between themselves, to levy new armies, two legions for each; and to raise, of the Latine allies, fifteen thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse. Liguria fell, by lot, to Messala; Gaul, to Salinator. The prætors then cast lots, and the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Claudius; the foreign to Publius Claudius; Sicily, to Quintus Marcius; Sar-

<sup>1</sup> This does not prove that he was in the office of consul, at the time of his making it; for it was usual to mention in such inscriptions the highest office that the person had ever held.

dia, to Caius Stertinus; Hither Spain, to Lucius Manlius; Farther Spain, to Caius Antinius.

XXXVI. The dispositions made, respecting the armies, were these. It was ordered, that the legions, which had served under Caius Lælius, should be removed out of Gaul into Bruttium, and put under the command of Marcus Tuccius, prætor; that the army, which was in Sicily, should be disbanded, and the fleet which was there, brought home to Rome, by Marcus Sempronius, prætor. For the Spains, were decreed the legions then in those provinces, one for each; with orders, that each of the two prætors should levy, from among the allies, to recruit their numbers, three thousand foot and two hundred horse, which they were to carry with them. Before the new magistrates set out for their provinces, a supplication, of three days' continuance, was ordered by the college of decemvirs, to be performed in every street, on account of a darkness having overspread the sky, between the third and fourth hours of the day; and the nine days' solemnity was proclaimed, on account of a shower of stones having fallen on the Aventine.

As the censors obliged the Campanians, pursuant to the decree of the senate, made last year, to pass the general survey at Rome, (for, before that, it had not been fixed where they should be surveyed,) they petitioned, that they might be allowed to take in marriage women who were citizens of Rome, and that any who had, heretofore, married such, might retain them; and, likewise, that children born of such marriages, before that day, might be deemed legitimate, and entitled to inherit; both which requests were complied with. Caius Valerius Tappus, a plebeian tribune, proposed an order of the people concerning the towns of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum, that they should be invested with the right of voting, for, hitherto, they had been members of the state without that right. Against this proposal four plebeian tribunes entered a protest, because it was not made under the direction of the senate; but, being informed, that the power of imparting that privilege to any persons belonged to the people, and not to the senate, they desisted from their opposition. An order was passed, that the Formians and Fundans should vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinians in the Cornelian; and in these tribes they were then, for the first time. rated

in the census, in pursuance of the order of the people proposed by Valerius. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, censor, having got the better of Titus Quintius, in the lots, closed the lustrum. The number of citizens rated, was two hundred fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eight. When the survey was finished, the consuls set out for their provinces.

XXXVII. During the winter wherein this passed at Rome, Cneius Manlius, at first, while consul, and afterwards, when proconsul, was attended, in his winter-quarters in Asia, by embassies from all the nations and states on this side of Mount Taurus; and although the conquest of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious to the Romans, than that of the Gauls, yet the latter gave greater joy to the allies than the former. Subjection to the king had been more tolerable to them, than the neighbourhood of these fierce and savage barbarians; of whom they were in daily apprehension, added to the uncertainty, where the storm of their depredations might fall. Having, therefore, obtained liberty, by the expulsion of Antiochus, and permanent peace by the conquest of the Gauls, they brought, not only congratulations, but also golden crowns, in proportion to the ability of each. Ambassadors also came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, to receive the conditions of peace; and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, to solicit pardon, and make atonement, by money for his crime, in assisting Antiochus with troops. He was fined two hundred talents. The Gauls were answered, that when king Eumenes arrived, he would settle the conditions. The embassies of the several states were dismissed with kind answers, and with their minds much more at ease than when they arrived. The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to bring the money and the corn, due by the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio, into Pamphylia, whither the consul intended to go with his forces. In the beginning of the next spring, after performing the ceremony of purifying the army, he began his march, and on the eighth day, arrived at Apamea. There he rested three days; and, on the third day after his departure from that place, arrived in Pamphylia, whither he had ordered the king's ambassadors to repair with stipulated supplies. Here he received two thousand five hundred



talents' of silver, which he sent to Apamea, the corn he distributed to the army. Thence he marched to Perga, the only place in the country still held by a garrison of the king's troops. On his approach, the governor of the town went out to meet him, and requested thirty days' time, that he might consult Antiochus about the surrender of the city. The time was granted, and, on the expiration of it, the city was surrendered. From Perga, he detached his brother, Lucius Manlius, with four thousand men, to exact from the Oroandians the remainder of the money which they had promised; and, ordering the ambassadors of Antiochus to follow, he led back his army to Apamea, having heard that king Eumenes, and the ten ambassadors from Rome, were arrived at Ephesus.

XXXVIII. Here, with the concurrence of the ten ambassadors, a treaty was concluded with Antiochus, and written in nearly the following words: "There shall be friendship between king Antiochus and the Roman people, on these terms and conditions. He shall not suffer any army, intended to act against the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through his own kingdom, or the territory of any state under his dominion, nor supply it with provisions, nor give any other assistance. The Romans, and their allies; are to observe the same conduct toward Antiochus, and those under his government. It shall not be lawful for Antiochus to wage war with the inhabitants of the islands, or to pass over into Europe. He shall evacuate the cities, lands, villages, and forts on this side of mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Taurus to the summit; where are the confines of Lycæonia. He shall not remove any arms out of any of the evacuated towns, lands, or forts; and if any have been removed, he shall replace them as before. He shall not receive any soldier, or other person, from king Eumenes. If any natives of those cities, which are hereby separated from his kingdom, are now with Antiochus, or within the bounds of his realms, they shall all return to Apamea, before a certain day, hereafter to be appointed. Such of the natives of Antiochus's kingdom, as are now with the Romans and their allies, shall have liberty to depart, or to stay. All their slaves, whether fugitives or taken in war, likewise all free-born

persons, whether prisoners or deserters, he shall re-deliver to the Romans and their allies. He shall give up all his elephants, and not procure others. He shall also surrender his ships of war, and their stores; and shall not keep more than ten light trading vessels, none of which are to be worked with more than thirty oars, nor a galley of one tier of oars, for the purpose of an offensive war; nor shall any ship of his come on this side of the promontories, Calycadæus and Sarpedon, except it shall be a ship carrying money, tribute, ambassadors, or hostages. King Antiochus shall not hire soldiers out of those nations which are under the dominion of the Roman people, nor even receive volunteers. All houses and buildings, within the limits of Antiochus's kingdom, and which were belonging to the Rhodians and their allies, shall hold on the same footing as they did before the war. If any sums of money are due to them, they shall have a right to enforce payment; likewise, if any of their property has been taken away, they shall have a right to search for, discover, and reclaim it. If any of the cities, which ought to be surrendered, are held by people to whom Antiochus gave them, he shall remove the garrisons, and take care that the surrender be properly executed. He shall pay, within twelve years, by equal annual payments, twelve thousand talents of silver,<sup>2</sup> of the proper Attic standard, the talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman pounds; and five hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat. He shall pay to king Eumenes, within five years, three hundred and fifty talents;<sup>3</sup> and, for the corn due, according to his own valuation, one hundred and twenty-seven talents.<sup>4</sup> He shall deliver to the Romans twenty hostages, and change them every third year; none of which are to be younger than eighteen, or older than forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Roman people shall make war on Antiochus, he shall be at liberty to repel force by force, provided he does not keep possession of any city, either by right of arms, or by admitting it into a treaty of amity. Whatever controversies may arise between him and them, shall be decided by arbitration, according to the rules of equity; or, if it shall be the choice of both parties, by arms." A clause was added to this treaty, about delivering up Hannibal, the Carthaginian; Thoas, the Æto-

lian; Mnasimachus, the Acarnanian; and the Chalcidians, Eubolis and Philo; and another, that if the parties should afterwards agree to add, to expunge, or alter any of the above articles, it might be done without impeachment to the validity of the treaty.

XXXIX. The consul swore to the observance of this treaty, and sent Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Lucius Manlius, who happened to return just at that time from Oroanda, to require the oath of the king. At the same time he wrote to Quintus Fabius Labeo, commander of the fleet, to sail, without delay, to Patara, to burn and destroy the king's ships that lay there. Sailing, accordingly, from Ephesus, he burned, or otherwise destroyed fifty decked ships; and, in the same voyage, took Telmessus, the inhabitants being terrified by his sudden appearance. Then, having ordered those whom he left at Ephesus to follow him, he passed on from Lycia, through the islands to Greece. At Athens he waited a few days, until the ships from Ephesus came to Piræus, and then he brought home the whole fleet to Italy. Cneius Manlius having, among other matters to be given up by Antiochus, received his elephants, gave them all as a present to Eumenes. He then admitted to a hearing, the representatives of the several states, many of which were in an unsettled condition, in consequence of the changes that had taken place. King Ariarathes, through the mediation of Eumenes, to whom he had lately betrothed his daughter, obtained a remission of half the fine imposed upon him, and was received into friendship. After hearing what the respective nations had to say on their own behalf, the ten ambassadors made different arrangements, with respect to the difference of their cases. Such as had been tributary to king Antiochus, and had sided with the Romans, they rendered independent; and such as had taken part with Antiochus, or had been tributary to king Attalus, all these they ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes. To the Colophonians, living in Notium, the Cymeans, and Milaseniens, whom they specified by name, they granted independence; to the Clazomenians the same, besides bestowing on them the island of Drymusa. To the Milesians, they restored what was called the sacred lands. They added to the territory of the Trojans, Rheteum and Gergithus, not so much in consideration of any recent merits of theirs, as out

of respect to their own origin. The same motive procured liberty to Dardanus. To the Chians, also, the Smyrniæans and Erythræans, they granted lands, in consideration of the singular fidelity which they had shown during the war, treating them, in every instance, with particular distinction. To the Phocæans they restored the territory which they had enjoyed before the war, and the privilege of being governed by their own ancient laws. They confirmed to the Rhodians, the grants mentioned in the former decree. Lycia and Caria were assigned to them as far as the river Mæander, excepting Telmessus. To king Eumenes they gave, in Europe, the Chersonese and Lysimachia, with the forts, towns, and lands thereof, bounded as when held by Antiochus; and, in Asia, both the Phrygiæ, the one on the Hellespont, and the other called the Greater, restoring to him Mysia, which had been taken by king Prusias, and also Lycaonia, and Milyas, and Lydia, and, by express mention, the cities of Tralles and Ephesus and Telmessus. A dispute arising between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part beyond Taurus, the matter was referred wholly to the senate.

XL. When these treaties and grants were concluded, Manlius, with the ten ambassadors, and all his army, marched to the Hellespont, whither he had ordered the petty princes of the Gauls to come; and there he prescribed the terms on which they should maintain peace with Eumenes, and warned them to put an end to the practice of rambling in arms, and to confine themselves within the bounds of their own territories. Then, having collected ships from all parts of the coast, and Eumenes's fleet also being brought thither from Elæ by Atheneus, that king's brother, he transported all his forces into Europe. Proceeding through the Chersonese, by short marches, the army being heavily encumbered with booty of every sort, he halted at Lysimachia, in order that he might have the beasts of burthen as fresh and vigorous as might be, when he should enter Thrace, the march through which was generally considered with terror. On the day of his leaving Lysimachia, he came to the river called Melas, and thence, next day, to Cypsela. The road, about ten miles from Cypsela, he found



obstructed by woods, narrow and broken. On account of these difficulties he divided the army into two parts; and, ordering one to advance in front, and the other at a considerable distance, to cover the rear, he placed between them the baggage, consisting of waggons with the public money, and other booty of great value. As they marched in this order through the defile, a body of Thracians, not more in number than ten thousand, composed of four states, the Astians, Cænians, Maduatians, and Cœleans, posted themselves on both sides of the road at the narrowest part. Many were of opinion, that this was done at the treacherous instigation of Philip, king of Macedonia, as he knew that the Romans were to return through Thrace, and that they carried with them a large quantity of money. The general himself was in the van, anxious about the disadvantages to which his men were exposed from the nature of the place. The Thracians did not stir until the troops passed by; but, when they saw that the foremost division had got clear of the narrow pass, and that the rear division was not yet drawing near, they rushed upon the baggage, and, having killed the guards, some rifled the waggons, while others led off the horses under their loads. When the shout reached those on the rear, who just then entered the pass, and, afterwards, those in the van, they ran together from both extremities to the centre, and an irregular sort of fight commenced, in many different places at once. The booty was the great occasion of slaughter to the Thracians; for, besides being encumbered with burdens, most of them had thrown away their arms, that they might be at liberty to seize the prey; while, on the other side, the Romans laboured under great disadvantages from the nature of the place, as the barbarians, acquainted with every path, made their attacks with advantage, and, sometimes came, unperceived, through the hollow glens. The loads too, and the waggons, lying incommodiously for one party or the other, as chance directed, were great obstructions to their movements; and, here, the plunderer, there, the defender of the booty, fell. The fortune of the fight was variable, according as the ground was favourable, to this party or that, and according to the spirit of the combatants, and their numbers; on both sides, however, great numbers fell. The night, at length, approaching, the Thracians retired from the fight, not for the purpose of avoiding wounds or

death, but because they had gotten enough of booty.

XLI. The first division of the Romans encamped beyond the pass, in open ground, round the temple of Bendis; the other division remained in the middle of the defile, to guard the baggage, which they surrounded with a double rampart. Next day, having carefully examined the ground, they rejoined the first. In that battle, although part of the baggage was lost, while a great part of the attendants, and many of the soldiers perished, (the fight having been carried on through almost the whole extent of the defile,) yet the heaviest loss sustained was in the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a brave and gallant officer. The army arrived, that day, at the Hebrus, and thence passed through the country of the Ænians, by the temple of Apollo, which the natives call Zerynthium. At a place called Tempyra, they came to another defile, as rugged and uneven as the former; but, as there were no woods near, it afforded no means for an ambuscade. Hither assembled another tribe of Thracians, called Thrausians, with the same hope of plunder; but, as the Romans were enabled, by the nakedness of the valleys, to descry them at a distance, posted on each side of the road, they were less alarmed and confused; for, although they were obliged to fight on disadvantageous ground, yet it was in a regular battle, in the open field, and a fair encounter. Advancing in close order, with the war shout, and falling on the enemy, they soon drove them off the ground, and the sequel was flight and slaughter: for the narrow passes, in which the enemy had trusted for safety, actually impeded their escape. The Romans, after this success, encamped at a village of the Maronites, called Sare. Next day, marching through an open country, they reached the plain of Priate, where they halted three days, to receive supplies of corn, partly from the country of the Maronites, who made a voluntary contribution, and partly from their own ships, which attended them with stores of every kind. From this post they had one day's march to Apollonia, whence they proceeded through the territory of Abdera to Neapolis. This march through the Grecian colonies, the troops performed in security. During the remainder, and in the midst of the Thracians, they were all free from attacks, yet never free from apprehensions, night or day,

1 Diana, so called in the Thracian language.

until they arrived in Macedonia. This same army, when it proceeded by the same route under Scipio, had found the Thracians more peaceable, for no other reason, than because it had not then such a quantity of booty to tempt them: although Claudius writes, that, even on that occasion, a body of fifteen thousand Thracians opposed Mutines, the Numidian, who had advanced to explore the country. He had with him four hundred Numidian horsemen, and a few elephants. Mutines's son, with one hundred and fifty chosen horsemen, broke through the middle of the enemy; and, presently, when Mutines, placing his elephants in the centre, and the horse on the wings, had begun to engage the enemy, he fell furiously on their rear, which attack of the cavalry so disordered the Thracians, that they did not come near the main body of infantry. Cneius Manlius conducted his army, through Macedonia, into Thessaly; and, having proceeded through Epirus to Apollonia, passed the winter there, for the people had not yet learned so far to despise the sea of that season, as to venture on the passage.

XLII. The year had almost expired, when the consul, Marcus Valerius, came from Liguria to Rome to elect new magistrates; although he had not performed in his province any important business, that could afford a reasonable excuse for coming later than usual to the elections. The assembly for choosing consuls was held on the twelfth day before the calends of March, and the two elected were, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius. The following day, were elected prætors, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massa, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes. When the elections were concluded, the consul proposed to the senate, the appointment of the provinces for the prætors: two were decreed to the administration of justice in Rome; two out of Italy—Sicily and Sardinia; and two in Italy—Tarentum and Gaul; with orders, that the prætors should immediately cast lots, before their commencement in office. To Servius Sulpicius fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Terentius, the foreign; Lucius Terentius obtained Sicily; Quintus Fulvius, Sardinia; Appius Claudius, Tarentum; and Marcus Furius, Gaul. In that year, Lucius Minucius Myrtilus, and Lucius Manlius, being charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors, were, by order

of Marcus Claudius, city prætor, delivered up by heralds to the ambassadors, and carried to Carthage. Reports prevailed of great preparations for war being made in Liguria, and of their growing every day more formidable. When, therefore, the new consuls proposed to the consideration of the senate, the state of the commonwealth, and the appointing of their provinces, the senate voted that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. To this vote the consul, Lepidus, objected, asserting that "it would be highly indecorous to shut up the consuls among the valleys of Liguria, while Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius reigned, a second year, one in Europe, the other in Asia, as if substituted in the room of Philip and Antiochus. If it was resolved to keep armies in those countries, it was more fitting that they should be commanded by consuls, than by private persons, who made their circuits, with all the terrors of war, among nations against whom war had not been declared; trafficking peace for money. If armies were necessary for the security of those provinces, in the same manner as Lucius Scipio, consul, had succeeded Marcus Acilius, consul; and as Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius succeeded Lucius Scipio, so ought Caius Livius and Marcus Valerius, consuls, to have succeeded Fulvius and Manlius. But, unquestionably, at this time, after the Ætolian war had been concluded, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subdued,—either the consuls ought to be sent to the consular armies, or the legions ought to be brought home, and restored to the commonwealth." Notwithstanding these arguments, the senate persisted in their vote, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls; but they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should leave their provinces, withdraw the troops, and come home to Rome.

XLIII. There subsisted a quarrel between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Æmilius; the latter complaining particularly, that, through the intrigues of Fulvius, he had been kept back from obtaining the consulship two years. In order, therefore, to exasperate the minds of the public against him, he introduced to the senate ambassadors from Ambracia, whom he had previously instructed in the charges they were to make against him. These complained, that "when they were in a state of peace, after they had obeyed the commands of former consuls, and were ready to show the same obedience to



Marcus Fulvius, war had been made on them. That first their lands were ravaged; and then, their city terrified by denunciations of plundering and slaughter, that their fears might compel them to shut their gates. They were then besieged and assaulted, while all the severities, ever practised in war, were inflicted on them, in murders, burnings, the sacking and demolishing of their city. Their wives and children were dragged away into slavery; their goods taken from them; and, what shocked them more than all, their temples were despoiled of their ornaments, the images of their gods, nay, the gods themselves, were torn from their mansions, and carried away: so that the Ambracians had no object of worship left, nothing to which they could address their prayers and supplications, but naked walls and pillars." While they were making these complaints, the consul, as had been agreed, by asking questions leading to farther charges, drew them on, as if against their inclinations, to the mention of other matters. Their representations moved the senators, but the other consul, Caius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius. "The Ambracians," he said, "had set out in an old course, now long out of use. In this manner Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans; and Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate as well allow accusations to be so brought, against Titus Quintius by king Philip; against Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio, by Antiochus; against Cneius Manlius, by the Gauls; and against Fulvius himself, by the Ætolians and the states of Cephallenia? Do you think, conscript fathers, that the besieging and taking Ambracia, the removing thence the statues and ornaments, and the other proceedings, usual on the capture of cities, will be denied, either by me, on behalf of Marcus Fulvius, or by Marcus Fulvius himself, who intends to demand a triumph from you for those very services, and to carry before his chariot those statues, the removal of which is charged as criminal, together with other spoils of that city, at the same time inscribing on the pillars of his house, Ambracia captured? There is no kind of pretence for their separating themselves from the Ætolians; the cause of the Ambracians and of the Ætolians is the same. Let, therefore, my colleague either vent his malice in some other case; or, if he is de-

termined to proceed in this, let him detain his Ambracians until Fulvius comes home. I will not suffer any determination, concerning either the Ambracians or Ætolians, to pass in the absence of Marcus Fulvius."

XLIV. Æmilius, inveighing against the artful malignity of his adversary as being notorious to all, affirmed, that he would spin out the time by affected delays, so as not to return to Rome during the present consulate. Two days were wasted in this dispute, and it was apparent that while Flaminius was present, no decision of the cause could be procured. Æmilius, therefore, laid hold of an opportunity, when Flaminius, happening to fall sick, was absent, and on his proposing the motion, the senate decreed, that "the Ambracians should have all their effects restored, should enjoy liberty, and the benefit of their own laws, and should levy what duties they might think proper on goods conveyed by land or sea, provided that the Romans and the Latine confederates should be exempted therefrom. That with respect to the statues, and other ornaments, carried away from their sacred buildings, as alleged in their complaint, their order was, that immediately on the return of Marcus Fulvius to Rome, the business should be laid before the college of pontiffs, and their directions obeyed." Nor was the consul content with this; but, afterwards, in a thin meeting, he procured a clause to be added to the decree, "that it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force." A supplication of three days' continuance, was then performed for the health of the people, on account of a grievous pestilence which desolated the city and country. The Latine festival was afterwards celebrated, when the consuls being acquitted of these religious duties, and having finished their levies, (for both of them chose to employ new soldiers,) set out for their provinces, where they disbanded all the old troops.

XLV. Shortly after the departure of the consuls, Cneius Manlius, proconsul, arrived at Rome. Servius Sulpicius, prætor, assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona, to give him audience; when, after enumerating the services which he had performed, he demanded that, in consideration thereof, public thanks should be offered to the immortal gods, and permission be granted to himself, to ride through the city in triumph. This was opposed by the

greater number of the ten ambassadors, who had been in the province along with him ; and particularly by Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus. They represented, that "they had been appointed plenipotentiaries, in conjunction with Manlius, to make peace with Antiochus, and to conclude a treaty on the preliminary articles settled with Lucius Scipio. That Cneius Manlius laboured, to the utmost of his power, to obstruct the conclusion of this peace, and to draw Antiochus into an ambuscade ; but that he (Antiochus) having discovered the treacherous designs of the consul, though frequently tempted by proposals of a conference, was so far from consenting to the meeting, that he avoided even the sight of him. So eager was the wish of Manlius to cross Taurus, that he was with difficulty restrained, by the ten ambassadors, who besought him not to expose himself voluntarily to the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army thither, and encamped almost on the very summit where the waters take opposite directions. As he could find no sort of pretence for hostilities, the king's subjects being perfectly quiet, he led round his army to the Gallogrecians, and, without any decree of the senate, or order of the people, commenced a war against that nation. Did ever any general, before, presume to act, in like manner, on his own judgment? The latest wars were those with Antiochus, with Philip, and with Hannibal and the Carthaginians ; concerning all these the senate had passed its decrees, the people their orders ; several embassies were previously sent ; restitution demanded ; and, finally, heralds were sent to proclaim war. Now, Cneius Manlius," said they, "has any one of these proceedings been observed in the present case? Has it been a war of the Roman people, or a predatory expedition of your own contrivance? But, did even thus much content you? Did you lead your army against those, whom you had chosen to consider as enemies, by the direct course ; or did you ramble through every deflection of the roads ; stopping, wherever they were divided, in order that, to whatever side Eumenes's brother, Attalus, should turn his route, the consul, as an auxiliary in his pay, might follow with a Roman army? In a word, did you not ransack every

recess and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia ; levying contributions from the tyrants and peasants in those remote regions? For, what had you to do with the Oroandians, what with other states equally inoffensive?

XLVI. "But, to consider, in itself, this war, on the merit of which you ask a triumph : in what manner did you conduct it? Did you fight on equal ground, and at the time of your own choosing? Indeed there is some propriety in your requiring that thanks be returned to the immortal gods ; first, because they did not ordain that the army should undergo the penalty deserved by the temerity of its commander, in commencing a war unjustifiable by any law of nations ; and next, because they gave us, for antagonists, brutes, and not men. Do not suppose that the name only of the Gallogrecians is corrupted : their bodies, and their minds, have been long so. Had they been such Gauls as those whom we have a thousand times encountered in Italy, with various success, do you think it probable, from the conduct of our commander, that one of us would have returned to tell the story? Two battles were fought ; twice he advanced against them, by most dangerous paths, bringing his army into a valley beneath, and almost under the feet of the enemy ; so that if they had never discharged a weapon, they might, from the advantage of the higher ground, have overwhelmed us. What, then, was the consequence? Great is the fortune of the Roman people ; great and terrible its name ! By the recent downfall of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, the Gauls were, in a manner, thunder-struck. Bulky as their bodies were, they were dismayed, and put to flight, by slings and arrows ; not a sword was blooded in battle during the Gallic war. Like flocks of birds, they flew away at the very sound of our missile weapons. But, indeed, when we, the same army, were on our return, and happened to fall in with a party of Thracian robbers, (as if fortune meant to teach us what the issue would have been, had we been opposed by men,) we, I say, were beaten, routed, and stripped of our baggage. Among many brave soldiers fell Quintus Minucius Thermus, whose death was a much greater loss, than if Cneius Manlius, to whose rashness the misfortune was owing, had perished. An army, carrying home the spoils of king Antiochus, being scattered in three places ; the vanguard



in one, the rear in another, and the baggage in a third, hid itself for a night among bushes, in the retirements of wild beasts. Is a triumph demanded for such exploits as these? Although no disaster and disgrace had been suffered in Thrace, over what enemies would you triumph? Is it over those against whom the Roman senate or people had commissioned you to fight? On this ground, indeed, a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio; to Manius Acilius, over king Antiochus; to Titus Quintius, over king Philip; and to Publius Africanus, over Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax. Now, after the senate had voted a declaration of war, the following points, trifling as they appear, were nevertheless attended to:—To whom the declaration ought to be made; whether, to the kings in person; or whether, making it at some of their garrisons, were sufficient? Do you wish, then, that all these rites should be disregarded and profaned? That the laws of the heralds be abrogated? That there should be no heralds? Let religion, (the gods pardon the expression,) be thrown aside; retain not a thought of the gods. Do you, also, judge it fit that the senate should not be consulted concerning war? That the people should not be asked, whether they choose and order war to be made on the Gauls? On a late occasion, the consuls, certainly, wished for the provinces of Greece and Asia; yet, when the senate persisted in assigning Liguria as their province, they obeyed its commands. They will, therefore, if successful in the war, justly demand a triumph from you, conscript fathers, under whose authority they carried it on."

XLVII. Such were the arguments of Furius, and Æmilius Manlius, as we are told, replied in nearly the following manner: "Conscript fathers, formerly the tribunes of the people were accustomed to oppose generals demanding a triumph. I am thankful to the present tribunes for paying so much regard either to me, or to the greatness of my services, as not only to show, by their silence, their approbation of my pretensions to that honour, but likewise for having declared themselves ready, if there were occasion, to make a motion to that purpose. It is my lot, it seems, to be opposed by some of the ten ambassadors, the actual council which our ancestors assigned to generals for the purpose of arranging their conquests, and proclaiming their victories. They

who forbid me to mount the triumphal chariot, who would pluck from my head the crown of glory, are Lucius Furius and Lucius Æmilius, the persons whom, if the tribunes had opposed my triumph, I should have cited as witnesses to bear testimony to my services. Conscript fathers, be assured I envy no man's honours; but, on a late occasion, when the tribunes of the people, brave and active men, objected to the triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo, you interposed your authority, and forced them to desist. Fabius enjoyed a triumph; although, if his adversaries were to be believed, he never even saw an enemy. Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles with one hundred thousand of your fiercest enemies; who killed or made prisoners more than forty thousand; who stormed two of their camps; who left all the countries on this side of the summits of Taurus, in greater tranquillity than is enjoyed by the country of Italy; am not only defrauded of a triumph, but obliged, like a criminal, to plead my cause before you, conscript fathers, against charges advanced by my own council of ambassadors. Conscript fathers, their charge, as you perceive, is two-fold: for they assert, that I ought not to have waged war with the Gauls; and, that my conduct in the war was rash and imprudent. The Gauls were not enemies; but, though they were peaceable, and obedient to orders, you committed hostilities against them. You are well acquainted with the savage fierceness of the Gallic nation in general, and with their most inveterate hatred to the Roman name, but you are not to apply the same character to that part of them who reside in those countries. Exclude the infamous and odious character of the whole nation, and judge of these Gauls separately, and by themselves. I wish king Eumenes, I wish all the states of Asia were present, and that you heard their complaints, rather than my charges against them. Send ambassadors round all the cities of Asia, and ask whether they were relieved from more grievous servitude by the removal of Antiochus beyond the summits of Taurus, or by the conquest of the Gauls. Let them tell you how often their territories were ravaged, how often their property and their people, were carried off as prey; while, scarcely ever allowed to ransom any prisoners, they heard of nothing but human victims slain, and their children offered up in sacrifice. Let me inform you, that your allies paid tribute to these

Gauls; and, though delivered now by you, from the yoke of Antiochus, must still have continued to pay it, if I had lain inactive. The farther Antiochus was removed, the more licentiously would the Gauls have domineered in Asia; and all the countries on this side of Taurus you would have annexed to their empire, not to your own.

XLVIII. "But, allowing all this to be true, say they, the Gauls formerly sacked Delphi, the common oracle to which all mankind resort, and the central point of the globe of the earth; yet the Roman people did not, on that account, make war against them. I really thought, that there was some distinction to be made between that period when Greece and Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and dominion, and the present, when you have made Mount Taurus the boundary of the Roman empire; when you grant liberty and independence to the states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute; add to, diminish, give, and take away, kingdoms, and deem it your business to take care that they enjoy peace both on land and sea. You thought the liberty of Asia incomplete, unless Antiochus withdrew his garrisons, which lay quiet in their citadels: and can you think, that if the armies of the Gauls roamed about without control, the grants which you made to king Eumenes would be secure, or the liberty of the states entire? But why do I reason thus? as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but made them such! I appeal to you, Lucius Scipio, whose bravery and good fortune I prayed to the immortal gods to grant me, when I succeeded you in the command; and I prayed not in vain: and to you, Publius Scipio, who held, both with your brother, the consul, and with the army, the commission of a lieutenant-general, and the dignity of a colleague: were the legions of the Gauls, to your knowledge, in the army of Antiochus? Did you see them in his line of battle, posted in both wings; for there was his main strength? Did you fight them as declared enemies? Did you kill them? Did you carry off their spoils? Yet the senate had decreed, and the people ordered, war against Antiochus, not against the Gauls. But I take for granted, that their decree and order, included, at the same time, all those who should fight under his banner; so that, excepting Antiochus, with whom Scipio had negotiated a peace,

and with whom, specifying him by name, you had directed a treaty to be concluded, every one who had borne arms, on the side of Antiochus, against us, were our enemies. In this light I was to consider all the Gauls, as well as several petty princes and tyrants; nevertheless, I made peace with the rest, after compelling them to atone for their transgressions, as the dignity of your empire required. I made trial, at the same time, of the temper of the Gauls, whether they could be reclaimed from their natural ferocity; but, perceiving them untractable and implacable, I then judged it necessary to chastise them by force of arms.

XLIX. "Having fully refuted the charge respecting the undertaking of the war, I am now to account for my conduct in the prosecution of it. On this head, indeed, I should perfectly confide in the merits of my cause, though I were pleading, not before a Roman, but before a Carthaginian senate, who are said to crucify their commanders, if they act, even with success, on wrong plans. But in such a state as this, which, in the commencement and progress of every undertaking, makes application to the gods to prompt them rightly, so that malicious calumnies may not prevail; and which, in the established form, when it decrees a supplication or triumph, uses these words:—'For having conducted the business of the public successfully and fortunately;' if I should be unwilling, if I should think it presumptuous and arrogant to boast of my own bravery, and if I should demand, in consideration of my own good fortune, and that of my army, in having vanquished so great a nation, without any loss of men, that thanks should be given to the immortal gods, and that I should ascend the capitol in triumph, from whence I took my departure, with vows duly offered;—would you refuse this to me, would you refuse acknowledgments to the immortal gods? Yes; for I fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then, on what more favourable ground could I have fought, when the enemy had seized on a mountain, and kept themselves in a strong post. Surely, if I wished to conquer them, I must go where they were. What if they had a town on the same spot, and kept within the walls: surely they must be attacked. Did Manlius Acilius fight Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, on favourable ground? Did not Titus Quintius dislodge Philip when he was posted in the same manner, on the tops of mountains, over the river Aous? Truly I can-



not yet discover what idea they have formed to themselves, or wish you to form, of the enemy. If they are considered as being degenerate and softened by the pleasures of Asia, what danger was there in advancing against them even on unfavourable ground? If formidable, both for fierceness of courage, and strength of body, do you refuse a triumph to victories so honourable? Conscript fathers, such is the perverted vision of envy, that it is only capable of depreciating merit, and poisoning its honours and rewards. Pardon me, I beseech you, conscript fathers, for detaining you with too long a discourse, forced from me, not by any desire of blazoning my own merits, but by the necessity of exculpating myself from the imputations brought against me. Was it, let me ask, in my power to alter the face of the country throughout Thrace, to turn narrow defiles into open ground, steep precipices into level plains, woods into fields; to prevent a band of Thracian robbers from lurking in those concealments which they were acquainted with; that none of our packages should be snatched away, none of our loaded horses, out of so large a train, led off; that not one should be wounded; and that the brave and active Lucius Mincius should not die of his wound? On this mischance, by which we unfortunately lost so valuable a citizen, those men declaim profusely. That the enemy attacked us in a dangerous pass, where every advantage of ground was against us; that our two divisions, the front and the rear, were, at once, surrounding the army of the barbarians, while they were employed about our baggage; that we killed and took prisoners many thousands on that day; and, in a few days after, many more;—Do they imagine that these facts can be kept from your knowledge, by their passing them over in silence, although the whole army can testify the truth of what I assert? If I had never drawn a sword in Asia, if I had never seen an enemy there, yet, by the two battles fought in Thrace, I had merited a triumph. But I shall say no more on the subject; and shall only request, and, I trust, obtain, your pardon, conscript fathers, for having trespassed longer upon your patience than I could have wished to do.”

L. The charges would have been judged valid, notwithstanding this defence, had not the dispute been drawn out to a late hour; for the senate, when it adjourned, appeared in a disposition to refuse the triumph. Next day the

relations and friends of Cneius Manlius exerted their utmost efforts in his behalf. The votes were led by the opinion of the elder senators, who asserted, that there was no instance on record of a commander who had subdued the enemy, completed the business of his province and brought home his army, entering the city as a private citizen, without honours, and without the chariot and laurel. The sense of this impropriety got the better of their prejudices against him, and a great majority voted for his triumph. All mention and thought of this matter was soon banished by a greater contest, which was set on foot against a more illustrious personage. The two Petillii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. This proceeding was variously construed, according to people's different dispositions; some blamed not the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that “the two greatest states in the world proved, nearly at the same time, ungrateful to their chief commanders: but Rome the more ungrateful of the two, because Carthage was subdued when she sent the vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome, when victorious, was for banishing Africanus, who procured her the victory.” Others asserted, that “no one citizen ought to stand so high above the rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws for his conduct: for nothing contributed so much towards maintaining the equipoise of liberty, as that the most powerful might be brought to trial. For how could any charge, especially the administration of government, be safely intrusted to any man, if he were not liable to be called to an account? If there were any who could not endure an equality of rights, against such force might justly be employed.” Such were the common topics of conversation, until the day of trial came. Never was either any other person, or Scipio himself, when consul or censor, escorted to the forum by more numerous multitudes of all kinds, than he was on that day, when he appeared to answer to the charge against him. When ordered to make his defence, without taking any notice of the facts laid to his charge, he delivered a speech, in which he set forth his own exploits in such splendid terms, that it was universally agreed, that no man's praises had been ever represented either to more advantage, or with more truth. For he spoke with the same ar-

dent spirit, and powerful genius, which had ever animated his conduct in discharging the duties of his office: nor did his speech excite any disgust in the hearers, as it arose from the peril of his situation, not from motives of ostentation.

L.I. The plebeian tribunes, in order to procure credit to their present accusations, introduced the old imputations of his luxurious style of living in his winter-quarters at Syracuse, and the tumult raised by Pleminius at Locri. They then brought forward against him the charge of receiving money, which they grounded on suspicions, not on proofs. They alleged, that "his son, being taken prisoner, was restored without ransom; and that, in every other instance Antiochus paid his court to him, as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole disposal. He had acted towards the consul, in his province, as dictator, not as lieutenant-general; nor had he gone thither with any other view than to propagate in Greece and Asia, and among all the kings and nations eastward, the same opinion which at the same time prevailed in Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that he alone was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state which was mistress of the world, lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the senate, and orders of the people." Finding him invulnerable against all attacks upon his honour, they assailed him with the shafts of envy. The pleading having lasted till night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum at the dawn of day. The accused being summoned, came, with a numerous train of friends and dependents, through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum; and, silence being made, he said,—“Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans: This day is the anniversary on which I fought a pitched battle, in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and found good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter supremely good and great; to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the capitol and citadel, and will give them thanks, for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the commonwealth.

II.

Such of you, also, Romans, as can conveniently come with me, and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age you have always anticipated my years with honours, and I, your honours, with services.” Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned about and followed him; insomuch, that at last even the clerks and messengers, left the tribunes, not one remaining, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, whose office it was to summon those who were under prosecution. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day afforded more ample testimony of the favour of the public, and a clearer estimate of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through Rome in triumph over king Syphax and the Carthaginians.

L.II. It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio. For, as he could foresee nothing but the prosecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, before the time to which the hearing of the cause was adjourned, he retired to Litemum, with a fixed determination not to attend the trial. His natural temper and spirit were so lofty, and he had been habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of such a state. When the day came, on his not appearing, he was called by the crier, and Lucius Scipio offered as an excuse, that his absence was caused by sickness. This excuse, the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit, but insisted, that his not coming to answer the charges against him, was owing to the same arrogance with which he had left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and, dragging after him, like prisoners, the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had exhibited a triumph over the Roman people, and made a secession, the same day, from the tribunes to the capitol. “You have, therefore,” said they, “the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And so much is the Roman spirit daily on the decline, that al-

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though, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes and an ædile into Sicily to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not now, when he is a private citizen, send to compel him to come from his country-seat to stand his trial." Lucius Scipio appealing to the tribunes of the commons, they came to this determination, that, "as sickness had been pleaded in his excuse, it was their judgment that this excuse should be admitted, and that their colleagues should adjourn the hearing of the cause."

LIII. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was, at that time, a plebeian tribune, and between him and Publius Scipio there was an enmity subsisting. He had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, when he pronounced his judgment thus: that "Inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be sufficient: that he would not suffer any farther proceeding against Publius Scipio until he should return to Rome; and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him in refusing to abide a trial: that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal, under the rostrum, and be obliged to listen to the opprobrious language of youthful petulance, it would reflect more disgrace on the Romans than on him." He added, with much indignation, "Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed; in Spain, four of the most distinguished generals of the Carthaginians, and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus; (in the glory of which, by the way, Lucius Scipio was associated with his brother as partner,) that he should crouch under two Petillii? that they should gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus? Will men of illustrious characters never, through their own merits, or through public honours, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from

injury?" Both his determination and subsequent discourse, made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the prosecutors; who said, that they would consider further what might be consistent with their rights and duties. As soon as the assembly of the people broke up, the senate met, and there the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole body, especially by the consular and elder members, on Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; while the severest reproaches were thrown on the Petillii, for having attempted to bring themselves into notice by exciting the displeasure of the public against Africanus, and for seeking to gather spoils from a triumph over him. After that Africanus was no more mentioned. He passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit the city; and it is said, that when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried at his own country-seat, and his monument to be erected there, that even his funeral should not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit; but that merit was more conspicuous in affairs of war, than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter; because, in his early years, he was continually employed in military commands; as he advanced to old age the lustre of his conduct was somewhat faded, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. His second consulship, even if we add to it the censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. Nor can we compare with it his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity which it brought him under, after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed, alone, the distinguished honour of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, by far the most difficult and dangerous one which the Roman state was ever engaged in.

LIV. The death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, allowed himself to sneer at his splendid character. It was thought, that it was he who instigated the Petillii both to commence the action against Africanus, and to propose an order respecting him after his death. The

motion for the order was made in these words : " Romans, is it your will to order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected from king Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city prætor, shall ask the senate, which of the present prætors they will appoint to hold an inquiry concerning those matters?" This motion was, at first, objected to by Quintus and Lucius Mummius, who declared, as their opinion, that according to the practice always hitherto observed, the senate should make the inquiry concerning money unaccounted for to the public. The Petillii, in opposition, represented the great influence, the sovereign power which the Scipios possessed in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only as to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations. This blow he aimed at his enemy Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, as every one knew, was arguing rather in favour of himself, than against the order, stood forward to oppose it. He complained heavily of such a motion being brought on after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrious of men. For, " it had not been deemed sufficient that no panegyric was pronounced from the rostrum, on Africanus after his death, but accusations of misconduct were also exhibited against him. The Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal; but the Roman people would not be satisfied even with the death of Publius Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed, another victim to envy." Marcus Cato supported the motion in a speech on the money of king Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, prevailed on the Mummii, the two tribunes, to drop their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favour of the motion.

L.V. Servius Sulpicius then put the question to the senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petilian order of the people, to hold the inquiry; and they appointed Quintus Terentius Culleo. This prætor was so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, that, accord-

ing to the account of those writers who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, (for that, too, is asserted,) he had walked at his funeral before the bier with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done before at his triumph; and that, at the Capuan gate, he gave wine and honey to those who attended the obsequies, to show his gratitude for having been recovered by Scipio, among other captives, out of the hands of the enemy in Africa: while others say, he was so great an enemy to that family, that, on account of his known animosity, the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, singled out him, particularly, to hold the inquiry. However that may be, whether he was too favourable, or too much the contrary, before him, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time charges were presented, and received, against his lieutenants-general, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus, and Lucius; and his quæstor, Caius Furius Aculeo: and, that it might seem as if every one had been infected with the contagion of peculation, against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted before Scipio was tried. Scipio, and Aulus Hostilius, lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted, and judgment was pronounced, that, "as bribes, for granting more favourable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and Furius, the quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver." These sums of gold and silver I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of the gold and silver. For it is more probable that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions,<sup>1</sup> than at twenty-four millions of sesterces.<sup>2</sup> And this I am the more inclined to believe, as it is recorded, that particulars of that sum being demanded from Publius Scipio himself, in the senate, he desired his brother Lucius to bring the book which contained them, and which he took and tore to pieces before their eyes, at the



same time expressing indignation at being called to an account for four millions after he had brought two hundred millions<sup>1</sup> into the treasury. From the same magnanimity of spirit, when the quaestors would not venture to bring money out of the coffers contrary to law, he demanded the keys of the treasury, declaring that he would open it as he had caused it to be shut.

LVI. There are so many contradictory accounts respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio's life; of his trial, death, funeral, and sepulchre, that I cannot determine which tradition or which writings I ought to credit. Writers do not agree as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others that the Petillii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed as to the time when it was carried on, nor the year in which he died, nor the place, nor where he was buried. Some assert, that he died and was buried at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places memorials of him are shown. For at Liternum, there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which was lately seen lying on the ground, where it had been thrown down by a storm. At Rome is likewise a monument of the Scipios, and outside the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences subsist between historians only; the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. In the title of Publius Scipio's speech is the name of Marcus Nævius, plebeian tribune; but in the speech itself, the prosecutor is not named, it only calls him sometimes a knave, sometimes a trifler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petilliuses accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. The whole story must be framed after another model, to make it consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing of this misfortune, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome, proceeding straight from the gate to the forum. Being

told that Lucius had been ordered into confinement, he drove away the officer from his person; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, showing more affection towards his brother than regard for the laws. Of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, saying, that the tribunitian power was illegally annulled; and at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be the more tolerable, if both the tribunitian authority and the state appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the commons, than if by a private citizen. But while he loaded him with reproaches for this signal instance of intemperate violence, while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself, he displayed his long-established praises for moderation, and government of his passions, in such strong terms, as to make ample amends for the present reprehension. For he said, that Scipio formerly rebuked the people severely for their intention of making him perpetual consul and dictator; that he hindered statues to be erected to him in the comitium, in the rostrum, in the senate-house, in the capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple, and that he prevented a decree being passed, ordering his image, in a triumphal habit, to be brought in procession out of the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in restraining honours conformably to the temper of a constitution founded on an equality of rights; but, here, they are acknowledged by an enemy, and at the very time that he was employed in censuring him.

LVII. It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus; for the elder was, undoubtedly, disposed of, by her father, to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married after her father's death, or whether we are to credit those accounts which say, that when the officers were taking Scipio to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, Gracchus swore, that "the same enmity, which he had entertained against the Scipios still subsisted; and that he did not, by any act of his, seek to gain their favour. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place."

They add, that the senators, happening to sup that day in the capitol, rose up together, and requested of Africanus, before the company departed, to contract his daughter to Gracchus : that the contract was accordingly executed in due form, in the presence of this assembly ; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife *Æmilia* that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter. That she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressed some resentment on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child, and added, that, even were he giving her to *Tiberius Gracchus*, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention ; to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgment concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that Gracchus was the man he had betrothed her to. These circumstances respecting so great a captain, though variously represented, both in traditionary and written relation, I thought not fit to be passed over in silence.

LVIII. On the proceedings being finished by the prætor *Quintius Terentius*, *Hostilius* and *Furius* were condemned, and gave securities the same day to the city quæstors. Scipio insisted that all the money received by him, was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing whatsoever belonging to the public ; on which he was ordered to prison. *Publius Scipio Nasica* then appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech fraught with just encomiums, not only on the *Cornelian* family in general, but on his own branch of it in particular. "His father," he said, "and the father of *Publius Africanus*, and *Lucius Scipio*, who was now ordered to prison, were *Cneius* and *Publius Scipio*, men of the most illustrious characters ; who, by their conduct in war through a long course of years, against many commanders and many armies of the *Carthaginians* and *Spaniards*, highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name in the land of Spain ; and that, not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting to the nations of that country shining examples of Roman moderation and fidelity : both, at last, meeting their death in the service of the Roman people. Although their descendants might have contented themselves with supporting the glory derived from them, yet *Publius Africanus* so far surpassed his father's renown, as to occasion a belief that he was not born of the human race, but was of divine extraction. As to *Lucius Scipio*, the person then concerned, (to

pass over his exploits in Spain and in Africa, while he acted as lieutenant-general to his brother,) on his being elected consul, so high did he stand in the estimation of the senate, that they thought proper to assign to him the province of Asia, and the war with *Antiochus*, by a special order, without leaving it to the decision of the lots ; while in that of his brother, after having been honoured with two consulships, the censorship, and a triumph, he thought fit to attend him into Asia in quality of lieutenant-general. There, that the great and splendid character of the lieutenant might not eclipse the fame of the consul, it so happened, that, on the day when *Lucius Scipio* conquered *Antiochus* in a pitched battle at *Magnesia*, *Publius Scipio* was absent at the distance of several days' journey, being detained by sickness at *Elæa*. The army of the enemy, on that occasion, was not inferior to that of *Hannibal*, when the battle was fought with him in Africa ; and the same *Hannibal*, who was commander-in-chief in the *Carthaginian* war, was one, among many other generals then present, on the king's side. The war indeed was so conducted, that no one could throw blame even on fortune. A ground of accusation is sought for in the peace, and people say that it was sold. This charge is as applicable to the ten ambassadors, in pursuance of whose counsel the peace was concluded. Some of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as accusers of *Cneius Manlius*, yet their charges were so far from gaining credit that they did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

LIX. "But truly, the very articles of the peace afford grounds of suspicion respecting Scipio, as being too favourable to *Antiochus*. For his entire kingdom has been left to him : although conquered, he retains possession of every thing that belonged to him before the war ; and though he had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none of it has been applied to the use of the public : all has been converted to private purposes. Now, was there not a larger quantity of gold and silver carried before the eyes of the public in the triumph of *Lucius Scipio*, than in ten other triumphs taken together ? Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of *Antiochus*, or mention his having been in possession of all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe ? Every body knows what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from



Mount Taurus quite to the Ægean sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of the said mount, more than thirty days' journey in length, and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other,—has been taken from Antiochus, and who is thereby removed to the most distant corner of the world? Now if peace had been granted him without any pecuniary consideration, could more have been taken from him? Macedonia was left to Philip, after he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet Quintius was never accused on that account. The reason was, that he had not Africanus for a brother, whose high renown ought to have been serviceable to Lucius Scipio: but, instead of that, envy of his merit had done him injury. The sentence mentioned a quantity of gold and silver being conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio, greater than could be raised from the sale of his whole property. Where, then, was all this royal treasure; where the value of so many estates received? Surely in a house, not exhausted by extravagance, this new accumulation of wealth ought to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact from his person, and from his very flesh, by vexatious persecution and insult; by shutting up a man of his illustrious character in a prison, among thieves and robbers; forcing him to breathe his last in a dungeon and in darkness, and then throwing his naked corpse before the prison door. Such proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city of Rome, than they will on the Cornelian family."

LX. In answer to this, the prætor, Terentius read the Petillian order of the people, the decree of the senate, and the judgment pronounced against Lucius Scipio; and declared, that unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take,

than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired to confer together, and, in a short time after, Caius Fannius, in behalf of himself and all his colleagues, except Gracchus, declared, that the tribunes would not interfere with the prætor, to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus pronounced his determination thus: that he would not protest against the prætor's levying the sum adjudged out of the effects of Lucius Scipio: but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most powerful king in the world, had extended the empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits of the earth, had bound under obligations to the Roman people king Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, and had led in triumph so many generals of the enemies, should lie in prison, among the enemies of the Roman people, and in chains, he never would suffer; and therefore he ordered him to be discharged." This decision was heard with such approbation, so happy were the people at seeing Lucius Scipio at liberty, that it could hardly be supposed that the sentence had been passed in the same community. The prætor then sent the quæstors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property, for the use of the public. But so far from any trace appearing of money received from the king, the sale did not produce near as much as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and dependents, that, if he had accepted it, he would have been much richer than before this misfortune; but he would receive nothing. Such things as were necessary for his family occasions, were purchased for him at the sale by his nearest relations, and the public hatred which had been pointed against the Scipios, reverted on the prætor, his accessors, and the accusers.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XXXIX.

Marcus Æmilius, consul, having subdued the Ligurians, makes a new road from Placentia to Ariminum, where it joins the Flaminian way. Luxury introduced by the troops who had served in Asia. All the Ligurians, on the hither side of the Apennine, completely subdued. The Bacchanalian rites, borrowed from the Greeks, and celebrated by night, cause great alarm; are investigated by the consul: suppressed, and many of those concerned in them punished. Lucius Quintius Flaminius expelled the senate, by the censors, for flagitious conduct. Scipio dies at Linternum. Hannibal poisons himself, to avoid being given up to the Romans by Prusias, king of Bithynia. Philopœmen, the famous Achaean general, put to death by the Messenians. Successful operations against the Celtiberians. Another Macedonian war: causes and origin of it.

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I. WHILE these transactions passed at Rome, (if they are to be dated in this year,) both the consuls were employed in the war with the Ligurians. This people seemed, in some measure, intended by nature for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, by its opposition to their arms, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For as to Asia, from the enticing pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of its inhabitants, and the wealth of its princes, how much soever it might enrich the Roman armies, it contributed nothing towards the improvement of their courage. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were suffered to run into idleness and licentiousness. The consequence of which was, that, meeting in Thrace a passage somewhat more difficult, and an enemy of rather more vigour than they had been accustomed to, they suffered a repulse with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the face of the country mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much

more the dislodging of an enemy already in possession, was attended with much labour; the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to danger from ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and brisk in their motions, so as to allow no rest or remissness, at any season, or in any place; a number of strong forts, necessarily to be attacked, with much toil and danger; and the country so poor as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler followed the army, no long train of baggage horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men who had no other hope but in their arms. Nor did those people ever cease to afford either subject or cause for hostilities; for, their own country being infertile, they made frequently incursions on the territories of their neighbours; ever avoiding, however, an engagement that might effectually disable them.

II. The consul, Caius Flaminius, after frequently defeating the Frinian Ligurians in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered them to deliver up their arms; but, having acted dishonestly, in the delivery of them, and being reproved for their behaviour, they abandoned their villages, and



fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. At his approach a part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, they got away, beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine, where the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain, where they had posted themselves, at first, stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. A more careful search was now made for their arms, which were all taken from them. The army, next, marched against the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who, by their inroads, had infested the territories of Pisa and Bononia to such a degree, that the inhabitants could not till their grounds. These the consul entirely subdued, and thereby restored peace to the neighbourhood. Having now secured the province against any disturbance from an enemy, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness, he made a road from Bononia to Anetium. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, together with their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Suismontius. He then attacked these, harassed them for some time, and, at last, compelled them to come to a regular engagement, in which he utterly defeated them. During the fight he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on the hither side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the Brinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius. Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. Peace being thus established in Liguria, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum, to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

III. In Gaul, the prætor, Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war in the midst of peace, deprived the Cænomanians of their arms,

although no charge of guilt had been proved against them. Of this they complained to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorised to examine into and determine the cause. After a strong contest with the prætor it was decided in favour of the Cænomanians; their arms were restored, and the prætor was ordered to quit the province. The senate afterwards gave audience to envoys of the Latine confederates, who had come, in great numbers, from all parts of Latium. They complained, that a great multitude of their citizens had removed to Rome, and had been assessed there in the survey; on which a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the prætor, to make inquiry after such persons; and on the allies proving that those persons, themselves, or their fathers, had been rated in the surveys of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at some time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry, twelve thousand Latines returned home; so much was the city, even at that early period, burdened by an influx of foreigners.

IV. Before the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, as usual, recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, and then requested of the fathers, that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would be pleased to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Abutius, a plebeian tribune, gave notice, that, if any thing were determined on that subject, before the arrival of Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest: for "the consul intended to oppose that measure; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. Fulvius," he said, "would lose nothing by this, but time; for, notwithstanding the presence of his consul, the senate would determine according to its own judgment." Fulvius replied, that, "even if people did not know that there was a quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius, or with what overbearing, and in some measure, tyrannical

rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity ; yet it would be insufferable, that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph due to merit ; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could be expected from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of senate, that ‘it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force :’ a town which was attacked with mounds and engines : where, after the works were burned, others were constructed anew : where a fight was carried on for fifteen days, both above and under ground ; where, from the first dawn, when the soldiers mounted the walls, the battle lasted until night, and was, for a great part of the time, doubtful ; and where more than three thousand of the enemy were killed ? Then again, what a malicious misrepresentation did he make to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal gods being plundered in a captured city ? If it were allowable that Rome should be decorated with the ornaments of Syracuse, and other conquered places, then must Ambracia be the single instance, of a captured city exempted from the laws of war. For his part, he besought the conscript fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to suffer him to become a subject of derision to an enemy, who had acted, all along, with the most overbearing arrogance.”

V. Every one present felt the force of what he urged ; and some entreated the tribune to desist, while others sharply reproved his conduct. But what affected him most, was a speech of his colleague, Tiberius Græchus, who said, that “for a man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels, was an example of no good tendency ; but, that a tribune of the people should take upon himself to be a solicitor in the quarrel of another, was infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and sacred laws of the order to which he belonged. It was right that every one should love or hate others, approve or disapprove of measures, according to the dictates of their own judgment ; but not that a tribune should depend on the look or nod of another man, veer about at the movements

of another’s will, and make himself a tool to his displeasure ; remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, committed to him by the Roman people, for the aiding and maintaining the liberty of private citizens, not to aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider, that this circumstance would be recorded and handed down to posterity : that, of two plebeian tribunes of the college, one sacrificed his own resentment to the public good, the other accepted the employment of prosecuting the resentment of another man.” Overcome by these severe rebukes the tribune withdrew from the meeting, and Servius Sulpicius, the prætor, having put the question, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius. He returned thanks to the conscript fathers ; and then mentioned, that, “on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great ; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds weight of gold ; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposit in the treasury, after his triumph.” The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games ; and the pontiffs having answered, that the amount of the expense was a point in which religion was nowise concerned, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided it did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces.<sup>1</sup> He, at first, intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January ; but, hearing that the consul Æmilius,—in consequence of a letter from the tribune Abutius, acquainting him with his declining to protest, was coming in person to Rome, to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration, lest he should have more contests about it than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the Ætolians and Cephallenia on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried before his chariot, golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds weight ; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds ; of gold,



two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand;<sup>1</sup> of the coin called Philippics, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two;<sup>2</sup> brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils in great quantities: besides these, catapultas, ballistas, and engines of every kind; and in the procession were led twenty-seven commanders, some Ætolian, some Cephallenian, with others belonging to king Antiochus. Before he rode into the city, in the Flaminian circus, he honoured great numbers of tribunes, præfects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military presents; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses,<sup>3</sup> double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

VI. The time of the election of consuls now approached; [Y. R. 566. B. C. 186.] and as Marcus Æmilius, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, Caius Flaminius came home to Rome. He elected consuls, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, and Quintus Marcus Philippus. Then were chosen prætors,—Titus Mænius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Caius Calpurnius Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Caius Aurelius Scæurus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, Cneius Manlius Vulso triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was, to avoid standing a trial under the Petilian law, during the prætorship of Quintus Terentius Culleo; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the sentence passed on Lucius Scipio, especially as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him than against Scipio; because the latter had strictly maintained military discipline, whereas he, his successor, had ruined it, by tolerating licentiousness of every kind. Nor were the facts, which were reported to have happened in the province, the only things that disgraced his character. The circumstances which his soldiers every day exhibited to the eyes of the public were even more scandalous: for by this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings

and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. At entertainments, likewise, were introduced players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats also began to be prepared with greater care and cost; while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves both in estimation and use, became highly valuable. Nevertheless, these instances of extravagance, as they were then deemed, were no more than the seeds of that luxury which was afterwards to spring up.

VII. Cneius Manlius carried in the triumph two hundred golden crowns of twelve pounds weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms;<sup>4</sup> two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses;<sup>5</sup> sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philippics;<sup>6</sup> together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his car. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses,<sup>7</sup> and double to a centurion; to the foot-soldiers double pay, the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, whom he had distinguished by gifts, accompanied him. The verses thrown out by the soldiers were of such a kind, as plainly indicated, that their commander had been indulgent to them, and courted their affections. It was indeed evident that the triumph was beheld with a greater degree of favour by the troops than by the citizens. The friends of Manlius, however, were able to acquire for him the regard of the people also; for they procured the passing of a decree of the senate, ordering, that “such part of the money contributed to the public funds by the people, for the pay of the forces, as was not yet repaid, should be discharged out of that which had been carried in the procession to the treasury.” Accordingly the city prætors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half<sup>8</sup> for each thousand asses.<sup>9</sup> About this time two military tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from Caius Atinius, and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. These letters contained information, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in

1 15,241l. 12s. 4d.    2 801l. 3s. 3d.    3 16s. 1½d.

4 16,404l. 3s. 4d.    5 4309l. 14s. 9d.    6 1054l.  
7 14. 6s. 3d.    8 6s. 5d.    9 3l. 4s. 7d.

arms, and ravaging the territories of the allies ; the senate, however, deferred all consideration of that business until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games exhibited by Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, a pole in the circus, being loosely set in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and threw it down. The senate moved by such an incident, as it respected religion, voted that one day should be added to the celebration of the games, that two new statues should be set up instead of the one, and that one of them should be gilded. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ædiles Caius Sempronius Blaesus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

VIII. The consuls of the following year, Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, were diverted from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. On the prætors casting lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction ; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners ; Caius Aurelius Scæurus, Sardinia ; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily ; Lucius Quinctius Crispinus, Hither Spain ; Caius Calpurnius Piso, Farther Spain. The employment decreed to both the consuls was the making inquiry concerning clandestine meetings. A Greek of mean condition came, first, into Etruria, not with one of the many trades which his nation, of all others the most skilful in embellishing the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer ; nor was he to be ranked with those who, publicly professing to give instruction for hire, make use of open rites and ceremonies, to imbue men's minds with religious terrors, but a teacher of secret mysteries. These mysterious rites were, at first, imparted to a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure the greater number of proselytes. When wine, lascivious discourse, night, and the mingling of sexes had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion most prevalent in his nature. Nor were they confined to one species of vice, the

promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and of women ; but from this store-house of villany proceeded false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. In the same place, too, were perpetrated secret murders ; so that, in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were brought about by treachery, but most of them by force ; and this force was concealed by loud shouting, and the noise of drums and cymbals, so that none of the cries uttered by the persons suffering violation or murder could be heard abroad.

IX. The infection of this mischief, like that of a pestilence, spread from Etruria to Rome ; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, it remained some time undiscovered ; but information of it was at length brought to the consul, Postumius, in the following manner. One Publius Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and his guardians dying, he was educated under the eye of his mother Duronia, and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. Duronia was entirely devoted to her husband ; and Sempronius having managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The Bacchanalian rites presented themselves to his view, as the surest way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him, that, "during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among the Bacchanalians ; that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it ; that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days, and on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself, she would conduct him into the place of worship." There was a freedwoman called Hispala Fecenia, a noted courtesan, but deserving of a better lot than that of the occupation to which she had been accustomed when very young, and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Æbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man's character or property : for she had conceived a passion for him, and had



voluntarily sought his acquaintance ; and as his supplies from his friends were scanty, he was supported by the generosity of this woman ; nay, to such a length did her affection carry her, that on the death of her patron, being without a protector, she petitioned the tribunes and prætor for a guardian, and making her will, constituted Æbutius her sole heir.

X. As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and as neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man, jokingly, bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights ; as, “on account of a religious duty, to discharge a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated among the Bacchanalians.” On hearing this, the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, “May the gods forbid !” affirming that “it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives, than he should do such a thing :” she then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction, on the head of those that advised him to such a step. Æbutius, surprised both at her expressions, and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for “it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his stepfather.” “Then,” said she, “your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to censure your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life.” This increasing his surprise, he begged of her to explain herself. On which, after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her regard for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed, she told him, that “when in service, she had gone into that place of worship as an attendant on her mistress ; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it : that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries ; that it was well known, that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering forcible violation, should be heard abroad.” She then entreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other ; and not to plunge himself into a situation, where he must first suffer, and afterwards commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him

until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites.

XI. When he came home, on his mother's mention of the ceremonies which were to be performed on that day, and on the several following days, he told her that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately the woman with great heat, observed, that “he could not debar himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights ; that he was so fascinated by the caresses of that serpent, as to retain no respect for his relatives, or even the gods themselves.” Loading him with reproaches, they drove him out of the house, assisted by four slaves. The youth on this repaired to his aunt Æbutia, told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the consul Postumius, in private. The consul dismissed him, with an order to come again on the third day following. In the meantime, he inquired of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, “whether she knew an old matron called Æbutia, who lived on the Aventine hill ?” Sulpicia said, “she knew her well, and that Æbutia was a woman of virtue ; one whose character was marked with the modesty and simplicity of ancient times.” He then requested she might be summoned thither, as he had a particular reason for desiring some conversation with her. Æbutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia's house, and the consul, soon after, coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Æbutius, her brother's son. On this she burst into tears, and lamented the unhappy lot of the youth : “who, after being defrauded by persons who should the rather have been his protectors, was, at that time, obliged to take up his residence with her, being driven out of doors by his mother, for no other reason but because he had refused to be initiated in certain mysteries of lewdness, as they were said to be.”

XII. The consul, on receiving this information respecting Æbutius, was of opinion that no suspicion could be entertained of his testimony. Taking leave, therefore, of Æbutia, he requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, for Hispala, a freed-woman, not unknown in that neighbourhood ; for that he wanted to question her also. When Hispala received Sulpicia's message, she was

not a little alarmed at being sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and could not conjecture the cause; but, afterwards, when she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude of Postumia's attendants, and afterwards himself, she was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her, that "she need not be uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth; and of this, either Sulpicia, a matron whose character she must know, or himself, would give her full assurance." He then desired her to give him an account of all that was done by the Bacchanalians, in their nocturnal orgies, in the grove of Simila. The woman, on hearing this, was seized with such terror, and trembling of all her limbs, that, for a long time, she was unable to speak; but recovering, at length, she said, that "when she was very young, and a slave, she had been initiated, together with her mistress; but for several years past, since she had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of what was done there." The consul commended her so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and on her persisting to affirm, that she knew nothing farther, he told her, that "she must not expect to meet the same tenderness, or pardon, if she should be convicted by another person, and one who had made a voluntary confession; that there was such a person, who had heard the whole from her, and had given him a full account of it." The woman, now convinced that it must certainly be Æbutius who had discovered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia's feet, and, at first, began to beseech her, "not to let the private conversation of a freedwoman with her lover be made not only a serious business, but even capital charge;" declaring that, "she had spoken of such things merely to frighten him, and not because she knew any thing of the kind." On this Postumius, growing angry, said, "she seemed to imagine that she was wrangling with her gallant Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the house of a most respectable matron, and to a consul." Sulpicia endeavoured to dispel her terrors, and while she encouraged her to speak out, at the same time pacified her son-in-law's anger. At length she took courage, and, after severe remarks on the perfidy of Æbutius, in making such a return for the extraordinary kindness shown to

him in that very instance, she declared that "she stood in great dread of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to divulge; and also of men, who, should she be seized as an informer, would certainly put her to death. Therefore, she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and likewise of the consul, that they would send her out of Italy, so as that she might pass the remainder of her life in safety." The consul desired she would fear nothing; assuring her, it should be his care that she might live securely in Rome.

XIII. Hispala then gave a full account of the origin of the mysteries. "At first," she said, "the rites were performed by women. No man used to be admitted. They had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated among the Bacchanalians, in the day time. The matrons used to be appointed priestesses, successively in their turn. Paculla Minia, a Campanian, when priestess, made an alteration in every particular, under pretence of having been so directed by the gods. For she first introduced men, who were her own sons, Minucius and Herrenius, both surnamed Cerinthus; changed the time of celebration, from day to night; and, instead of three days in the year, appointed five days of initiation, in each month. When the rites were thus made common, and men were intermixed with women, the night encouraging licentious freedom, there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that had not been practised among them. There were more frequent pollutions of men, with each other, than with women. If any showed an uncommon degree of reluctance, in submitting to dishonour, or disinclination to the commission of vice, they were held as victims, and sacrificed. To think nothing unlawful, was the grand maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, in the habit of Bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said that men were carried off by the gods, when, after being fettered, they were dragged into secret caves. These were such as refused to take the oath of the society, or to associate in their crimes, or to submit to defilement. Their number was



exceedingly great, enough almost to compose a state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years, it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse." When she had finished this recital, she again fell at the consul's knees, and repeated the same entreaties, that she might be sent out of the country. Postumius requested Sulpicia to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might remove; accordingly, an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of it, of which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were immediately removed, and her domestics sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's dependents.

XIV. Having thus secured the informers, Postumius represented the affair to the senate. When he laid before them the whole, in order, the information offered to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterwards,—the senators were struck with great consternation; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies, and nightly meetings, might be productive of secret treachery and mischief, but, likewise, on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. They voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul, for having investigated the matter, with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then passed an order, out of the common course, that the consuls should hold an inquisition extraordinary, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; should take care that the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and that they should invite other informers in the matter, by offering rewards. They ordered, that the officials in those rites, whether men or women, should, wherever found, be delivered over to the power of the consuls; and also that proclamation should be made in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that "no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship;" and above all, that search should be made for those

who had assembled, or conspired, for the above named purpose, or for any other flagitious practices. These were the decrees of the senate. The consuls directed the curule ædiles to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and to keep such as they could apprehend in custody until their trial; they at the same time charged the plebeian ædiles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private. The capital triumvirs were ordered to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance to prevent any meetings by night. In order likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on both sides the Tiber.

XV. After despatching these officers to their several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer usually pronounced by the magistrates before they address the people, proceeded thus: "Romans, in no former assembly was this solemn supplication to the gods more proper or even more necessary: as it serves to remind you, that these are the deities whom the wisdom of your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and prayers: and not those which after infatuating men's minds with corrupt and foreign modes of religion, drive them, as if goaded by the furies, to the indulgence of every lust, and the commission of every vice. I am in doubt as to what I should conceal, or how far I ought to speak out; for I dread, lest, if I leave you ignorant of any particular, I should give room for carelessness, or, if I disclose the whole, that I should too much awaken your fears. Whatever I shall say, be assured, that it is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the affair would justify; though it may be sufficient to set us properly on our guard. That the Bacchanalian rites have subsisted, for some time past, in every country in Italy, and are, at present, performed in many parts of this city also, I am sure you must have been informed, not only by report, but by the nightly noises, and horrid yells, that resound from every part; but still you are ignorant of the nature of that business. Part of you think it is some kind of worship of the gods; others, some allowable sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may be, it concerns but a few. As to what regards the

number, if I tell you that they are many thousands, and without order, you must necessarily be terrified to excess, unless I farther acquaint you who and what sort of persons they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and this was the source of the evil; the rest are males, but nearly resembling women; actors and pathics, in the vilest lewdness; night revellers, hurried on, by wine, noise of instruments, and clamours, to a degree of mad enthusiasm. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength; but it has abundant means of acquiring strength, for its numbers increase daily. Your ancestors would not allow that you should ever assemble, without some good reason; that is, either when the standard was erected on the Janiculum, and the army led out on occasion of elections: or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the commons, or some of the magistrates summoned you to it. And they judged it necessary, that wherever a multitude was, there should be a lawful governor of that multitude present. Of what kind, do you suppose, are the meetings of these people? In the first place, being held in the night, and, in the next, being composed promiscuously of men and women? If you knew at what ages the males are initiated, not only your compassionate feelings, but your modesty, would be shocked. Romans, can you think youths initiated, under such oaths as theirs, are fit to be made soldiers? That wretches, brought out of that temple of obscenity, should be trusted with arms? Shall these, contaminated with their own foul debaucheries, and those of others, be the champions for the chastity of your wives and children?

XVI. "But the mischief were less, if they were only effeminated by their practices; of that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves; if they refrained their hands from outrage, and their thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that extended to so many persons, and comprehended so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of villany have, of late, been committed, through lust; whatever, through fraud; whatever, through violence; they have all, be assured, proceeded from that association alone. They have not yet perpetrated all the crimes for which they combined. The impious assembly, at present, confines itself to outrages on private citizens; because it has not yet acquired force sufficient to crush the common-

wealth: but the evil increases and spreads daily; it is already too great to find employment among the private ranks of life, and aims its views at the body of the state. Unless you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly assembly may become as large as this, held in open day, and legally summoned by a consul. At this present moment, they dread your collected body; but, in a short time, when you shall have separated, and retired to your several dwellings, they will again come together. They will hold a consultation on the means of their own safety, and, at the same time, of your destruction. Thus united, they will cause terror to every one. You, therefore, ought to pray, that all your kindred may have behaved with wisdom and prudence; and if lust, if madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss, to consider such a person as the relation of those with whom he conspired for the perpetration of every wickedness, and not as one of your own. I am not quite free from anxiety, lest some, even of yourselves, may have erred through mistake; for nothing is more apt to deceive, by specious appearances, than false religion. When the authority of the gods is held out as a pretext to cover vice, we become fearful, lest, in punishing the crimes of men, we may violate some divine right connected therewith. But, from any scruple of that sort, you are entirely freed, by numberless decisions of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and answers of the aruspices. How often, in the ages of our fathers, was it given in charge to the magistrates, to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, the circus, and the city; to search for, and burn, books of divination; and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice? For they, who had a thorough knowledge of every divine and human law, maintained, that nothing tended so strongly to the subversion of religion, as foreign sacrifices. Thus much I thought necessary to mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple might disturb your minds when you should see us demolishing the places resorted to by the Bacchanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies. In doing this, we shall be favoured and approved by the gods; who, being incensed at the profanations offered to their majesty, by those people's lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceedings



from hidden darkness into the open light ; and who have directed them to be exposed, not that they may escape with impunity, but in order that they may be punished and suppressed. The senate have commissioned me and my colleague, to hold an inquisition extraordinary concerning that affair. What is requisite to be done by ourselves, in person, we will do with energy. The charge of posting watches through the city, during the night, we have committed to the inferior magistrates ; and, for your parts, it is incumbent on you, according to the several duties assigned you, and in the several places where you will be placed, to execute vigorously whatever orders you shall receive ; and to use your best endeavours, that no danger or tumult may arise, from the treachery of the party involved in the guilt."

XVII. They then ordered the decrees of the senate to be read, and published a reward for any discoverer, who should bring any of the guilty before them, or give information against any of the absent, adding that "if any person accused should fly, they would limit a certain day, upon which, if he did not obey their summons, and appear to answer, they would condemn him, without waiting for his return ; and if any one should be charged, who was out of Italy, they would allow him a longer time to come and make his defence." They then issued an edict, that "no person whatever should presume to buy or sell any thing, for the purpose of leaving the country, or to receive or conceal any such ; nor, by any means, aid or abet any persons about to migrate." On the assembly being dismissed, great terror spread throughout the city ; nor was it confined merely within the walls or to the Roman territory, for in every quarter of Italy, the people, on being informed by letters from their friends of the decree of the senate, of what passed in the assembly, and of the edict of the consuls, began to be much alarmed. During the night, which succeeded the day in which the affair was made public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized, and brought back, by the triumvirs, who had posted guards at all the gates ; and informations were lodged against many, some of whom, both men and women, put themselves to death. It was said that above seven thousand of both sexes had been sworn into the association ; but it appeared that the heads of the conspiracy were two Catinii, Marcus and

Lucius, citizens of Rome ; Lucius Opaturnius, a Faliscian ; and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian : that from these proceeded all their criminal practices, and that these were the chief priests and founders of the sect. Care was taken that they should be apprehended as soon as possible. They were brought before the consuls, and, confessing their guilt, saved them the trouble of a long and formal trial.

XVIII. But so great were the numbers that fled, that many people suffered severely thereby, in their lawsuits and their substance ; insomuch that the prætors, Titus Menius and Marcus Licinius, were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. As the persons, against whom charges were brought, did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, it became necessary for the consuls to make a circuit of the country towns, and there to make their inquiries, and hold the trials. Those who, as it appeared, had been only initiated, repeating after the priest, and in the most solemn form, the prescribed imprecations, but who had not themselves committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts, to which they were bound by the oath, — all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal defilements, or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other frauds, all these they punished with death. A greater number were executed than thrown into prison ; indeed, the multitude of men and women who suffered in both ways, was very considerable. The consuls delivered the women, who were condemned, to their relations, or to those in whose direction they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private ; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind to execute the sentence, they were punished in public. A charge was then given to demolish all the places where the Bacchanalians had held their meetings ; first, in Rome, and then throughout all Italy ; excepting those, wherein should be found some ancient altar, or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, "prohibiting the performance of any the like rites in Rome, or in Italy : " and ordering that, "in case any person should believe some such kind of worship incumbent on him, and necessary ; and that he could not, without

offence to religion, and incurring guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city prætor, and the prætor should lay the business before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate, when not less than one hundred members were present, then those rites might be performed, provided that no more than five persons should be present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest."

XIX. Another decree, connected with this, was then made, on a motion of the consul, Quintus Marcius, that "the business respecting the persons who had served the consuls as informers should be proposed to the senate, when Spurius Postumius should have finished his inquiries, and returned to Rome." They voted, that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistrates of that city, to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his laying violent hands on himself. Spurius Postumius soon came to Rome, and, on his proposing the question, concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, for their services in discovering the proceedings of the Bacchanalians, the senate passed a vote, that "the city quæstors should give to each of them, out of the public treasury, one hundred thousand asses;<sup>1</sup> and that the consuls should desire the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons as soon as convenient, that Publius Æbutius should be deemed to have served out his time in the army, that he should not be compelled to military duty, nor should any censor assign him a horse<sup>2</sup> at the public charge." They voted also, that "Hispala Fecenia should enjoy the privileges of alienating her property by gift, or deed; of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, as if a husband had conferred them by will; that she should be at liberty to wed a man of honourable birth, and that such person, marrying her, should not

thereby incur any disgrace or disparagement; and that the consuls, then in office, and their successors, should take care that no injury should be offered to Hispala, but that she might live in safety. That it was the opinion, and desire of the senate, that all these things should be so ordered."—All these particulars were proposed to the commons, and executed, according to the vote of the senate; the consuls at the same time being authorised to determine respecting the impunity and rewards of the other informers.

XX. Quintus Marcius, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared, at length, to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latine foot, and two hundred horse. The same province, and the same numbers of horse and foot, had been voted to his colleague, and they received the armies, which, during the preceding year, the consuls, Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius, had commanded. They were also ordered, by a decree of the senate, to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latines twenty thousand foot, and one thousand three hundred horse; besides all which, they levied three thousand Roman foot, and two hundred horse, all which troops, except the legions, were ordered to march into Spain, to reinforce the army employed there. The consuls, therefore, while themselves were kept busy in holding the inquisitions, had delegated to Titus Mænius the charge of enlisting the troops. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius first marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a dangerous defile, inclosed by eminences, which were occupied by the enemy. Here four thousand soldiers fell, and three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latine allies, were taken; abundance of arms were likewise lost, being thrown away by the men, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue, sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops, in the country of their friends, in order to conceal the greatness of the loss sustained. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his

1 322l. 18s. 4d.

<sup>2</sup> Those to whom the censor assigned a horse, were bound to serve. But as liberty was granted to Æbutius, to serve or not, as he chose, it became necessary that the censor should be thus restrained, by a vote of the senate, from assigning him a horse; otherwise, if one had been assigned him, whether willing or not, he must have served.



misconduct; for the pass, where the Ligurians put him to flight, has gotten the name of the Marcian pass.

XXI. Before the public received an account of this affair from Liguria, a letter from Spain was read to them, which produced a mixture of joy and grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province, in quality of prætor, fought, in the territory of Asta, a pitched battle with the Lusitanians, in which six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field and their camp taken. He then marched, at the head of the legions, to attack the town of Asta, which he took, with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, approaching the wall too carelessly, he received a wound, of which he died a few days after. On reading a letter, acquainting them with the prætor's death, the senate voted, that a courier should be sent to overtake the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him, that it was the will of the senate, that he should hasten his journey lest the province should be without a governor. The courier reached Luna on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In Hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians, in which neither party could claim the victory, farther than this that the Celtiberians retreated, during the following night, and left the Romans at liberty to bury their dead, and collect the spoils. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, with a more numerous force, attacked the Romans, near the town of Calaguris. Writers have not mentioned the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, their camp falling into the hands of the Romans; and it is probable, if the conqueror's career had not been stopped by the arrival of his successor, he would have reduced Celtiberia to entire subjection. Both the new prætors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

XXII. About the time when the news of these transactions in Spain arrived at Rome, the games called *Taurilia*<sup>1</sup> were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then

Marcus Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, out of respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans were entertained with contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; the shows being exhibited in a manner, that fell but little short of the abundance and variety of the present age. The nine days' solemnity was then performed, showers of stones having fallen, for three days, in Pice-num; and fires from heaven, had, as was said, in various places, slightly burned the clothes of many persons. By order of the pontiffs, a supplication, of one day's continuance, was added on account of the temple of Ops, in the capitol, being struck by lightning. The consul sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time, an account was brought from Umbria, of a hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. This was deemed a prodigy of direful import, and orders were given, that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territories, and put to death. During this year, a body of transalpine Gauls came into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot, for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, who were told, that "the state had given those people no authority to quit it, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy." About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the expense was defrayed by a contribution made to him, for the purpose, by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias asserts, that, after his condemnation, and the sale of his effects, he was sent into Asia, to adjust disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes; where he received these contributions for those games, and collected artists. Although he had made no mention of them, on the conclusion of the war, in which he said they had been vowed. On his return from this embassy, however, he introduced the subject in the senate.

XXIII. As the year was now drawing to a

in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, on occasion of a malignant disorder that had attacked pregnant women. Black bulls were sacrificed, whence the name.

<sup>1</sup> Games in honour of the infernal deities, instituted

conclusion, Quintus Marcius, then abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions, with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Claudius Pulcher, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day were elected prætors, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stellio, Caius Atilius Serranus, Lucius Postumius Tempsanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. [Y. R. 567. B. C. 185.] Towards the close of the year, the consul Spurius Postumius, reported that in travelling along the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he found two colonies deserted, Sipontum, on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; on which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Titus Mænius, city prætor, constituted Lucius Scribonus Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bebius Tamphilus, commissioners for conducting colonists thither. The war, at this time apprehended with king Perseus and the Macedonians, owed not its origin either to Perseus himself, nor to the causes to which it has been generally attributed. The original idea of it was conceived, by Philip, and, if he had lived some time longer, he would himself have entered on the prosecution of it. In the conditions imposed on him, when he was vanquished, there was one particular that chagrined him more than all the rest. This was, his being deprived, by the senate, of the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him in the course of the war; although, from Quintus having left that point undetermined, when he was adjusting the articles of pacification, he had entertained some hopes of being indulged in it. Afterwards, on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the armies separated, and the consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, while Philip besieged Lamia. As soon as Heraclea was taken, however, Philip was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, and the town was surrendered to the Romans; this also gave him great offence. The consul, indeed, in some measure, soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had re-assembled, after their flight he gave Philip permission to make war on Amynder and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without much difficulty, he expelled Amynder from

Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion, the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect; with the whole of the Magnesian state. Afterwards, finding that several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, he, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, made himself master of them all.

XXIV. By these means the king's displeasure was silenced for the present; but he never abandoned the project of collecting such a force during peace, as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever fortune should offer an occasion. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands, and the port duties, but, also, by setting men to work again in old mines, which had been neglected, and opening new ones in many places. Then, (in order to restore the country to its former degree of population, which had been diminished by the calamities of war,) besides compelling every one to marry and educate children, he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long suspension of arms, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterwards occurred, which served to revive his resentment against the Romans. Complaints were made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, of his holding possession of their towns, and, by ambassadors from king Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia. These had been received in such a manner as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate, was, their having been informed, that Philip aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea; as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Athamanians, informing,—not that their frontiers were encroached on, or part of their territory taken,—but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops, for having supported the cause of liber-



ty; who reported, that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by him. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, asserting, that, in all these cases, nothing had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That "the states of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of the Athamanians, with Amynder, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. That after the expulsion of king Antiochus, the consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of Ætolia, had named Philip to subdue those states, and they remained subject to him in consequence of their being conquered by his arms." The senate, unwilling to come to any decision, in the king's absence, sent Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassadors to adjust those disputes. Previous to their arrival, a convention of all those states, who had disputes with the king, was summoned to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

XXV. There, when all were seated, (the Roman ambassadors, in the character of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians, professedly as accusers, and Philip as defendant,) the heads of the embassies, according to their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred towards the king, spoke, some with acrimony, others with mildness. There was a dispute concerning Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the other towns in their neighbourhood. The point in controversy was, whether these towns were the property of the Thessalians, forcibly taken from them, and held by the Ætolians, (for from these it was acknowledged that Philip had received them,) or whether they were originally belonging to the Ætolians: Acilius having granted them to the king, on the condition that "they had been the property of the Ætolians; and that their siding with the Ætolians had been voluntary, and not the effect of compulsion and force." The question in regard to the towns of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians, turned on the same points; for the Ætolians, by holding possession of them occasionally, had introduced confusion with respect to the real proprietors of them all. To these particulars, which were matter of discussion, the Thessalians added complaints, that, "if these towns were now restored to them, they would come into their

hands in a state of desolation, and depopulated; for besides the loss of inhabitants, through the casualties of war, Philip had carried away five hundred of their young men of the first rank into Macedonia, where he employed them in servile offices, unbecoming their birth; and had taken pains to render useless whatever he should be compelled to restore to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthiotis was the only sea-port they had, which, formerly, produced much profit and advantage to the inhabitants of Thessaly; but that Philip, having collected there a number of ships of burthen, made them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias; by which means, he turned thither the whole commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to offer violence, even to ambassadors, who, by the law of nations, are every where held inviolable, but had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to Titus Quintius. In consequence of these proceedings, the Thessalians were all seized with such dread, that not one of them, even in their own states, or in the general assemblies of the nation, ventured to open his lips. For the Romans, the defenders of their liberty, were far distant; and a severe master close at their side, debarring them from the kindness of those their allies. If speech were not free, what else could be said to be so: at present, they confided, so far, in the protection of the ambassadors, as to utter their groans, rather than words; but, unless the Romans would apply some remedy to abate both the fears of the Greeks bordering on Macedonia, and the arrogance of Philip, his having been conquered, and their being set at liberty, would prove utterly fruitless. Like a stubborn, unmanageable horse, he required to be checked with a strong bridle." These bitter expressions were used by the last speakers among them; those who spoke before having endeavoured, by mildness, to mitigate his resentment; requesting him "to make allowances for people pleading in defence of their liberty; to lay aside the harshness of a master, and in the course of his conduct, show himself a friend and ally; to imitate the Roman people, who wished to unite their allies to them by the ties of affection, rather than of fear." When the Thessalians had finished, the Perrhæbians pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had given the name of Olympias, belonging to Perrhæbia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same demand was

made with respect to Malœa, and Ericinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of liberty, with the forts Athenæus and Pœtneus.

XXVI. Philip, that he might maintain the appearance of an accuser, rather than of a defendant, began his discourse also with complaints. He alleged, that "the Thessalians had taken by force of arms, Menelais in Dolopia, a town belonging to his dominions; likewise, Petra in Pieria, by the same Thessalians, and the Perrhæbians; that they had reduced, under their government, Xyniæ, which unquestionably belonged to Ætolia, and had without any colour of justice, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thessalians, Parachelois, in the territory of Athamania. As to the charges brought against him, concerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and of sea-ports being frequented or deserted, the one was quite ridiculous, (as if he were to account for what harbours merchants or sailors should frequent;) and the other, the constant tenor of his conduct refuted. During a number of years, ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints against him, sometimes to the Roman generals, at others to Rome to the senate, though none of them had ever been injured, even in words. They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid for some who were going to Quintius, but they are silent in regard to consequences. It was evident, that the authors sought for groundless imputations, because they had none to offer that were founded in truth." He said, that "the Thessalians, insolently and wantonly, abused the indulgence of the Roman people, too greedily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty after a long thirst; and thus, in the manner of slaves lately set free, made trial of their voices and tongues, and prided themselves in invectives and railings against their masters." Then, hurried on by passion, he added, that "his sun had not set yet;" which expression, not only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a menace to themselves, and a murmur of displeasure followed his words. When this at length ceased, he proceeded to answer the ambassadors of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians. He observed, "the cases of the cities of which they had spoken were the same. The consul Acilius and the Romans gave them to him, when they were the property of enemies. If the donors chose to resume what they had given, he knew he must submit, but in that case they would, for the gratification of inconstant and

unprofitable allies, do injury to a more useful, and more faithful friend. For no favour produced less permanent gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among people who were ready to make a bad use of it." After hearing all parties, the ambassadors pronounced their judgment, that "the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from the cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be limited within its ancient boundaries. That, with regard to the injuries complained of by the several parties, in order to decide the controversies between those states and the Macedonians, it would be requisite to institute a regular judicial inquiry into their several rights."

XXVII. This determination gave grievous offence to the king, and the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonica, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that "if the Romans wished that Ænus and Maronea, should be independent, the king had nothing more to say, than to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, though not in words; nor to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But, if they had not so much concern for the cities in Thrace, it was much more reasonable, that places which had been under the dominion of Antiochus, and were become the prize of victory, should be granted to Eumenes, than to Philip; and that, either on account of his father Attalus's deserts in the war, waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, in sharing all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with Antiochus. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose; who, when they granted the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely yielded, at the same time, Ænus and Maronea; which, even from the proximity of situation, were but a sort of appendages to the larger gift. For, as to Philip, what merits towards the Roman people, or what right of dominion could he plead for having put garrisons into those places, which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia? They then desired, that the Romans would order the Maronites to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The Maronite ambassadors, being called in, de-



clared, that "not in one spot of the city, as was usually the case, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, so that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the party that showed themselves disposed to humour the king, domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty of speaking either in the senate, or assemblies of the people. All posts of eminence they assumed to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought proper. Persons of the best characters, and who had a regard for liberty and for the laws, were either expelled their country, or obliged to sit down in silence, deprived of all share in the public honours, and exposed to insolence." They added also a few words respecting their right to the frontier places, affirming, that "Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as a boundary line to Philip, the old royal road leading to Paroreia, in Thrace, which in no place leads towards the sea; and that Philip afterwards drew a new one in another direction, in order to comprehend the cities and lands of the Maronites."

XXVIII. Philip, in his reply, took quite another course than when answering the Thesalians and Perrhæbians, and spoke to the following effect:—"I dispute not now with the Maronites, or with Eumenes, but with you yourselves, Romans, from whom, as it would seem, I am not to expect any justice. The cities of Macedonia, which had revolted from me during a suspension of arms, I wished to have been restored to me; not that they would have made any great accession to my dominions, because the towns are small in themselves, and, besides, are situated on the extremities of the frontiers; but because the example was of consequence towards retaining the rest of the Macedonians in their allegiance. This was refused me. In the Ætolian war, I was ordered by the consul, Manius Acilius, to lay siege to Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long course of fatigue in fighting and constructing works, and was on the point of mounting the walls, the consul recalled me when the city was almost in my possession, forcing me to draw off my troops. As some consolation for this hard treatment, I received permission to seize on some forts rather than cities, of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. Of these also, Quintus Cæcilius has deprived me. The ambassadors of Eumenes, just now,

took for granted, it seems, that whatever belonged to Antiochus would more properly be given to Eumenes than to me. My judgment of the matter is widely different. For, not on the Romans proving victorious, but on their engaging in the war, Eumenes' continuance on his throne depended. The obligation, therefore, lies on his side, not on yours; whereas, so far were any part of my dominions from being in danger, that, when Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty decked ships, guaranteeing to me all the cities of Greece, of which I had heretofore been in possession, I rejected that offer. I avowed myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius brought over an army into Greece. In conjunction with that consul, I supported whatever share of the war he gave me in charge. To serve the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he proposed leading his army by land, to the Hellespont, besides giving him a passage through my dominions, I also made roads for him, built bridges, supplied him with provisions, and convoying him, not only through Macedonia, but likewise through Thrace; where, besides other business, I had the task of keeping the barbarians quiet. In requital of this zealous, not to call it meritorious, conduct towards you, whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to grant me some addition to my dominions by acts of generosity, or to ravish from me what I possessed, either in my own right, or through your kindness. The cities of Macedonia, which you acknowledge to have belonged to my kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to plunder me as he would Antiochus, and covers his most shameless and groundless chicanery under the decree of the ten ambassadors, the very circumstance that completely refutes and convicts him. For is it not expressly and plainly set down in that writing, that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are granted to Eumenes; and is there any mention therein of Ænus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace? That which he did not dare even to ask from them, shall he obtain from you, as if under their grant? Much depends on the character in which you choose to consider me. If you are resolved to persecute me as a foe, proceed to act as you have begun: but, if you have any consideration of me, as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I must entreat you not to judge me deserving of such injurious treatment."

XXIX. The king's discourse made a considerable impression on the ambassadors; they therefore left the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution, that "if the cities in question were granted to Eumenes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they would make no alteration. If Philip subdued them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold them as the prize of victory. If neither were the case, then their judgment was, that the decision should be referred to the senate; and in order that every particular might be open for deliberation, the garrisons in those cities should be withdrawn." These causes, among others of less weight, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans, so that in all appearance the war was not set on foot by his son Perseus for any fresh causes, but rather was, for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. He demanded a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, and his demand was justified by the greatness of his exploits, but contradicted by precedent; for it was a rule, established by ancient practice, that no commander, who had not brought home his troops, should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor, in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. However, the senate took a middle course, and ordered that Manlius should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, one hundred and twenty-two pounds weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; giving public notice, in the senate, that his quæstor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds weight of silver, and eighty of gold, which he intended to carry likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, prætor, governed the province of Tarentum, who conducted with much severity, inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads and public pastures with robberies. Of these, he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and many were punished. The consuls, after being long detained in the city by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

XXX. This year, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintius, the two prætors in Spain,

drew their troops out of winter quarters, early in spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippon and Toletum, a fight began between the foraging parties; and, as reinforcements came up on both sides, from the camps, the entire armies were, by degrees drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the advantage, which the others' fears afforded them. The Roman prætors, lest their camp should be attacked next day, gave orders, without noise, for decamping, and led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn, the Spaniards came up to the rampart in battle array, and finding, beyond their expectation, that the camp was deserted, marched in, and made prey of whatever had in the hurry and confusion been first left behind; and then, returning to their own station, remained quiet for several days. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed in the battle and the pursuit, five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time the Roman prætors employed in collecting aid from the allied Spanish states, and recovering the spirits of their men from the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When they judged their strength sufficient, and found themselves called on by the soldiers to lead them against the enemy, that they might blot out their former disgrace, they took post at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus; but decamping thence at the third watch, and, marching in order of battle, reached the bank of the river at the break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. Having discovered two fords, Calpurnius immediately led his army across through that on the left. All this time the enemy continued motionless, surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, when they might have greatly distressed the troops during their hurry and confusion in passing the river. The Romans brought all over even to their baggage, which



they threw together in a heap. Seeing the enemy, at length, begin to move, and having no time for fortifying a camp, they formed their line of battle, placing in the centre the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. From hence, all the way to the enemy's camp, they had an open plain, where there could be no danger of ambush.

XXXI. When the Spaniards saw the two bodies of Romans, on their side of the river, they resolved to fall upon them before they should unite and put themselves in order; rushing therefore suddenly out of the camp, they advanced to battle at full speed. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage, by a discomfiture to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour. The enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on them. When the prætor, Calpurnius, perceived the distress of this part of his line, he hastily despatched two lieutenants-general, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions, who were ordered to say, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain depended entirely on them. If they should give ground, not a man in that whole army would ever see Italy, no nor even the farther bank of the Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged the flank of the wedge, which was pressing upon his centre. Quintius, likewise, with his cavalry, charged the enemy on the other flank; but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit, while the prætor himself exceeded all others. He was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and he pushed in among the troops, in the centre, in such a manner, that it was hard to distinguish to which side he belonged. Thus the horse were animated by the extraordinary valour of the prætor, and the infantry by that of the horse. The foremost centurions, seeing the prætor in the midst of the enemy's weapons, were struck with shame.

They all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard bearers, urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the soldiers to follow with speed. All set up the shout anew, and made an attack as violent as if they were rushing down a hill. Like a flood, therefore, they broke and bore down the enemy in dismay, nor was it possible to withstand them, pouring in one after another. The Spaniards, flying to their camp, were pursued by the cavalry, who, mixing in the crowd of the runaways, penetrated into it. Here the fight was renewed, by the troops left to guard the same, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion came up, with the rest of the troops. The Spaniards were cut to pieces, in all parts of the camp; not more than four thousand men making their escape. Of these, about three thousand, who kept their arms, took post on a mountain, at a small distance, and one thousand, who were in general but half armed, dispersed through the country. This army of the enemy had contained thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very small number survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and, of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, was the only circumstance that made the victory appear to have been dearly earned. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day, Calpurnius, in an assembly, commended the behaviour of the cavalry, making them presents of horse furniture, and declaring publicly, that, through their bravery principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. Quintius, likewise, gave chains and clasps to his men. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received gratuities, especially those who were in the centre.

XXXII. The consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business necessary to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius, marching from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians, ravaged their lands, and burned their villages and forts, until he opened that difficult country, as far as the river Macra, and the harbour of Luna. The enemy posted themselves on a mountain, which had, from old times, served

their forefathers as a retreat ; but the difficulty of access, here also, was overcome, and they were dislodged by force. The good conduct and success of Appius Claudius against the Ingaunian tribe, was not inferior to that of his colleague, for he defeated them in several battles. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made a vast number of prisoners, beheading forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near ; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius, stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors, of patrician rank, were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for the honour of which they had been disappointed, and which was the more justly due to them, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, this made the competition, being four, still more obstinate. Claudius was the only new one. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem. Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tampilus ; these two had been disappointed, but had cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. The general opinion was, that Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus would be the successful persons ; but Claudius, the consul, unattended by his lictors, canvassed with his brother, through all parts of the forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents, and the greater part of the senate, who insisted, that "he ought to remember the duty of a consul of the Roman people, in preference to that of the brother of Publius Claudius. To sit on his tribunal, content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the business." Yet nothing could restrain his immoderate zeal. The election was, also, several times, interrupted by contentions between the plebeian tribunes ; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last, Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also. The contest among

the plebeian candidates was decently conducted, and not with intemperate violence, like that of Claudius. Then was held the election of prætors, in which were chosen, Caius Decimius Flavius, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Nevius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Aulus Terentius Varro. Such were the occurrences, at home and abroad, of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

XXXIII. In the beginning of the following year, [Y. R. 568. B. C. 184.] (Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius being consuls,) Quintus Cæcilius, Marcus Bæbius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the states of the Thessalians, came home, and gave an account of the execution of their commission. They also introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion, the same arguments were repeated by all parties, which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed, that a new embassy, with Appius Claudius at its head, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to know whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. They were, farther, instructed to take care, that the garrisons should be withdrawn from Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea-coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered, also, to go to Peloponnesus, where the former ambassadors had, at their departure, left affairs in a more unsettled state than they would have been if they had not come thither. For, besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achæan council, nor were they allowed an audience. On this subject, Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint. At the same time the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, the selling of them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the nation had been supported unto that time. On this the Achæans, endeavouring chiefly to apologize for having refused a meeting of the council, recited a law which enacted, that a council should not be summoned, except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from



the senate with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought in prosperity, to take care that Roman ambassadors should at all times have an opportunity of applying to their council; in like manner as the senate always gave them audience, at any time when they wished it.

XXXVI. After those ambassadors had received their answers, Philip, being informed that he must yield up the states, and evacuate the towns in question, was highly enraged against all, yet vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the sea-coast, to put to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man employed a person called Cassander, a partizan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, and he, introducing a body of Thracians by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and with such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he averred, that "none of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and fought, because some wished to bring over their state to his side, others to that of Eumenes. That the truth of this might be readily ascertained; and they had only to ask the Maronites themselves." For he was confident, that, while they were all under the impression of terror, since the late massacre, not one of them would dare to utter a word against him. Appius said, that "this would be looking for obscurity in a case already clear. But if he wished to remove the guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome, that the senate might examine them." At first, these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that neither his colour, nor his looks remained unchanged; then, after some time, having collected his thoughts, he replied, that "he would send Cassander, who had been in Maronea, if it was their desire: but, as to Onomastus, how could that matter affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea, was not even near it?" He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more valued friend, yet he dreaded him much more lest he

might make discoveries. He had, in person, however, conversed with him on the subject, and he had confided in him as an agent in many similar transactions. Cassander is supposed to have been taken off, that the truth might not be divulged,—being poisoned by persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the sea-coast.

XXXV. The ambassadors quitted the conference in a manner which plainly showed that they were not at all pleased with any thing that had passed; and Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again to arms. But his strength being, as yet, insufficient for that purpose, he resolved, in order to procure delay, to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome, to clear him from the above-named charges; and, at the same time to deprecate the wrath of the senate. Philip had strong expectations that the young man himself, having, while a hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence now. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but, in reality, with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in an engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first despatched emissaries to persuade the barbarians, living near the Danube, to make an irruption into Italy. The Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, were expected daily in Peloponnesus; and, in order that the Achæans might settle their plans of conduct towards them beforehand, their prætor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed, that "from enemies, they were turned accusers; and there was reason to fear, lest they should prove more formidable, after having been conquered, than when they had arms in their hands: for, in the war, the Achæans had the Romans as allies in their cause; now, the same Romans were more favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the Achæans. Even Areus and Alcibiades, both restored from exile, through the kindness of the Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome, in prejudice to a nation to which they were so much obliged; and had spoken against it, with so much animosity, that people might suppose they had been banished from their country, instead of being restored to it." A general cla-

mour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this, the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia.

XXXVI. Before any business was entered on, the Achæans received an alarming proof, how little impartiality they were likely to experience in the proceedings on this cause, when they saw in company with the ambassadors, Areus and Alcibiades, whom, in their last council, they had condemned to death; yet none of them dared to utter a word. Appius acquainted them, that the senate was much displeased at those matters, of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre at Compasium of those who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then, after such barbarity, the having demolished the wall of that famous city, having abrogated its laws, of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was prætor, and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, it is a harder task on us to plead before you, than we had lately before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now, we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you just now appeared. For my part, at least, though the matters of which the Lacedæmonians complained formerly, in this place, before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterwards at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet I shall consider myself as answering not to you, but before you, to them. You charge us with the murder of those men, who, being called out by the prætor, Philopœmen, to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge of such a nature, that it ought not to be advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or by any in your presence; and I will tell you why. One of the articles in the treaty which you signed is, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermeddle with the cities

on the coast. At the time, when they took arms, assaulted, in the night, and seized on those towns, with which they had been forbidden to interfere; if, I say, Titus Quintius, if a Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as formerly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants would surely have fled to them for relief. As you were at a great distance, to whom else would they fly, but to us, your allies, whom they had seen at a former time bringing aid to Gythium; whom they had seen in conjunction with you, besieging Lacedæmon on their account? In your stead, therefore, we undertook a just and rightful war. Other men approve this step, and even the Lacedæmonians cannot censure it; the gods themselves, also, by giving us the victory, have shown their approbation of it; how then, can acts, done under the laws of war, be, by any means, made matter of civil disquisition? Of these acts, however, the greatest part nowise affect us. The summoning to trial, men, who had excited the populace to arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns on the coast, who had murdered the principal inhabitants, was our act; but, the putting them to death, when they were coming into the camp, was yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now arraign us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles, and, among the rest, these two men, who were then in our camp, thinking the attack meant against them, as they had chosen the maritime towns for their residence, made an assault on those by whose means they had been banished, and who, they perceived with indignation, would not suffer them even to grow old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians therefore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor is it of any consequence to dispute, whether they were slain justly or unjustly.

XXXVII. "But then, Achæans, the abolition of the laws and ancient discipline of Lycurgus, with the demolition of the walls,—these acts were unquestionably yours: now, how can both these charges be brought forward by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Lycurgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of subverting the discipline of that very man? The tyrants erected them lately, as a fortress and defence for themselves, not for the state; and, if Lycurgus should rise this day from the dead, he would rejoice at seeing them in ruins, and would say, that he now acknowledged his country, and



ancient Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Philopœmen, or the Achæans; you should have removed and razed, with your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for these were the foul scars, left on you by slavery. And as, during almost eight hundred years, while ye were without walls, ye were free, and, for some time, even chiefs of Greece; so, after being bound with walls, as with fetters, you were slaves for one hundred years. As to what concerns the abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants took away the ancient laws of Lacedæmon, and that we did not deprive them of their own laws, which they did not possess, but gave them ours; nor did we neglect the interests of their state, when we made it a member of our council, and incorporated it with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus should form one body, and one council. If, indeed, we had imposed on them laws, different from those under which we lived ourselves, in that case, I think they might complain of being treated unfairly, and consequently be displeased. I know, Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse, which I have hitherto used, is not proper either for allies, addressing their allies, or for an independent nation; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before their masters. For, if the herald's proclamation, in which you ordered the Achæans, in the first place, to be free, was any thing, more than empty sound: if the treaty is valid, if the alliance and friendship is maintained on equal terms, why do not I inquire what you Romans, did, on the taking of Capua, as well as that you demand an account of our conduct towards the Lacedæmonians, when we conquered them in war? Some persons were killed, suppose by us. What! did not you behold the Campanian senators? We demolished their walls: you not only destroyed the walls, but you took the city and the lands. But you say, the Achæans enjoy, in appearance, a league on equal terms, but, in reality, a precarious state of freedom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I ought not, I do not remonstrate; but, I beseech you, let the difference between the Romans and Achæans be as great as it may, not to place people, who are foes to both, on an equal footing with us, your allies, or even on a better. For, as to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves have done, when we gave them our own laws, when we made them members of the Achæan council. Vanquished,—they are not

content with what satisfies their conquerors; foes,—they demand more than allies enjoy. What we have ratified, by our oaths, what we have consecrated as inviolable, to eternal remembrance, by records engraved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high respect; and, if such is your wish, dread also; but we more respect and dread the immortal gods." He was heard with general approbation, and all declared, that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen, that the Romans could not support their ascendancy, by gentle methods. Appius then said, that "he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans to show a compliant temper, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might, presently, be obliged, by compulsion to act against their wills." These words inspired universal affliction, and effectually deterred them from refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans "to make such alterations, respecting the Lacedæmonians, as they should judge proper; and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths. And then, nothing more was done than to reverse the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades.

XXXVIII. In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and prætors was taken under consideration, at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, there being no war any where else. As to the prætors,—Caius Decimius Flavius obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia: he had also the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons: Aulus Terentius Varro, Hither Spain, and Publius Sempronius Longus, Farther Spain. From the two latter provinces deputies arrived, about this time. —Lucius Juvencius Thalna, and Titus Quintilius Varus. These represented to the senate, that the formidable war of Spain had been brought to a fortunate conclusion; they therefore requested, that in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the prætors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving, for two days, and ordered that the question, respecting the armies, should lie over, and be

proposed when those for the consuls and prætors should be under consideration. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls, for Liguria, two legions each, which had been commanded by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new prætors and the friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and, on each, a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that, if such a protest were made, they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent prætors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that "the prætors should enlist four thousand Roman foot, and four hundred horse; with five thousand foot, and five hundred horse of the Latine confederates; whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these, between the legions, whatever number should then be in each legion, above five thousand foot and three hundred horse, should be discharged, beginning with those who had served out their number of campaigns, and proceeding to the rest, according to their respective merits, in the service under Calpurnius and Quintius."

XXXIX. No sooner was this dispute ended, than another arose, in consequence of the death of a prætor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place, Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ædiles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule ædile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest lay between the latter two. Fulvius at the beginning seemed to have an equal chance with the flamen, and afterwards surpassed him; on which, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted, that he ought not to be admitted a candidate, because one person could neither hold, nor administer, two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them gave their opinion, that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing prætor the person whom they wished. The consul, Lucius Porcius, was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and, afterwards, wishing to have the counte-

nance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them, that "he desired their judgment in the case, where a curule ædile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the prætorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law." The senate voted, that the consul, Lucius Porcius, should recommend to Quintus Fulvius, not to obstruct the assembly (soon to be held for substituting a prætor, in the room of Caius Decimius) from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of this decree, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that "he would do nothing unworthy of himself," by which indeterminate answer, he left room for people to interpret his intention, agreeably to their wish, and that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever: remonstrating, that the consul and the senate were forcibly depriving him of the kindness intended for him by the Roman people; exciting a clamour against a second post of honour being conferred on him; as if it were not manifest, that, when elected prætor, he must instantly abdicate the ædileship. The consul, seeing the candidate's obstinacy increase, and the public favour incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, a vote was passed, that "inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people." A general assembly was, accordingly, summoned, and the consul made a full representation of the matter. Fulvius still remained inflexible. He returned thanks to the Roman people "for the great zeal which they had shown in their desire to make him prætor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;" and assured them, that "it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen." This determined declaration increased the ardour of the people for his cause, to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen prætor, if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent altercation, both with their colleagues, and with the consul, until, at length, the senate passed a decree that "whereas the obstinacy



of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a prætor from being held according to law. The senate therefore gave their judgment, that the present number of prætors was sufficient, that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo."

XL. No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued, with greater heat of contest; both because the subject was of greater importance, and the competitors more numerous, and more powerful. The censorship was contended for by the following candidates, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. But all of them, both plebeians and patricians, of the highest ranks, were left far behind by Marcus Porcius. So great were the powers of this man's mind, that he seemed able to attain to any situation he aimed at. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him: being equally knowing in ordinary matters as in those of the state. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that in whatever way engaged, it might be said, that nature formed him for that alone. In war, he was the most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and, when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise the most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if information were wanted in a case of law, he was the wisest counsellor; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he one of those whose oratory was striking only during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of it. On the contrary, his eloquence still lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment;

nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter, and unboundedly free, but he was never ruled by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like steel; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause, and published his speech; and, in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

XLI. On this occasion, of standing for the censorship, the nobility, as they had done through the whole course of his life, endeavoured to obstruct his promotion. All the candidates, likewise, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague, in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success, in preference to him, or because it would grieve them to see a new man in it, but because from one who had received offence from most of them, and who wished to retaliate, they apprehended a harsh severity in his administration, that would endanger the reputations of many. For, even while soliciting, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with endeavouring to exclude him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty of censor; at the same time, giving his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that "he was the only colleague, in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals." People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him, for his colleague, Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors, the consuls and prætors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who was detained from going to Sardinia, for no less than four months, by inquisitions concerning poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we are to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned two thousand men. Lucius Postumius, the prætor, to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, made discovery of numerous conspiracies

of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the Bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate to Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

XLII. In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by their losses in the late war, matters remained quiet. In Hither Spain, Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Suessetania, after a regular siege, and sold the prisoners, after which, the troops had rest in their winter quarters, in that province also. The former prætors, Caius Calpurnius Piso, and Lucius Quintius came home to Rome, and the senate, with great cheerfulness, voted a triumph to both. Caius Calpurnius triumphed, first, over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds weight of silver. In a few days after, Lucius Quintius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, bearing in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors, Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while the public were full of anxious curiosity, blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; out of which they displaced seven members, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments,—Lucius Quintius Flaminius. It is mentioned, as a practice instituted in early times, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are severe speeches of Cato, against those whom he either expelled the senate, or degraded from the equestrian rank, but by far the most so is that against Lucius Quintius. Had he spoken, in the character of prosecutor, previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus, if he were his colleague, could have suffered Quintius to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him, that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents, prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a catamite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul; that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to the consul, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid him for having quitted Rome just before the

show of gladiators. It happened, that while they were at a feast and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian, of high rank, had come as a deserter with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might, in person, receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address him through an interpreter: but while he was speaking, Quintius said to his catamite, "Since you were deprived of the show of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" The boy giving a sort of assent, between jest and earnest, the consul, drawing a sword that hung over his head, first struck the Gaul as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the faith of the Roman people, and of those present, ran him through the side.

XLIII. Valerius Antias, who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner, but similar to this in lust and cruelty. He writes, that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment a woman of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this courtesan, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison, under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen any one beheaded, she was very desirous of seeing an execution; on which, the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed of death, whether committed as the censor or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of an acknowledged wanton. In the latter part of Cato's speech, he proposes to Quintius, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace; the disgrace of him who, in the midst of a feast, being intoxicated with wine and lust, had sported with the blood of a human being.



XLIV. In the review of the knights, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. He ordered, that people should give account upon oath, of women's dress, and ornaments, and carriages exceeding in value fifteen thousand asses;<sup>1</sup> and that slaves, younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been bought for ten thousand asses<sup>2</sup> or more, should be estimated at ten times their value; and that, on all these articles, a tax should be laid of three denariuses<sup>3</sup> for each thousand asses.<sup>4</sup> Water running or carried into any private building or field, the censors took away; and all buildings or sheds, in possession of private persons, that projected into public ground, they demolished within thirty days. They then engaged contractors for executing national works, with the money decreed for that purpose,—for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Nepthunia, on the coast, and made a road through the Formian mountains. Cato purchased for the use of the people two halls, the Mænian, and Titian, in the street Laurturnie, and four shops, erecting on that ground a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the revenue, at the highest prices; while they allowed very small profits for the services, on which the money was to be expended. But the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agreements to be made; on which the censors, by an edict, prohibited the persons, who had eluded the former contracts, from being concerned in the new ones, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This censorship was very remarkable, producing abundance of animosities: and drawing on Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, much uneasiness during the remainder of his life. This year, two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres were given to each settler. The same commissioners had the ordering of both the colonies, and the division of the lands. Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flac-

cus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the consuls of that year, performed nothing memorable at home or abroad.

XLV. The consuls, elected for the ensuing year, were Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Fabius Labeo. [Y. R. 569. B. C. 183.] These, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces, and those of the prætors. The prætors appointed, were Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupiter, who had been candidate the year before, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them, which had been commanded by Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the prætors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The prætors were ordered to regulate their casting lots, in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments in the city. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot, that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily was assigned to Spurius Posthumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius, Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy, by an unknown road, were building a town in the country, now the district of Aquileia. The prætor received a charge to interrupt their proceedings, as far as possible, without having recourse to arms; and, if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls, one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against those Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year, an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius deceased, when Spurius Posthumius Albinus was chosen.

XLVI. In the beginning of this year, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a largess of flesh was distributed to the people,

1 4*℥*. 8*ss*. 9*d*. 2 3*℥*. 5*ss*. 10*d*. 3 1*s*. 11*½**d*. 4 3*℥*. 4*ss*. 9*d*.

and one hundred and twenty pair of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and, after the games, a public feast was given. During the feast, and while the couches were spread over the forum, a storm came on with violent gusts of wind, which compelled most of the people to pitch tents in that place, which, on the weather clearing up, in a short time after, were removed. This occasioned a general remark, that they had fulfilled a prophecy which soothsayers had pronounced, among the decrees of the fates, that, inevitably, tents would be pitched in the forum. No sooner were they eased of the apprehensions, caused by this prophecy, than they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling for two days, in the area of Vulcan's temple. The decemvirs ordered a supplication for the expiation of the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they introduced the foreign embassies to an audience of the senate; and at no time was there in Rome, such a number of people from countries beyond sea. For, as soon as it became generally known, through the nations bordering on Macedonia, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans, with some degree of attention, and that many had profited by having complained;—all these states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts, (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one,) flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or, at least, the consolation of expressing their griefs. An embassy came, also, from king Eumenes with his brother Athenæus, to complain of the Macedonian in not withdrawing his garrisons out of Thrace; and, likewise, of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

XLVII. To Demetrius, who was then very young, was assigned the task of speaking to their representations; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory, either all the particulars set forth, or what was proper to be said in reply. For the charges were not only numerous but most of them exceedingly frivolous; of disputes about boundaries, of men forced away and cattle driven off; of justice, either partially administered or refused; of sentences respecting property, founded either on force or influence. The senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters distinctly, and that the information which they

could obtain from him was not sufficiently clear: at the same time, the youth, through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed. They therefore ordered that he should be asked whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points; and on his answering that he had, they thought it the best and properest way to receive the answers of the king himself, on each particular head, and immediately called for the writing, but afterwards they gave him leave to read it to them himself. Here were his apologies on each several subject, concisely stated in a narrow compass; in some cases, that he had acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors; in others, that the fault of not conforming to them, lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, remonstrances on the injustice of those determinations, and the partiality that appeared when those matters were discussed before Quintus Cæcilius; as well as the indecent and unmerited insults thrown on him by all. The senate remarked on these tokens of his temper; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered the answer to be given him, that "in no instance was his father's conduct either more proper, or more pleasing to the senate than in his choosing, whatever the nature of those transactions might be, to send his excuses for them to the Romans, by his son Demetrius. That the senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up with, many past matters, and believed also that they might place confidence in Demetrius; for though they restored his person to his father, they still had his mind as a hostage, and were convinced that, as far as was compatible with his duty as a son, he was a friend to the Roman people. That, out of regard to him, they would send ambassadors into Macedonia, in order that if any thing which ought to have been done, was left undone, it might then be effected, but still without any vindictive retrospect to former omissions. That they would be glad if Philip also were sensible that he was indebted to his son Demetrius for the continuance of the good understanding between him and the Romans."

XLVIII. These honourable declarations, intended to add to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin.



The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many insignificant disputes were agitated. Those which might be deemed important were—whether the persons condemned by the Achæans, should be reinstated or not; whether others were justly put to death; and whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæans council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus, should have separate independence. It was determined that the condemned should be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedonia, with orders, likewise, to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted from the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the cause and progress of this war, I should deviate from the resolution which I laid down, of not meddling with foreign transactions, farther than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

XLIX. One event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwithstanding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœmen, their prætor, was taken prisoner, on his march to secure Coronæ, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised and overpowered in a dangerous defile. It is said, that he might have effected his own escape, by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans, who were with him, but was hindered by the shame of deserting his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself, a short time before. In procuring these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, while closing the rear, in person, and sustaining the assaults of the enemy,—his horse fell. By the shock of his fall, and the weight of the horse, which fell upon him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly impaired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just recovered. Lying thus on the ground, the enemy pouring on, secured him. Out of respect to his character, however, and from regard to his merit, they raised him up with as much care as if he had been their own commander, took every pains to revive him, and carried him out of that remote valley into

the road. Their joy was so great and so unexpected, that they scarcely believed their own senses; however, some of them sent on messages to Messene, that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first it seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed either a liar or a madman. Afterwards, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same, the matter was at length believed; and, before they well knew whether he was come near the city, every human being, freemen and slaves, with even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight; insomuch that the multitude quite closed up the gate, all pushing eagerly forward, and seeming as if nothing but the testimony of their own eyes could convince them of so momentous an event. Those who conducted Philopœmen, made their way with difficulty through the crowd, so as to pass into the gate; but the rest of the way was quite shut up by the thick press of the people; and, as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly rushed into a theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with one voice insisted that he should be brought thither for the public view. The magistrates and leading men were afraid, that compassion for so great a man, on seeing him, would cause some disturbance; as many would be moved by respect for his former dignity, when they compared it with his present condition, and many by the recollection of his transcendent merits. They therefore placed him, where he could be seen at a distance, and quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told by the prætor, Dinocrates, that the magistrates wanted to ask him some questions, on points that were material to the success of the war. Having carried him thence to the senate house, and called the council together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

L. The evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept, with proper security, during the following night. They were quite confounded when they reflected on the greatness of his former fortune and merit; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him at their houses, nor thought it safe to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last, some persons reminded them of a public treasury, under

ground, inclosed with hewn stone; into this place he was put down, in chains, and a huge stone was placed over it, with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place rather than to any man, for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the following day, when the whole populace to a man, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion, that they ought to spare him, and to seek through his means, some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, held a secret consultation, in which it was unanimously resolved to put him to death; but whether they should do it speedily, or defer it, was for some time a matter of doubt. The party that wished his immediate execution at length prevailed, and a person was sent to him with poison. We are told that on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen had escaped; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well," and then intrepidly drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. The actors of this piece of cruelty, however, did not long rejoice at his death; for the Messenians were vanquished in the war, and compelled, by the positive demands of the Achæans, to deliver up the guilty into their hands. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, who heaped on him, not only every human, but even several divine honours. Historians, both Greek and Latine, entertain so high an idea of this man, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio, placing him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

LI. Titus Quintius Flaminius came ambassador to king Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans, by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. Soon after his arrival, among other discourse, he remonstrated with Prusias, on his giving protection to a person, who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation; who had incited, first, his own country, and, afterwards, when its power was reduced, king Antiochus, to make war on Rome. In conse-

quence of this, or of Prusias having himself a desire of gratifying Flaminius, and the Roman people, he conceived the design of killing Hannibal, or delivering him into their hands. Immediately after the first conference therefore with Flaminius, a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house. The Carthaginian had always foreseen some such end of his life; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had experienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and had, for some time, dreaded the arrival of Flaminius, as an event fatal to him. Surrounded as he was, by dangers, on all sides, in order to have always some passage open for flight, he had made seven doors to his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret, which they choose to discover. The troops formed a circle of guards round the house in such a manner, that it was impossible to slip out. Hannibal, on being told, that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and whence the passage was least likely to be observed; but, perceiving that to be guarded, and every avenue round to be shut by a body of soldiers, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness against such an event; and said, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they have not patience to wait for the death of an old man. Flaminius will gain no very great or memorable victory, over one unarmed and betrayed. What an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of the Roman people, this day affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present generation have sent an ambassador, of consular rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods, the avengers of violated hospitality, to witness his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. In this manner did Hannibal end his life.

LII. Both Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them, or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that in the censorship of Marcus



Porcius and Lucius Valerius, the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, which place had for the three preceding lustrums been held by Africanus; and, if he were alive, unless he had been displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribune of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech, signed by Publius Africanus. Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune, in the consulate of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he entered on the tribuneship in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time, to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius became consuls, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was living in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died, before the censorship of Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death, suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, neither of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison; Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished, nor condemned, yet, under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only on himself, while alive, but, likewise, on his body, after death.

LIII. During these transactions in Peloponnesus, whence I digressed, the return of Demetrius, with the ambassadors, into Macedonia, affected people's minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, terrified by the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, to whom they owed the continuance of peace; and, at the same time, destined him to the throne, after the demise of his father. They argued, that, "although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a wife, and the other of a concubine; that the

latter, born of a mother who did not confine her favours to one man, had no likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides it was probable, that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour." Such was the conversation of people in general. As to Perseus, he was tortured with fear, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, his brother having the advantage of him in every other particular; while Philip, himself, doubting his own ability of choosing which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him, more than he could wish. He was sometimes displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians round Demetrius, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court, during his own life time. The young prince, no doubt, came home with more lofty notions of himself, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him, what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors, or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind. His feelings of this sort were aggravated, by seeing his son more frequently in company with them, than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for an immediate commencement of hostilities, he paid submissive attention to the Romans, in every thing; and in order to turn away their thoughts from a suspicion of any such designs, he led an army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Dantheletians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philoppopolis, after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians, living in the plains, to submission. Then, leaving a garrison in Philippopolis, which was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he set about building a town in Deuri-

opus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum, through Pæonia, falls into the river Axius. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, in honour of his eldest son.

LIV. While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the proconsul, to lead up the legions to the new town of the Gauls; which people, on the arrival of the consul, surrendered themselves. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the inhabitants: all which, to their great mortification, were taken from them, as was every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. On this, they sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who being introduced to audience of the senate, by the prætor Caius Valerius, represented, that "in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul, they had been compelled, by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps, in quest of a settlement. That, finding lands lying uncultivated, they had settled in the country without doing injury to any. They had, likewise, begun to build a town, which was a proof that they did not come with ill intentions. That some time ago, Marcus Claudius sent them a message, that unless they surrendered to him, he would march against them, and that preferring a certain, though not very honourable, peace, to the uncertainties of war, they had thrown themselves on the protection of Rome, before they submitted to its power. That, in a short time after, being ordered to quit the country, they had intended to remove, without murmuring, to whatever part of the world they were able, and that, notwithstanding, their arms, and finally all the property which they had brought with them, were taken from them. They therefore besought the senate and people of Rome, not to treat harmless people, who had surrendered themselves, with greater severity, than they would enemies." To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: That "on one hand, they had not acted properly in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a town, in the territory of others, without permission from any Roman magistrate commanding in that province; yet, on the other hand,

the senate did not approve of people, who had surrendered, being stripped of their property. They would therefore appoint ambassadors, who should go with them to the consuls, and order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came; and who should also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states, to keep their people at home. That the two countries were separated by those mountains, to be an almost insuperable barrier, which, whoever should pass, in future, should meet no better fate than those who first showed them passable." The ambassadors sent were, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, Publius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, on receiving restitution of all the effects, which had been justly their own, withdrew out of Italy.

LIV. The transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors, in terms of friendship and kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in "suffering men to depart with impunity, who, without an order of their nation, left their home, attempted to seize on lands belonging to the Roman empire, and to build a town on them. They ought," they said, "to have suffered severely for their inconsiderate conduct; and, as to the restoration of their effects, they expressed a fear, lest, in consequence of this too great tenderness, others might be encouraged to attempts of a like nature." They not only entertained the ambassadors, but conferred considerable presents on them. The consul, Marcus Claudius, when he had sent the Gauls out of his province, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians, and wrote to the senate, for permission to lead the legions into their country. The senate approved of the measure. They formed an intention of establishing a colony at Aquileia; but were some time divided in opinion, whether it should consist of Latines, or Roman citizens; at last however they passed a vote, in favour of a Latine settlement. The commissioners appointed for the purpose, were Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year, colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans; they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. These



colonists were conducted by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also consisting of Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletra, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stello, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who assigned to each man ten acres.

LVI. This year Aulus Terentius Varro, proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, near the river Iberus, in the territory of Auseta, reducing several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter. The Farther Spain was quiet during the whole year, Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, being seized with a lingering disorder. In Liguria nothing extraordinary was performed by Quintus Fabius, the consul. Marcus Marcellus being recalled out of Istria, to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. [Y. R. 570. B. C. 182.] He elected consuls Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, and

Lucius Æmilius Paulus. This latter had been curule ædile, along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who, after two disappointments, was chosen consul, and from the time of whose consulate, this was the fifth year. Then were elected prætors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Denter, and Caius Terentius Istra. Towards the close of the year, a supplication was performed, on occasion of prodigies, for people were persuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received, that, near the coast of Sicily, a new island rose out of the sea. Valerius Antias fixes the death of Hannibal in this year, and says, that besides Titus Quintus Flamininus, whose name is mentioned in this business, by all writers, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, and Publius Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias on that occasion.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XL.

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Violent contests between Demetrius and Perseus, the sons of Philip king of Macedonia. In consequence of the intrigues and calumnies of Perseus, and the jealousy excited by Demetrius's attachment to the Romans, the latter is put to death, by poison ; by which means, after the death of Philip, Perseus obtains the crown. Successes of the Romans, under different commanders, against the Ligurians ; and, in Spain, against the Celtiberians. The books of Numa Pompilius discovered, buried in a stone chest, under the Janiculum ; burned by the prætor, by order of the senate. Philip discovers the villanous machinations of Perseus ; determines to bring him to punishment, and to settle the crown upon Antigonus ; dies, and is succeeded by Perseus.

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I. AT the commencement of the next year, the consuls and prætors settled the distribution of their provinces. For the consuls, there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus ; the foreign, to Marcus Valerius ; the Hither Spain, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus ; the Farther, to Publius Manlius ; Sicily, to Lucius Cæcilius Denter ; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to levy troops, for Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria, that the Apuans seemed inclined to renew hostilities, and that there was reason to apprehend their making an irruption into the district of Pise. From Spain, also, intelligence was received, that the Hither province was in arms ; that the war still continued with the Celtiberians ; and that, in the Farther province, in consequence of the long sickness of the prætor, the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed, through inactivity and intemperance. For these reasons, it was decreed, that new armies should be raised ; four legions for Liguria, each containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and to these were added, of the Latines, fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered, also, to enrol seven thou-

sand foot and six hundred horse, of the allies and Latines, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, was continued in command. For the Spains, also, there were raised to be sent into both provinces, four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of Roman citizens ; and, of the allies, seven thousand foot, and three hundred horse. Quintus Fabius Labeo was continued in command, for the year, with the army that he then had in Liguria.

II. The spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales, a tremendous hurricane arose, and made shocking havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down brazen statues in the capitol ; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna, on the Aventine, and dashed it against the wall of the temple of Ceres : overturned other statues in the great circus, together with the pillars on which they stood ; tore off several cupolas from the tops of temples, which it shattered to pieces, and scattered about. This storm was deemed a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be expiated. At the same time, expiation was made for a mule, with three feet, being said to be foaled at Reate ; and for a temple of Apollo at Formiæ, and another at Caieta, which were said to be



struck by lightning. On account of these prodigies, twenty of the larger victims were sacrificed, and a supplication, of one day's continuance, was performed. About the same time information was brought, by a letter from Aulus Terentius, propretor, that Publius Sempronius, after struggling with his disorder, for more than a year, died in the Farther province: for which reason, the prætors were ordered to make the more haste into Spain. The foreign embassies then had audience of the senate: and, first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came, also, at this time ambassadors from Philip, and the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians, to whom the senate gave answers, after having, first, heard the report of Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia. To the Asiatic kings and the Rhodians, they answered, that they would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

III. Marcius had increased their anxiety respecting Philip; for, though he acknowledged that the king had complied with the injunctions of the senate, he had yet done it in such a manner, as demonstrated that his compliance would last no longer than necessity required; nor was it difficult to see, that he intended to make another trial of the fortune of war, all his actions and words at the present having a tendency that way. In the first place, he removed almost the whole body of horsemen, with their families, from the maritime cities, into Emathia, as it is now called, formerly Pæonia, giving up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians, and other barbarians, thinking that such kind of people would prove more faithful to him, in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent all over Macedonia; and of those, who, with their wives and children were obliged to leave their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence; most of them, as they marched in bodies along the roads, letting their hatred get the better of their fears, uttered curses against the king. This disturbed his mind to such a degree, that he conceived suspicions of danger from every man, and from every place and season; and, at last, went so far, as to declare openly, that he could not think himself safe, in any respect, without seizing and confining the sons of those

whom he had destroyed, and sending them out of the world at different times.

IV. The cruelty of these proceedings, horrible in itself, was rendered still more so by the calamities of one particular family. Philip had, many years before put to death Herodiscus, a Thessalian of distinction; and afterwards his sons-in-law. His daughters, who were thus left widows, had each one son. The names of the women were Theoxena, and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a person called Poris, the first in dignity of the Ænean nation; and, after bearing him many children died, leaving them all young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and as if she herself had borne them all, treated her sister's sons and her own, with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order for seizing the children of the persons who had fallen by his tyranny, supposing that they would be subjected not only to the king's lust, but to that of his guards, she formed a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare, that she would kill them all with her own hand, rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, shocked at the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would carry them away to Athens, to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Æneæ, to a stated sacrifice, which is performed there, yearly, with great solemnity, in honour of Æneæ, the founder of the nation. After passing the day there, in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if intending to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubœa. However, day-light overtook them, at a small distance from the land, where they were struggling in vain against a contrary wind, when the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, despatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When this vessel came near the other, Poris exerted every effort to animate the rowers and sailors, and, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods for succour. Meanwhile, the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design which she had

long premeditated, dissolved some poison, and produced swords; then, placing the cup before their eyes, and unsheathing the swords, said, "These are the ways to death,—our only refuge. Of these, let each take which ever he prefers; so shall you escape the tyranny of the king. Come, then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder, first take the sword; or, if a slower death is your choice, the cup." On one hand, the enemy were approaching fast; on the other, she, who urged them to despatch themselves, was instant; whereupon the young men, putting an end to their lives, some by the sword and some by the poison, were thrown, expiring, into the sea. Then, embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the deep. The king's people then took possession of the ship, in which they found not one of its owners.

V. The shocking circumstances of this transaction added fresh fuel to the flame of public resentment against the king, insomuch that most people imprecated curses on him and his children; which curses were heard by the gods, who soon after caused him to vent his cruelty on those of his own blood. For Perseus, perceiving that the popularity and high reputation of his brother Demetrius increased daily among the Macedonians; and also his interest with the Romans, saw no hope left to himself of obtaining the crown, except by some wicked device: he therefore bent all his thoughts to that one point. But not thinking himself, alone, strong enough even for the dastardly project, which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends by dark hints and suggestions. At first, several of these showed an appearance of rejecting with aversion any such overtures, because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius. Philip's animosity to the Romans, however, increased every day,—an animosity which Perseus fomented: but which Demetrius laboured, with all his might, to assuage. They foresaw therefore the fatal end of the youth, who used no precaution against the base designs of his brother; and thinking it prudent not to oppose what they judged must happen, and to support the pretensions of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. Other measures they deferred to be executed each in its season; for the present, they determined to use every means to inflame the king's anger towards the

Romans, and to urge him to resolve on war, to which he was of himself very much inclined. At the same time, in order to aggravate his suspicions of Demetrius, they made it a practice in conversation to speak contemptuously of the Romans; some depreciating their manners and institutions, some their military achievements, some the appearance of the city itself unadorned, without either public or private structures; and others, some particular individuals among their principal men. On these occasions, the unwary young prince, out of affection to the Roman nation, and warmth of opposition to his brother, strongly maintained their cause, and by this means rendered himself more suspected by his father, and more obnoxious to injurious insinuations. Philip therefore kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans; and bestowing his entire confidence on Perseus, held with him, daily and nightly, deliberations on that subject. It happened, that some persons, whom he had sent to the Bastarnians, to solicit aid, came home at this time, and brought with them several young men of distinction, and some of the royal family; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the close connection with that nation greatly raised the king's spirits. Hereupon, Perseus said, "What does that avail? Foreign aids do not give us security, proportioned to the danger that threatens us from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom, and who, since he was a hostage at Rome, though the people returned us his person, has left his heart in their possession. Almost every Macedonian looks up to him, supposing that they are to have no other king than one given by the Romans." By such discourses, the old man's mind, dis-tempered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations sunk deeper in his mind, than appeared from his countenance.

VI. The time of the purification of the army now arrived. The ceremony is thus performed:—A dog being cut asunder in the middle, the head, with the fore part and the entrails, is laid on the right side of the road, and the hind part on the left. Between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the forces march under arms. In the front of the van, are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedonia, from the remotest origin; next follows the king himself, with his children;



then the royal cohort and body guards, and the rest of the national troops close the rear. On this occasion, the king was accompanied by his two sons, one on each side of him; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger; the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom; a ripe progeny, capable of rendering their father happy, if sound wisdom had regulated their conduct. The custom was, that when the purification was finished, the troops performed their exercise; and then, being divided into two equal parties, engaged in representation of a battle. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement; not indeed mock engagement, as it should have been; for the encounter was, as if they were fighting for the throne: many wounds were given with the foils, nor was any thing but sharp weapons wanting to render it a regular battle. The party under Demetrius had a great superiority; and, while Perseus was vexed thereat, his judicious friends rejoiced; and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for the heavier charges against his brother.

VII. Each of the princes gave an entertainment that day to the party, who had exercised under his command. Perseus was invited to supper by Demetrius, but refused; however, cheerful hospitality, on such a festival day, and youthful mirth, led both to drink freely of wine. The conversation of either party turned on the incidents of the mock engagement, and jocular remarks were thrown on their antagonists, without sparing even the commanders themselves. To listen and catch such expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus; but not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was detected by some young men who happened to come out of the banqueting-room, and severely beaten. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, "Why don't we go and join in merriment with my brother, assuaging, by our openness and candour, any remains of his anger that may subsist since the fight?" All cried out at once, that they would attend him, except those who were afraid of immediate vengeance for having beaten the spy. These, however, being pressed by Demetrius to go with the rest, concealed swords under their clothes, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord, nothing can be kept secret. Both houses were full of

spies and traitors. An informer ran on before to Perseus, and told him, that four armed young men were coming with Demetrius. Though he well knew the reason of their fears, (for he had heard of the beating given to his guest,) yet, for the purpose of giving the matter a bad colour, he ordered his gate to be locked, and from the windows facing the street he called aloud to the revellers, and as if they were come to murder him, not to approach the house. Demetrius, flushed with wine, exclaimed loudly on being shut out. He then went home to his own feast entirely ignorant of the meaning of this proceeding.

VIII. Next day, Perseus, as soon as he could be admitted to his father's presence, went into the palace; and with a countenance expressive of great perturbation, stood silent, at a distance. Philip asked him, "if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness?" He answered, "I must tell you, that it is but by mere accident that I am now alive. My brother attacks us, not with secret treachery; he came last night to my house, with men in arms, to take away my life, and it was by shutting the doors, and keeping the walls between me and him, that I saved myself from his fury." As these words filled his father with horror, mixed with wonder, he added, "If you can prevail on yourself to listen to me, I will give you the clearest proof of the matter." Philip replied, that he would certainly listen to him, and ordered Demetrius to be instantly summoned. He then sent for two friends of advanced age, Lysimachus and Onomastus, (who never interfered in the disputes of the brothers, and who of late had but seldom appeared in the palace,) that he might have the assistance of their advice. In the interim, he walked about by himself, revolving many things in his mind. On being told that his friends were arrived, he retired with them into an inner apartment, attended by two of his life-guards; at the same time permitting each of his sons to bring in three persons unarmed. Here, having taken his seat, he said, "Surely I am the most unhappy of fathers, sitting here as judge, between my two sons, on a charge of fratricide, made by one of them against the other; so that I must find, in my nearest relations, the foul stain either of falsehood or of wicked violence. This long time, indeed, I have apprehended an impending storm, not only from your countenances, which showed no sign of brotherly affection, but from

some expressions which I have overheard. But I sometimes cherished the hope, that the heat of your resentments would cool, and that your mutual suspicions might be cleared up; for I considered, that even enemies lay down their arms and become friends; and I trusted that you would some time or other recal the memory of your fraternal relation to each other; of the open freedom and intimacy that subsisted between you in your boyish days; and finally, of my instructions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into deaf ears. How often have I, in your hearing, mentioned, with abhorrence, examples of discord between brothers, and recounted the dreadful consequences of them, by which themselves, their offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the other hand, more laudable examples; the social intercourse between the two kings of the Lacedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and to their country for many ages; and where the custom of every one arbitrarily seizing on power, was quite overturned. Then, the brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, having raised their dominions (once so low, that they were almost ashamed of the title of king,) to an equality with mine, or with those of Antiochus, or indeed of any monarch of this age, and principally by brotherly concord. Nor did I decline showing you examples even from among the Romans; some that had fallen under my own observation, others that I had heard: as Titus and Lucius Quintius, who carried on the war with me; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who vanquished Antiochus, and their father and uncle, whose sociality, maintained through life, was not broken even by death. But neither could the wickedness of the former, attended by a suitable issue, deter you from your foolish quarrels; nor could the sound judgment and good fortune of the latter bend you to wisdom. While I am alive and in health, you have both of you, in your hopes and wishes, laid hold on the succession. You wish me to live just so long as that, surviving one, I should, by my death, make the other king without a competitor. You cannot endure to have either brother or father. You have no sense of affection, or duty; your insatiable passion for rule, alone, has taken up the place of all other feelings. Come, then, contaminate your father's ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon will with the

sword; speak out whatever you can with truth, or whatever you may choose to invent. My ears are now open; but, henceforward, will be shut against all secret charges of one against the other." On his uttering these words, with furious passion, every one present burst into tears, and for a long time kept a sorrowful silence.

IX. At length Perseus spoke to this effect:

"I ought then, it seems, to have opened my gate in the night, to have admitted those armed revellers, and held out my throat to their swords; since nothing less than the perpetration of the deed can gain belief, and since I, against whom a murderous plot was levelled, am accosted in the same language as if I were a robber and an assassin. It is not without reason, that people say that you have but one son, Demetrius; and that I am supposititious, and born of a concubine; for if I held in your breast the rank of a son, or the affection due to one, you would wreak your anger not on me, who, on detecting a plot against my life, make my complaint, but on him who was the author of it: nor would myself be so cheap in your eyes, as that you should neither be moved by the danger which I have already undergone, nor by that to which I must be exposed in future, if the assassins are permitted to go unpunished. If, therefore, it be our doom to die in silence, let us only pray the gods, that the wicked design aimed at me may end with me; and that you be not wounded through my sides. But if, as nature itself dictates to people, encompassed with perils in a desert place, to implore aid from men whom they had never seen, so I, on finding a sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise my voice. I beseech you then, by your own person, by the name of father, (and you long know which of us reveres that title most,) that you may hear me in the same manner, as you would if roused by calls and outcries, you had come up, when I was crying for help, and in the dead of night had found Demetrius, with armed men, in the porch of my house. What I should, at that time, and in that case, have exclaimed against with terror, I now, next day lay before you in form of a complaint. Brother, it is long since you and I lived together on the terms of mutual hospitality; your chief wish is to be king; your hopes on that head meet obstacles in my age, in the law of nations, in the ancient practice of Macedonia, as well as in my father's



judgment. These you can surmount by no other means than by shedding my blood. To this end, you leave no scheme or effort untried. Hitherto, either my care or fortune has kept me from destruction. Yesterday, on occasion of the purification, the military exercise and mock representation of a fight, you brought on almost a bloody battle; nor was I saved from death by any other means than by suffering myself and my party to be overcome. After this pretending brotherly sport, you wanted to drag me to your house to supper. Father, can you suppose I should have met there unarmed guests, when they came, in arms, to my house to drink with me? Do you think there would have been no danger in the night from their swords, when, before, they were near killing me with foils? Why, Demetrius, did you come at that time of night; why an enemy come to a person provoked; why with young men in arms? I did not dare to trust myself with you as a guest, and shall I admit you to drink with me, when you come surrounded with armed men? Father, if the gate had been open, you would, at this moment, be preparing my funeral, instead of hearing my complaint. I do not, as an accuser, urge any thing for the purpose of aggravation; neither do I put together doubtful circumstances, in a train of artful arguments. For what can he say? Does he deny that he came to my gate with a large party, or that there were armed men with him? Send for the persons; I will name them. I know that they who dared to make this attempt, dare to do any thing; nevertheless, they will not dare to contradict what I say. If I brought before you any who had been caught within my doors, in arms, you would consider this as full proof; and you ought to consider those who make confession of what I have charged them with, in the same light, as if actually caught in the fact.

X. "Father! your curses should fall on the ambition for rule. Call up the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers; but let not your curses be indiscriminating. Examine and distinguish between the plotter and the person plotted against, and pour them on the guilty head. Let him, who intended to kill a brother, feel the wrath of the gods, and of his father also; and let him, who was to have perished by a brother's wickedness, find refuge in his father's compassion and justice. For where else shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety

in the solemn purification of your army, in the exercise of the troops, in my own house, in a feast, nor in the night, which nature's bounty granted to mankind for a season of repose. If I go to my brother, according to his invitation I must die. If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure within my own gates, I must die. Neither by going, nor by staying, can I escape treacherous plots. Whither then shall I betake me? Father, your favour only have I ever courted, and that of the gods. I have not the Romans to fly to. They wish my destruction, because I grieve at the injuries which they have done to you; because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many nations, and, but the other day, of the coast of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia will ever be their property, while either you or I are safe. But, if I should be taken off by the wickedness of my brother, and you by old age; or if even this should not be waited for, they know that both the king and kingdom of Macedonia will become theirs. If the Romans had left you any thing beyond the limits of Macedonia, I would suppose that I might there find shelter. But I have protection enough in the Macedonians. You were an eye-witness yesterday of the attack made on me by the soldiers. What did they want, but pointed weapons, to complete the business? And what they wanted, in the day, my brother's guests took to themselves in the night. Why need I mention the greater part of the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of wealth and preferment in the Romans, and in him, who can do every thing with the Romans? Nor, in truth, do they prefer him merely to me, his elder brother, but, in some measure, to yourself, his king and father. For, he is the person out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you the intended punishment, who now screens you from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit that your advanced age should be under obligation to, and under control of, his youth. He is supported by the Romans, by all the cities liberated from your jurisdiction; by the Macedonians who are pleased at the peace with Rome. For me, where is there either hope or support of any kind, except in you, my father?

XI. "What do you suppose to be the intention of the letter sent to you lately by Titus Quintius, in which he not only says, that you acted wisely for your own interest in sending

Demetrius to Rome, but also advises you to send him back again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and even the first men of Macedonia? Titus Quintius is now his counsellor, and master, in every thing. You, his father, he has renounced, and has substituted Quintius in your place. Rome is the principal place where their secret plans are digested. When he desires you to send greater numbers, and the chief men of Macedonia, he is seeking assistants in their schemes. For those who go thither, pure and uncorrupt, and satisfied that you are really their king, return tainted and infected by Roman poisons. Demetrius alone is every thing with them. They give him the title of king, even in his father's lifetime. If I express my indignation at these things, I am charged with being ambitious for rule; not only by others, but, father, even by you. But this charge, if made against both, I do not admit; for whom do I disturb from his place, that I may succeed in his room? My father alone is before me; and that he may long be so, I beseech the gods. If I survive him (and so may I survive him, as I shall deserve that himself may wish it,) I shall receive the crown, if my father devises it to me. He covets rule, and covets it with criminal passion, who hastily overleaps the order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian customs, and of the laws of nations. An elder brother stands in his way; to whom by right, and by the choice of his father, the succession belongs. Let us, he cries, put him out of the way. I shall not be the first that acquired a kingdom by killing a brother. My father, being old, and left alone by his son's death, will rather fear for himself, than revenge the death of his son. The Romans will rejoice, they will approve, they will support the act. Father, these prospects are uncertain, but they are not without grounds. For the matter stands thus: it is in your power to ward off danger by punishing those who took arms to kill me; but should their villany succeed, it will not then be in your power to take vengeance for my death."

XII. When Perseus ceased speaking, the eyes of all present were turned on Demetrius, as they expected from him an immediate reply: but he kept silence for a long time. It was evident that, drowned as he was in tears, he had not power to utter a word; but, at last, the necessity that called on him to speak, overcame his grief, and he expressed

himself thus: "Father, all the aids of which persons accused could heretofore have availed themselves, my brother has taken from me, and converted to his own purpose. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my real tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since my return from Rome, he has employed himself night and day in plotting my destruction, and holding, for that end, secret consultations with his confederates, yet he now represents me in the character, not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to hasten through your means the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts, that he has no place of refuge in the world, in order to cut off any remains of hope, which I might have, even in you. Circumvented, unsupported, and helpless as I am, he loads me with injurious imputations, respecting interest with foreigners, which, instead of proving useful, is detrimental to me. Then, with what unfair artifice does he act, in blending the charge of last night with invectives against the rest of my conduct; with design, on the one hand, by his representation of the tenor of my behaviour, in other particulars, to throw a colour of guilt on the former, the true nature of which you shall soon understand; and, on the other hand, to support the other groundless insinuations respecting my views, wishes, and designs, by this latter, fictitious, fabricated story. He had, at the same time, a farther design; that his accusation might appear to be sudden and unpremeditated, as if occasioned by sudden fright and disturbance in the night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor against my father and his government; if I had formed connections with the Romans, or with others, enemies of my father, the tale of last night ought not to have been waited for; I ought to have been long ago brought to answer for my treason. And if the other charge were unfounded, and tended to discover your ill will towards me, rather than my guilt, it ought on the present day also, to be either omitted or postponed; in order that it might clearly appear, whether I plotted against you; or you, with indeed a strange and singular kind of hatred, against me. However, I will, as well as I am able, in my present unforeseen perturbation of mind, distinguish those matters which you have confounded; and I will unveil the plot of the



preceding evening, whether mine or yours. Perseus wishes it to be believed, that I had formed a design to take his life, with the view, it seems, that having removed the elder brother, to whom by the law of nations, by the custom of Macedonia, and likewise by your judgment, as he says, the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger, should succeed in the room of him whom I had slain. What, then, can be the meaning of that other part of his speech, where he says that I courted the favour of the Romans, and from my reliance on them, conceived hopes of the crown? For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such influence, that they could impose on Macedonia whatever king they pleased, and if I had such confidence in my interest with them, what need was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to wear a diadem stained with a brother's blood, or to become odious and execrable, in the eyes of those very people, with whom, whatever share of interest I might happen to have, was procured by either real, or at least affected, integrity of conduct? Can this be possible, I say, unless you believe that Titus Quintius, by whose counsels and advice you allege I am at present governed, though he lives on a footing of such cordial affection with his own brother, would recommend to me to murder mine? He has assembled together for me, not only the favour of the Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians, and the concurring sentiments almost of all the gods, and of all mankind, by reason of all which he cannot believe that he would prove equal to me in the competition. Yet the same man accuses me of having, (while sensible of my inferiority to him in every mode of proceeding,) had recourse to an act of wickedness as my only resource. Are you satisfied that the decision between us shall be made on this principle, that whichever feared lest the other should seem more worthy of the throne, shall be deemed guilty of designing his brother's destruction?

XIII. "But let us examine the process of this accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabricated. He has arraigned me of attempting his life, in several different methods; and all these modes of attack he has brought within the compass of one day. I intended to kill him in the middle of the day; in the course of the exercises; and in preference of all other days, on that of the purification. I intended, when I invited him to supper, to take him off

by poison. I intended, when some armed persons followed me to join his party in their conviviality, to kill him with the sword. You see what sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder; those of sport, feasting, and revelling, and on what days, or on what sort of a day! On the day in which the army was purified; in which, after the royal armour of all the former kings of Macedonia was carried in procession between the divided parts of the victim, when he and I, only, rode along with you, father, at your sides, and the body of the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even supposing that I had formerly been guilty of some crime, could I, after being purified and expiated in this sacred solemnity, at the very time when I was looking at the victim laid on each side of our road, revolved in my mind fratricide; could I have poisons and swords prepared against the feast? With what other sacred rites could I afterwards atone for the guilt of a mind, thus contaminated with every kind of villany? But his understanding is so blinded by eagerness to turn every thing into a crime, that he confounds one thing with another. For if, Perseus, I intended to take you off by poison, what could be more incongruous with my design, than to provoke you to rage by an obstinate contest and fight? Ought I to have given you reason to refuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But when, in your anger, you had refused, whether ought I to have taken pains to pacify you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had got the poison ready, or to fly off at once to another plan of killing you with the sword, and on that same day, under pretence of feasting with you? If I thought that you declined supping with me, through fear for your life, how could I suppose that you would not, through the same fear, have declined admitting me to drink with you?

XIV. "Father, I have no cause to blush, that on a festival day, among companions of my own age, I should have indulged too freely in wine; and I wish you would inquire what cheerfulness and mirth prevailed in yesterday's entertainment, at my house, heightened too by our joy, perhaps a blameable one, for our party not having been worsted in the fight. My present misfortune, and my fears, have effectually dissipated the fumes of the liquor; but, if these had not intervened, we, the conspirators, would have been now lying fast asleep. If, Perseus, I designed to storm

your house, and after taking it, to kill the owner, ought I not to have refrained from wine for that one day, and to have kept my soldiers sober? That I should not be the only one to defend my cause with excessive candour, my brother himself, not in the least inclined to malice or suspicion, says, I know nothing more, I charge them with nothing more, than that they came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask, how come you acquainted with that circumstance? you must necessarily acknowledge, either that my house was full of your spies; or that my companions took arms so openly, as that every one could know their purpose. Lest he should seem to argue, with an intention to aggravate guilt, he desires you to inquire from the persons, whom he would name, whether they had carried swords, in order that, in such a case, and respecting a fact which themselves confess, I might be deemed convicted. Why, Perseus, do you not rather desire inquiry to be made, whether they carried swords for the purpose of killing you; whether, by my directions and knowledge? for this is what you wish to be believed, and not what they will confess, and what is, indeed, notorious, that they carried them for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether they acted right or wrong, let them account for their own conduct. My cause, which is in no way affected by this act, you ought not to have blended with it; or you ought to have explained, whether we intended to attack you openly, or secretly. If openly, why did we not all carry swords, and not those only who had beaten your spy? If privately, what was our plan? Were four to remain, when the banquet broke up, and I your guest had departed, in order to fall on you in your sleep? How would they have escaped detection, as being strangers, and belonging to me; and, above all, being liable to suspicion, on account of their having been in a quarrel a little before? And how were they to have escaped after having killed you? Was your house so weakly defended, as that it could be stormed by the aid of four swords?

XV. "Drop, then, that fable of last night; and recur to what really grieves you, what kindles your envy. Say,—Why, Demetrius, is mention made any where of your mounting the throne? Why do you appear, to some, more worthy to succeed to your father's dignity than I? Why do you disturb, with doubt and

anxiety, my hopes, which would be certain if you were not in being? These are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not express them; these make him my enemy, these my accuser; these, my father, fill your house, these fill your kingdom with accusations and suspicions. But as I ought not now to hope for the crown, or perhaps ever to think of a competition for it, being, as I am, the younger brother, and it being your will that I should yield to the elder; so neither ought I, at any former time, or at the present, to act in such a manner, as to appear undeserving of having you for my father, and of all the other blessings of my life. That would be the consequence of vicious conduct in me, not of moderation, and of yielding to him, to whom the laws, divine and human, order me to give place. I am upbraided in regard to the Romans; and what ought to be deemed an honour, is turned into a crime. It was not at my request, that I was either delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent ambassador to Rome. Being commissioned by you, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions, I conducted myself in such a manner, as to be no disgrace to you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian nation. You, therefore, father, have been the cause of my friendship with the Romans. As long as peace shall subsist between you and them, so long will I also continue in friendship with them; but, if war should arise, I, who have been there a hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my father's behalf, will be their most determined enemy. Nor do I, this day, require, that the favour of the Romans should be any advantage to me; I only deprecate its being made detrimental. It neither commenced in war, nor is it meant to subsist in war. I was a pledge of peace; and, to procure a continuance of peace, I was sent ambassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour or a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal behaviour towards my brother, there is no punishment to which I will not submit without murmuring. If I am innocent, let me not, I beseech you, be destroyed by envy. My brother's accusation, this day, is not the first that he has brought against me: but it is the first made openly, and is entirely undeserved by me. If my father were angry with me, it would become the elder brother to intercede for the younger, to obtain pardon for his youth and for



his error ; but, in the very person from whom I ought to receive protection, in him I meet my ruin. From a feast and intemperate drinking, I have been hurried, almost half asleep, to defend myself against a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons, I am compelled to plead my own cause. If I were to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose my discourse ; though, in that case, I should run no other hazard, than that of my reputation for abilities. But, before I knew the reason of being summoned hither, I heard you in a paroxysm of passion, ordering me to account for my conduct, and my brother accusing me. He employed, against me, a speech long before prepared and studied ; while I had no longer time for learning the nature of the case, than while the charges against me were recited. During that short space, whether should I listen to my accuser, or study a defence ? Thunder-struck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity, I was scarcely capable of understanding what was alleged against me, much less of settling properly in my mind, what defence I should make. What hope, indeed, could I have, if my judge were not my father ; with whom, though my elder brother has the advantage of a larger share in his affection, yet surely, standing thus accused, I ought not to meet a less share of compassion. For my prayer is, that you would save me, for my sake, and for your own ; he demands, that, for his security you should put me to death. In what manner, do you think, will he act, when you shall deliver the kingdom into his hands, who, even now, thinks it reasonable that he should be gratified with my blood ?" While he was proceeding in this manner, his voice was stopped by a flood of tears. Philip ordered Perseus and Demetrius to withdraw ; and, after conferring a short time with his friends, declared, that "he could not from a single hour's discussion, form a definite judgment on the cause between them. This could only be done by a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of both, and a close observation of their words and actions, on all occasions, great and small." From which it appeared clearly to every one, that the charge relating to the preceding night, was effectually refuted ; but that Demetrius was viewed with jealousy, as too closely connected with the Romans. Such were the seeds of a Macedonian war, which were sowed

during the life time of Philip, though they did not ripen into effect until the government fell into the hands of Perseus, with whom it was waged.

XVI. Both the consuls went into Liguria, at that time the only consular province. Their successes there occasioned a supplication of one day to be decreed. About two thousand Ligurians came to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where Marcellus lay encamped, and requested him to receive their submission. Marcellus ordered them to wait where they were, and sent a letter to the senate, desiring to know their pleasure. The senate ordered Marcus Ogulnius, prætor, to write back to Marcellus, that, "it would have been more proper for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them to have determined what, in this case, was for the public advantage. That, however, as the matter stood, it was their opinion, that the submission of the Ligurians should be received ; that their arms should be taken from them, and sent to the consuls." The prætors arrived at the same time, in Spain ; Publius Manlius, in the Farther province, which he had governed in his former prætorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in the Hither one, where he received the command of the army from Terentius ; the Farther province, by the death of the proprætor, Publius Sempronius, having been left without a governor. While Fulvius Flaccus was besieging a town of the Spaniards, called Urbicua, he was attacked by the Celtiberians. Many severe actions were fought on the occasion, and many of the Romans killed and wounded. Nothing, however, could prevail on Fulvius to raise the siege ; and, by perseverance, he carried his point. The Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired ; and the city, having lost their assistance, was, within a few days after, taken and sacked, when the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius, after reducing this town, sent his forces into winter quarters ; and Publius Manlius did the same, without having performed any thing worth mention ; for all that he did was, to collect into one body, the troops which had been scattered in various places. Such were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three

hundred and twenty, pounds weight of silver, eighty pounds weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

XVII. This year the Romans were arbitrators in a dispute, subsisting between the people of Carthage and king Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground, Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and, afterwards, from respect to his father-in-law, Hasdrubal, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In the present year, Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Roman deputies, with no less violent heat than had animated the parties when engaged in the field. The Carthaginians reclaimed the ground, first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, on the title which they had derived from Syphax. Masinissa urged, that "he had retaken possession of it as part of his father's kingdom, and held it under the law of nations; and that he had the advantage, both in the merits of his cause, and in the present possession. That, in this discussion, he had no other fear, than lest the moderation of the Romans might operate to his loss, making them dread the appearance of any partiality to a king who was their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common enemy of him and them." The deputies did not alter the right of possession, but remitted the cause entire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing done afterwards, in Liguria. The inhabitants, at first, retired into remote forests; and, afterwards, disbanding their army, separated, and went off to their several forts and villages. The consuls, too, wished to disband their forces, and wrote to the senate for orders; but the senate directed, that one of them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other, with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisæ. A report prevailed, that the transalpine Gauls were arming their young men, and it was not known, on what quarter of Italy that multitude would pour itself. The consuls settled the matter between them, —that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections; his brother, Marcus Bæbius, being a candidate for the consulship.

XVIII. The assembly for the election of consuls was then held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus were chosen. [Y. R. 571. B. C. 181.] The præ-

II.

tors afterwards elected were, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Caius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurius, Marcus Pinarius Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates entered into office, the lots disposed of the provinces thus: to the consuls, Liguria; to Quintus Petillius, the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the foreign; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Caius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Duronius, Apulia, to which was annexed Istria, information being received, from Tarentum and Brundisium, that the country on the sea coasts was infested by foreign pirates. The Massilians made the same complaint, with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted to the consuls, four Roman legions each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of the allies and Latines, fifteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. In the two Spains, the prætors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and an augmentation was voted for them, amounting to three thousand Roman foot, with two hundred horse, and six thousand foot and three hundred horse, of the Latine confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute duumvirs for conducting it; and these were to man twenty ships, which they launched with Roman citizens, who had been in servitude, only taking care that the officers should be men of free birth. The duumvirs, each at the head of ten ships, took separate parts of the sea coast under their protection, so that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them: one was to defend the part on the right, as far as Marseilles; the other, that on the left, to the town of Barium.

XIX. Many alarming prodigies were seen at Rome this year, and others reported from abroad. A shower of blood fell in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved in the hands of the statues, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market towns and villages: and so violent was it, in the city, that people could scarcely be found to bury the dead. These prodigies, and the mortality, alarmed the senate so much, that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice, to such gods as



their judgment should direct, victims of the larger kinds, and the decemvirs should consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed, to be performed at every shrine in Rome; and they advised, besides, and the senate voted, and the consuls proclaimed, that there should be a supplication, and public worship, for three days, throughout all Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia by the Ibians, an order was passed for raising, from among the Latines, eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, to be carried into Sardinia, with Pinareus the prætor;—the consuls returned a representation, that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick, in every place, that such a body of soldiers could not be collected. On this, the prætor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, who was in winter quarters at Pisæ, as many soldiers as would make up the deficiency, and then to sail to Sardinia. Lucius Duronius the prætor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, received also a charge to make inquiry concerning the Bacchanalians; for some remaining seeds of the evils, formerly excited by those people, had shown themselves there the year before. The inquiries, though commenced under the prætor, Lucius Pupius, had yet been brought to no issue; the senate therefore ordered the new prætor to cut up that evil by the roots, so that it should never spread again. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

XX. They next introduced the embassies to audience. And first, those of the kings, Eumenes and Ariarathes the Cappadocian; and Pharnaces of Pontus. No farther answer was given to these, than that the senate would send persons to examine, and decide their disputes. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, were next brought in. Hopes were given to the exiles, that the senate would write to the Achæans to procure their restoration. The Achæans gave an account, to the satisfaction of the senate of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors also,—Philocles and Appelles; not on any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire con-

cerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius, and, particularly, into that with Titus Quintius, concerning the kingdom, to the supposed prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unbiassed in respect of either party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus, in his treacherous designs. Demetrius, ignorant of all, except the villanous scheme of his brother, which had lately broke out, at first, neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope, of effecting a reconciliation with his father; but afterwards he trusted less and less every day to Philip's affection, having observed that he was closely beset by Perseus. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions he laboured under, he used extreme circumspection, in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all mention of, and communication with, the Romans; refraining even from receiving letters from them, as he knew that charges of this nature exasperated his father more than any thing else.

XXI. Philip, in order to prevent his troops from being enervated by inactivity, and, at the same time, to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble at Stobi, in Pæonia; and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Hemus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting this mount, he was told that there was no way by which an army could go up it; but that a small party, lightly accoutred, might, though with great difficulty, climb to the top. Then, wishing to soothe, with familiar discourse, his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he, first, asked his opinion, "whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design, or not?" He added, that, if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus, respecting undertakings of that kind; who having all his family on board the same ship with him, and being tossed about by a violent storm, was said to have advised his sons to remem-

ber, and hand down to their children this maxim: never, in cases of danger, to hazard themselves, and their whole family together. He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to those perils, which were represented to lie in his way; and as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Macedonia, as a reserve to his hopes, and as guardian of the kingdom." Demetrius perceived clearly that he was sent out of the way, that he might not be present at their deliberations, when, with the above mentioned places in their view, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic sea and to Italy, and what was the general plan to be pursued in the war. He was obliged however not only to obey his father on the occasion, but to express his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. To secure his safety on the road to Macedonia, Didas, one of the king's general officers, and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. This man had united with Perseus, in the conspiracy to ruin his brother, as had likewise most of his father's friends, as soon as they discovered plainly from the bent of the king's inclination, which of the two was to inherit the throne; and Perseus charged him on this occasion, to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into the most familiar communication with Demetrius, so as to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. The prince, therefore, set out with a guard, which exposed him to greater dangers than he would have had to encounter if he had gone alone.

XXII. Philip marched first into Mædica, then across the deserts that lie between Mædica and Hemus; and, at length, on the evening of the seventh day, he reached the foot of the mountain. There he halted one day, to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and on the next, proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but, as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and in many places impassable. They then came to a part where the way was shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other, that they could hardly see the sky; but when they had nearly reached the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole

tract was covered with a thick fog, so as to render their advancing no less difficult than if it had been night. At last, on the third day, they arrived at the summit. On coming down, they said nothing to discountenance the vulgar opinion, being unwilling, I suppose, to expose the journey to ridicule, and not because it was there possible to see those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, whose great age rendered him less qualified for active exertions. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated on the spot, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three; for he was particularly afraid of the night air, for though the dog star was now risen, the cold was as intense as in winter. After struggling with numerous hardships, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing, for, as it lay in a country inclosed on all sides by deserts, it laboured under extreme want of every thing. He halted therefore but one day, to refresh those who had attended him, and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with all the precipitation of flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, to supply their own necessities, plundered their country, as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterwards several villages, overwhelming the king with shame, when he heard the cries of his allies, calling, in vain, on the gods who witnessed their league, and on himself, by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his camp in a plain, and sent his son Perseus with a small party, to attack the city, from higher ground. The townsmen, pressed by danger on all sides, gave hostages, and, for the present, surrendered themselves; but as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned to Macedonia, having exhausted his troops by every kind of fatigue, without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son augmented through the treachery of the governor Didas.

XXIII. This man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shown him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was



too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and given a solemn assurance of fidelity, he prevailed on him to disclose his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome; and he thought himself indebted to the kindness of the gods for sending him such an assistant in that design as the governor of Pæonia;—through whose province he supposed he might make his escape. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered to his father. The information was conveyed by letter to the king, while he was besieging Petra; and, in consequence of it, Herodotus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody, and an order was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, added to what had passed before, made the king return into Macedonia with his heart burthened with grief. He thought the present charges required attention; yet he resolved to wait the return of those, whom he had sent to Rome, to procure intelligence of every particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted, before they left Macedonia, what information they should bring home from Rome, at last arrived. Besides other grounds of accusation, they produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius. In this letter was a kind of interceding apology, that, if the young prince, misled by the ambition of reigning, had offered some propositions to him on the subject, yet he was sure that “Demetrius would never attempt any thing against his relations; and that, for himself, he never could be supposed to recommend undutiful proceedings.” This letter was deemed a full confirmation of the charges made by Perseus: Herodotus was, therefore, immediately put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and died under the torture, without making any kind of discovery.

XXIV. Perseus now brought before his father a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His intention of flying through Pæonia was alleged against him, and his having bribed certain persons to accompany him on the journey; but what bore hardest on him was the forged letter of Titus Quintius. There was, however, no severe sentence pro-

nounced openly, it being rather chosen to take away his life by secret means, in the fear, lest the inflicting punishment on him might be the means of divulging their designs against the Romans. The king himself having occasion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrius, sent Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to Asterium in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive hostages from the Thracians, and is said, on parting with Didas, to have given him directions to put his son to death. Didas either intended to perform a sacrifice, or made a pretence of doing so, and Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solemnity, came from Asterium to Heraclea. There, as we are told, poison was given him at supper. The moment he had swallowed the draught, he was conscious of its deadly property; and being quickly after seized with violent pains, retired to a chamber, where he continued for some time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his father, inveighing against the fratricide of Perseus, and the villany of Didas. Then, one Thyrsis of Stubera, and one Alexander of Beroë, were sent in, who, covering his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, his enemies not even contenting themselves with a common kind of murder.

XXV. While these matters passed in Macedonia, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army, early in spring, into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory, than ambassadors came to him, under pretext of suing for peace, but in reality, as spies. Paullus declared, that he would enter into no treaty whatever, unless they first surrendered: to this they did not object, but said, that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. For that purpose, a suspension of arms, for ten days, was granted; and then, they farther requested that his men might not go beyond the mountains, for wood or forage, for that was the part of their lands which they had under tillage. This being complied with, they collected all their forces behind those mountains, which they had prevented the Romans from approaching; and, on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of his camp at once. During that whole day, they prosecuted the attack with such vigour, that Paullus had

not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out his troops : so that they were obliged to defend their camp, by standing so thick together in the gates, as to stop the passage, rather than by fighting. The enemy, retiring a little before sunset, the general despatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come, with all speed, to his relief, as the Ligurians had besieged him, in the midst of a truce. Bæbius had given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the prætor, who was going into Sardinia, but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and to the relief of Æmilius. These succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned next day, to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, who was aware of this, and who could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines, for he wished to protract the business until such time as Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

XXVI. Bæbius's letter caused a great alarm, and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after, Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the forces, then in Gaul, being removed into Liguria ; for hostilities had commenced with the Istrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia ; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country, now that the war was begun. There was but one thing that could afford any hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the case,—this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province, and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. But the consuls declared that they would not set out until the levies were completed, and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their delaying so long. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, in urging them to depart in the military habit, and to publish an order to the troops which they had enlisted, to assemble at Pisæ, on a certain day. Authority was given them to enlist soldiers for the occasion, on the road, and to take them with them. Orders were likewise issued to the prætors, Quintus Petillius

and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist ; and that Fabius should demand from the Latine allies, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Commanders were appointed to the fleet,—Caius Matienus, and Caius Lucretius, and ships were put in readiness for them. Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, was ordered to lead his squadron, with all expedition, to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

XXVII. Æmilius, seeing no appearance of succour from any quarter, supposed that his couriers had been intercepted. He resolved, therefore to wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself ; and for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, they might sally out from all sides at once. To four independent cohorts of auxiliaries, he added two others, and gave the command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general, with orders to make his sally by the prætorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spear-men of the first legion, placing the first rank men of the same legion in reserve ; these bodies were commanded by Marcus Servilius ; and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spear-men in reserve. Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the quæstorian gate : and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general himself went round by all the gates, haranguing the troops and stimulating the soldiers, by every possible circumstance that he could mention ; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp ; at another, setting before them what a shame it was, that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers, than a regular



enemy. "With what face," continued he, "if you make your way hence, by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those who often drove those very Ligurians before them, through pathless forests, and put them to the sword? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares: he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, besieges and assaults it; although, but a little while ago, they were glad to hide themselves, and lurk in the wilds of the forests, so that we were obliged to make diligent search before we could find them." This was answered by a general clamour, that "the soldiers were not to be blamed, for they had not received any order to march out. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced, that both the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that ever they were."

XXVIII. There were two camps of the Ligurians on the hither side of the mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sun-rise, all in order and regular array. On this day they did not take arms until they had made a full meal of food and wine; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as expecting, with certainty, that the enemy would not venture out beyond the rampart. As they were approaching in this disorderly manner, the shout was raised by every one in the camp, at once, even by the sutlers and servants; and the Romans rushed out by all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that it confounded them no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time, some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed a hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. The cavalry, being ordered to mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, the enemy were driven, in the utmost confusion, to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after, the whole state of the Inguanian Ligurians gave hostages, and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships, which had been employed in piracies, were carefully sought for, and thrown into

prison; and thirty-two ships of that description were taken by Caius Matienus, on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, were sent to Rome with an account of these transactions, and with letters to the senate: they were ordered, at the same time, to request that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. The senate granted both, and decreed a supplication, at all the shrines, for three days; giving orders to the prætors that Petillius should discharge the city legions, that Fabius should excuse the allies and Latines, from the levies, and that the city prætor should write to the consuls, that the senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers, enlisted on account of the sudden alarm, should be immediately discharged.

XXIX. The colony of Gravisca was established this year in a district of Etruria, formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. Writers mention, that during the space of six months no rain fell. In the same year, some workmen in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latine letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. The owner of the ground, having by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, found the one, which according to its inscription contained the body of the king, perfectly empty, without any appearance of a human body or of any thing else, having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latine, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have

been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery; and, afterwards, by many others, until they came to be publicly spoken of. Then Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read them, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted; in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, chosen him, who was a notary, a decurio of horse. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or title to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which would not give him the least offence." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor declared, that he was ready to make oath, that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that "the prætor's having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitum, and that the owner should be paid for them such price as might be judged reasonable by the prætor Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes." This the notary did not assent to. The books, however, were burned in the comitum, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty it was to assist at sacrifices.

XXX. A formidable war broke out this summer in the Hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force, as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. This province was governed by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, on hearing that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was still far inferior to the enemy in point of numbers. Early in spring, he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after

the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from thence. When the Roman prætor was informed of their coming, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the enemy's post, to take a view of them; ordering him to advance as near as possible to their rampart, so as to form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat if he should see the enemy's cavalry coming out. He acted according to his instructions, and for several days there was nothing farther done than these two troops showing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy's cavalry sallied from their tents. At length, the Celtiberians came out, with their entire force of horse and foot together, and drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for their enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart, during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up theirs, and formed in the same place. The Romans never stirred; and from that time the Celtiberians, finding no opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only appearing as an advanced guard, to be ready in case of any movement being made by Fulvius. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

XXXI. When the Roman prætor thought that, by continuing inactive so many days, he had created in the Celtiberians a firm persuasion that he would not be first in any enterprise, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make the circuit of a mountain, behind the enemy; and as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from thence on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day, Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a præfect of the allies, with the select horse of the left wing to the enemy's rampart; when the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, made the whole body of their cavalry sally out against them, and gave orders to the infantry to follow. Scribonius, according to his instructions, no sooner heard the noise of the enemy's cavalry than he wheeled about and retreat-



ed; on which they pursued with the more violence. First the cavalry, and in a short time the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting that they should be able to assault the camp before night, and they advanced within five hundred paces of the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp, to hinder them from giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the works, burst out from three sides at once; and at the same time raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that it might be heard by the party on the mountain. Nor did these make any delay, but, according to their orders, poured down on the camp, where the guard consisted of only five hundred men, who were so terrified by the smallness of their numbers, the multitude of the assailants, and the unexpectedness of the affair, that the camp was taken almost without a dispute. Acilius set fire to that part of it which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

XXXII. The Celtiberians in the rear of their line first observed the flames, and the news spread quickly through the whole army, that the camp was lost, being at that moment in a blaze, which filled them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the Romans: for these now heard the shouts of victory raised by their friends, and saw the enemy's camp on fire. The Celtiberians hesitated for some time, uncertain how to act; but when they considered that, in case of a defeat, they had no place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in their arms, they renewed the combat afresh, with greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard by the fifth legion; but their men advanced with more confidence against the left wing, where they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of the Romans was now in danger of being defeated, had not the seventh legion come to its support. At the same time, the troops left in garrison at *Æbura* came up during the heat of the battle, and Acilius closed on the enemy's rear. Thus surrounded, the Celtiberians were, for a long time, cut off in great numbers, and at last the survivors betook themselves to flight. The cavalry, in two divisions, was sent in pursuit, and made great havoc. There were killed, of the enemy, on that day, twenty-three thousand, and four thousand eight hundred were taken, with more than

five hundred horses, and ninety-eight military ensigns. The victory was great, but not obtained without loss of blood. There fell, of the two Roman legions, a few more than two hundred men; of the Latine confederates, eight hundred and thirty; and of the foreign auxiliaries, about two thousand four hundred. The prætor led back his victorious troops to their tents: but ordered Acilius to lodge in the camp which he had taken. Next day the spoils were collected, and presents bestowed in public assembly, on such as had distinguished themselves by their bravery.

XXXIII. The wounded were then conveyed into the town of *Æbura*, and the legions marched through *Carpetania*, against *Contrebia*. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians; but these were long in coming, not because they were unwilling to give assistance, but that after they had begun their march the roads were rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, so that their countrymen, despairing of assistance, capitulated. The same severe weather forced Flaccus to bring his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated, at last, passed the rivers, and came to *Contrebia*. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing, either that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls, in careless disorder; on which the Romans sallying out from two gates, attacked them before they could recover from their confusion, and effectually routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight,—their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition, round their standards,—proved favourable to many in making their escape: for they scattered themselves widely over the whole plain, so that the Romans could no where inclose any considerable body of them. However, there were twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards. The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians, whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of *Contrebia*, and their own defeat; whereupon they all immediately dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving

Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia, ravaging the country, and reducing a great number of their forts; in consequence of which the greater part of the nation surrendered themselves.

XXXIV. Such were the transactions of that year in the Hither Spain. In the farther province, Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year the Latine colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions a hundred, horsemen a hundred and forty. The commissioners who conducted the settlement were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated this year, one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate, the ceremony being performed by Lucius Porcius Licinius, duumvir, son of Lucius. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. This was dedicated by Manius Acilius Glabrio, duumvir, who erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple, on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over king Antiochus, at Thermopylae, and who, likewise, had contracted for its being built, in pursuance of a decree of senate. At the same time, when these temples were consecrated, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession twenty-five golden crowns, but no other article of either gold or silver. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers three hundred *asses*¹. The reputation of this triumph was enhanced by the arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established; and averring, that "the Ligurians had come to a resolution never again to take arms, on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people." Quintus Fabius, prætor, by order of the senate, gave the Ligurians this answer; that "such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and

act as they should command; for the senate would never believe, from any other than the consuls, that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace." Peace however was made with that people. In Corsica, a battle was fought, in which the prætor, Marcus Pinarius, slew in the field two thousand of the islanders; by which loss they were compelled to give hostages, and a hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought with the Ilians, a nation, even at the present day, not in every particular friendly to us. In this year an hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only among themselves, but also with Masinissa, who at that time, with an armed force, held possession of the land in dispute.

XXXV. The consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Caius Calpurnius Piso. [Y. R. 572. B. C. 180.] Then were made prætors Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, and Caius Mænius. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year, (the consulate of Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Calpurnius Piso,) the consul, Aulus Postumius, introduced to an audience of the senate, a deputation, sent from the Hither Spain, by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and composed of Lucius Minucius, lieutenant-general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius, and Lucius Terentius Massa. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of peace being re-established, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army for that year, requested, first, that "on account of these successes a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods; and, then, that leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home thence the army which had served under him and many former prætors, with much bravery. They represented, that this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it, that it did not seem possible to keep

1 19s. 4d.



them longer in the province; but, if they were not called away, they would either leave it, without orders, or, if compulsory methods were employed, to detain them, would break out into a dangerous mutiny." The senate ordered, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The prætors then cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius; the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; Farther Spain, to Lucius Posthumius; and the Hither, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops, he spoke thus: "Quintus Minucius, I demand of you, since you assert, in your report, that peace is re-established in the province,—is it your opinion, that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe the treaty, so that the province may be kept in obedience without an army? If you cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but think that, at all events, there must be an army maintained there; I pray you, whether would you recommend to the senate to send a reinforcement into Spain, in order that those soldiers, only, who have served out their time, may be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the veterans, or to withdraw the veteran legions, and enlist new ones, in their place: and this, although the contempt entertained for such soldiers might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers to a renewal of war? It would be a matter easier said than done, to reduce to complete subjection a province naturally fierce, and remarkable for its frequent renewals of hostility. A few states, as I am informed, who were awed, more than the rest, by the nearness of our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority and dominion; while those more remote are in arms. This being the case, conscript fathers, I now give notice before hand, that, with the army at present there, I will undertake to execute the business of the public; but, if Flaccus brings those legions home with him, I will choose some quiet part of the country for winter-quarters, and will not expose undisciplined soldiers to an enemy so remarkably ferocious."

XXXVI. To these questions, the lieutenant-general answered, that "neither he nor any other could possibly divine what were the

sentiments of the Celtiberians, or when they would be in future; therefore he could not deny that it would be proper to send an army among a barbarous people, who, though reduced to a state of quiet, were not yet sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new army or a veteran one might be requisite, was a question which he alone could answer, who knew, with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe the peace: and who, at the same time, had assurance that the troops would remain quiet, if kept longer in the province. If a conjecture were to be formed of their intentions, either from their conversations with each other, or from the expressions with which they interrupted the general's harangues, they had openly and loudly declared, that they would either keep their commander in the province, or come home with him to Italy." This discussion, between the prætor and the lieutenant-general, was suspended by the consuls introducing other matters; for they demanded, that the business of their own provinces might be adjusted before that of the prætors should be proceeded on. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls: two Roman legions, with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latine allies, the usual number of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With these forces, they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces until the consuls should arrive. They were then to disband their troops, and return to Rome. Next was taken into consideration the business of the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him a new legion of five thousand two hundred foot, and four hundred horse; and also a thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse; and to command the allies of Latium to furnish seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. With this army, it was determined that Sempronius should go into the Hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius, with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain, previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius; and likewise to such as, after the junction of the reinforcements, should be found redundant in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot

and six hundred horse; and in the Latine auxiliaries above twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, and who had behaved with courage under Quintus Fulvius in the two battles with the Celtiberians,—these, if he thought proper, he might bring home. Thanksgivings for his successes were also decreed; and the rest of the prætors sent into their provinces. Quintus Fabius Buteo was continued in command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed this year, besides the veteran army then in Liguria, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and even this number of men could with difficulty be made up, in consequence of the pestilence which continued, for the third year, to depopulate the city of Rome, and all Italy.

XXXVII. Tiberius Minucius, the prætor, died of this malady; and soon after Caius Calpurnius, the consul, also many illustrious men of all ranks; so that at last it began to be considered as a prodigy. Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present gilded statues, to Apollo, Æsculapius, and Health; all which he performed. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two days in the city; and in all the market-towns and villages; which supplication, every person, above the age of twelve years, performed, with garlands on their heads, and holding laurels in their hands. There had, also, crept into people's minds, a suspicion of human villany in regard to it, whereupon Caius Claudius, prætor, who had been substituted in the room of Tiberius Minucius, was commissioned, by a decree of senate, to make inquisition concerning acts of sorcery committed in the city, or within ten miles of it; and Caius Mænius was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, Sardinia, in the market-towns and villages, beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul created the strongest suspicions. It was reported that he had been murdered by his wife Quarta Hostilia; and when her son, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was proclaimed consul in the room of his stepfather, the suspicions of the public, respecting the death of Piso, were greatly augmented: for witnesses appeared, who testified, that, after Albinus and Piso were declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a dis-

appointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship a third time, and then desired him to stand candidate again, saying, "she would take such measures that within two months he should be made consul." This expression verified by the event, exactly corresponding with it, and, joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the spring of this year, the levies detained the new consuls at Rome; while the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still farther delays. Publius Cornelius, and Marcus Bæbius, who in their consulate had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

XXXVIII. The Ligurians had no thought of being attacked before the consuls arrived in the province. Being thus surprised, they surrendered to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having consulted the senate by letter, determined to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home, that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinced, that by no other means could a final end be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupied by the Taurasians, and hither they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians. Accordingly, they published an order, that this people should quit the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compelled to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers. They promised to give up their arms, and deliver hostages; but failing in all their solicitations, and being destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men, of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expense of the public, and a hundred and fifty thousand sesterces<sup>1</sup> were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed them, were commissioned to divide and apportion the lands; but, at their



own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners to assist them with their advice. When they had finished this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Rome, the senate decreed them a triumph. These were the first who ever triumphed without having fought an enemy. Hostages only were led before their chariots; for there appeared not, in their triumphs, either spoils to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

XXXIX. With regard to the affairs of Spain; this year Fulvius, proprætor, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, drew out the troops from their winter quarters, and proceeded to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But by this proceeding he rather provoked, than terrified the barbarians; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which they knew, with certainty, that the Roman army was to march. Græchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to the farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring his forces to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to fill up the corps with the new supplies, and to put the whole army in complete order. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. On being informed of this new disposition, Flaccus was forced to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops, in haste, out of Celtiberia. The barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt, and secret assembling of an army, and that he was retreating through fear, exerted themselves, with greater confidence, to secure the pass. The Roman army entered this defile, at the dawn of day, and immediately the enemy starting up, suddenly attacked it on two sides at once. Flaccus, seeing this, took pains to quiet the confusion caused by the first alarm, by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post, in the order of march, and get ready his arms; then collecting the baggage, and beasts of burthen, into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenant-generals, and military tribunes, without any hurry or confusion, he formed his troops as the time and place required. He put

them in mind, that they were to engage with men "who had been twice reduced to submission; who had acquired an addition of wickedness and perfidy, but not of courage or spirit. That these people had put it in their power to make their return to their country glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home their swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, and spoils dropping the same." The time allowed not more to be said, the enemy advanced upon them; the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the entire lines.

XL. The battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery, nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and much better qualified for soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving that, in a regular line, and in fair fighting, they were no match for the legions, made a push against them, in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault, they never fail to make an impression. On this occasion, too, the legions were disordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, "Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?" Whereupon they called to him, from all sides, to "tell them what he wished to be done; and that it should be instantly attempted." "Double your troops," he replied, "and charge the wedge, by which we are attacked; increase the force of your horses, by taking off their bridles; and then spur them on against the foe." This expedient historians mentioned to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry with great advantage. They did as directed, pushing, in full career, through that body, twice, foreward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havoc of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge on which they had placed their whole reliance, were quite dismayed, and almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw this brilliant exploit of the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed by the example of their bravery, that without waiting for orders, they made a charge on the enemy, while they were

in confusion. The Celtiberians made no longer resistance; all fled in haste, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in honour of Jupiter, supremely good and great. The fugitives, dispersing, were pursued, with much slaughter, through the whole length of the pass. According to some historians, seventeen thousand of the enemy were killed on this occasion, and more than three thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp on that day. This victory, however, was not gained without loss; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latines, with three thousand of the auxiliaries, perished. The Roman troops, having thus re-asserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The prætor, Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days before, came out to meet Fulvius, on the road, and congratulate him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge, and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

XLII. Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suismontium; and, by securing the narrow passes leading thereto with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; by which means he reduced them to an entire obedience. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians; and having received the submission of that part of them which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them on board ships, to the number of seven thousand men, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and had lands assigned them among their countrymen. Aulus Postumius cut down the vineyards, and burned the corn of the Ligurians of the mountains, until, by making them suffer all the calamities of war, he compelled them to surrender, and deliver up their arms. From thence, Postumius proceeded, by sea, to visit the coast of the Ingaunian and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army

at Pisæ, it was under the command of Aulus Postumius, and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who was military tribune of the second legion. The tribune, in his months' of command, disbanded the legion, after obliging the centurions to swear, that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the quæstors. When intelligence of this was brought to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out with some light horsemen, in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake, he sharply rebuked, and brought back to Pisæ, and then sent information of the whole matter to the consul. He laid the business before the senate, who passed a decree, that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain beyond New Carthage; and a letter was given him by the consul, to be carried into the farther part of Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed, that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should, for that year, receive but half a year's pay. The consul was likewise ordered to sell, as a slave, every soldier who should not return to the army, and to confiscate his goods.

XLII. Lucius Duronius, who had been prætor the year before, returned now, with ten ships, from Illyricum to Brundisium, and leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to Rome. In giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea, on Gentius, king of Illyricum. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast; that he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even allowed an audience of the king." Some time before this, ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that "when the Romans came and desired audience of the king, he happened to be sick, in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate, not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies made against him." Duronius added, that many Roman citizens and Latine allies, suffered ill treatment in Gentius's dominions; some of whom he held in confinement in Corcyra. An order was made, that all these should

1 As there were six tribunes in each legion, they took the command of it in turn, each holding it for two months.



be brought to Rome ; that the prætor, Caius Claudius, should inquire into that business ; and that, until this were done, no answer should be given to the king, or his ambassadors. Among many who were cut off by the pestilence this year, were several priests. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it ; and, in his room was substituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the Farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feasts, died also, who was succeeded by Quintus Fulvius, son of Marcus, then a mere youth. The appointing of a king of the sacrifices in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave rise to a dispute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir. The pontiff required, before he inaugurated him, that he should resign his commission ; and, on his refusing this, the pontiff imposed a fine on the duumvir. The latter then appealed, and the affair was brought to trial before the people. After a majority of the tribes were called in, to give their votes, and had ordered that the duumvir should comply with the requisition of the pontiff, and that on his resigning his commission the fine should be remitted, an unfavourable omen from the heavens, intervened, and broke off the proceedings of the assembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented, by religious scruples, from inaugurating Dolabella. They consecrated Publius Clælius Siculus as king of the sacrifices, who had been invested pontiff, in the second place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, also died ; he was moreover decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college ; but the post of chief pontiff, though sought by many illustrious candidates, was conferred on Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, as was that of decemvir of religious affairs, vacant by the death of the same person, on Quintus Marcius Philippus. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died ; and the augurs filled his place with Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ, leave was granted them to use the Latine language in their public business, and their auctioneers also, in selling goods.

XLIII. The Pisans, making an offer of grounds for the establishment of a Latine colony, received the thanks of the senate, and

commissioners were appointed to conduct that business ; these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompidius Lænas, and Publius Pompidius Lænas. Caius Mænius, prætor, who, on his appointment to the government of Sardinia, had also received commission to make inquisition concerning practices of sorcery, in places more than ten miles distant from the city, represented, in a letter, that "he had already passed sentence on three thousand people ; and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, the business increased so much on his hands, that he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries, or give up the province." Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain, with a high reputation for his military exploits ; and, while he waited without the city, in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. [Y. R. 573. B. C. 179.] A few days after which, with the soldiers whom he had brought home, he rode into the city in triumph. He carried in the procession a hundred and twenty-four golden crowns, together with thirty-one pounds weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver a hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces.<sup>1</sup> He gave out of the booty to each of the soldiers, fifty denariuses ; double to a centurion ; triple to a horseman ; and the same sums to the Latine allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining the ages at which men might sue for, and hold the several offices in the state. Hence his family acquired the surname of Annalis.

XLIV. The Bæbian law, which ordered, that every second year the number of prætors elected should be four, and which had been overlooked for many years, was now observed ; and the persons appointed were, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province as to the preceding ones, and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command, with the same armies which they then had ; and, to fill up their numbers, the consuls were ordered to en-

list, of Romans three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the Latine allies five thousand foot and four hundred horse. The lots gave to Publius Mucius Scævola the city jurisdiction, and the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery, in the city, and within ten miles of it; to Cneius Scipio the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and to Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul, Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with the public business, declared, that "he intended to acquit both himself and the state of the obligation of fulfilling the vows which he had made; that on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians, he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that the Spaniards had made a contribution of money for these purposes." A vote was passed that the games should be performed, and that *dumvirs* should be appointed, to contract for the building of the temple. With regard to the expenses, a limitation was fixed, that "no greater sum should be expended on the games than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited such on the conclusion of the Ætolian war; and that the consul should not, on account of these, send for, collect, or receive any thing, or act in any respect contrary to the decree of senate, passed concerning games in the consulate of Lucius Æmilius and Cneius Bæbius." The senate qualified their vote in this manner, because Tiberius Sempronius, in his ædileship, had expended, on the like exhibitions, such enormous sums as were burthensome not only to the Latine allies and Italy, but even to the provinces abroad.

XLV. The winter of that year was rendered remarkably severe by great falls of snow, and storms of every kind; those kinds of trees which are susceptible of injury from cold, were entirely blighted; and its duration, also, was unusually long: so that the Latine festival on the mount was broken off soon after its commencement, by a hurricane coming on suddenly, and with irresistible fury; but it was celebrated afterwards, pursuant to an order of the pontiffs. The same storm also threw down many statues in the capitol, disfigured many buildings by lightning, as the temple of Jupiter at Taracina, the white temple, and the Roman gate at Capua; and in many places the battlements of the walls were overthrown. Among the

rest of these prodigies, an account was received from Reate, that a mule with three feet was foaled there. On account of those portents, the *decemvirs* were ordered to consult the books. They directed to what gods, and with how many victims, sacrifices should be performed; and that on account of the many places being struck by lightning, a supplication should be performed at the temple of Jupiter, of one day. Then the votive games of the consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence, during ten days. Soon after, was held the election of censors, when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. It was universally known that a strong enmity subsisted between these two; for they had published it often, by many disputes in the senate, and in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, according to ancient custom, they seated themselves in curule chairs in the field, near the altar of Mars; when, in a few minutes, came up thither the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, among whom was Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, who spoke as follows:—

XLVI. "Censors, we are not unmindful that you have been just now invested, by the whole body of the Roman people, with authority to preside over the morals of the state; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, it may not be improper to point out what all good men blame in you, or, at least, somewhat which they wish to see altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back again to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated; and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as prejudice, from your being displeasing one to another. You have, for many years past, harboured an enmity, violent in its degree, and detrimental to yourselves; and we justly fear, that from this day forward, it may prove more detrimental to us, and to the state, than it has been to you. As to the reasons, on which these our fears are founded, many observations, which might be made, will readily occur to yourselves; unless perhaps



your implacable resentments have totally engrossed your minds. These resentments we all beseech you to terminate this day, in that sacred place, and to suffer persons, whom the Roman people have united by their suffrages to be united through our means : and that you will, with unanimity and harmony, choose the senate, review the knights, perform the survey, and close the lustrum : and that when you utter those words, which make part of almost all your prayers, ‘that such a matter may prove prosperous and happy to me and my colleague,’ you will, truly and sincerely, wish it to prove so ; and that you will act in such a manner, as that, whatever you beg from the immortal gods, we mortals also may be convinced, that you really desire it. Titus Tatius and Romulus, after having encountered as enemies, in the middle of the forum, reigned with concord in the same city. Not only quarrels, but wars, are accommodated ; and, from bitter foes, men frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes, countrymen. The Albans, after the demolition of Alba, were transplanted to Rome : the Latines, the Sabines, were admitted into the number of citizens. It is a common saying, and, because founded in truth, has become a proverb, that friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities mortal.” A universal roar of approbation was now heard : and presently after, the voices of every one present, all joining in the same request, interrupted his discourse. Then Æmilius, besides other complaints, represented, that through Fulvius’s intrigues, he had been twice disappointed of the consulship, when he had reason to think himself sure of obtaining it. On the other hand, Fulvius complained, that Æmilius sought every opportunity of injuring him ; had instituted a prosecution against him, and obliged him to give surety to abide judgment, to his great discredit. Nevertheless, each of them intimated, that, if the other would do the same, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state ; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour, to dismiss and forget all animosity. The whole assembly expressed the highest applause of their behaviour ; and then escorted them to the capitol, where both the attention paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly approv-

ed, and commended by the senate. The censors then demanded, that a sum of money should be assigned to them, which they might employ in public works ; and the customs of one year were accordingly decreed to them.

XLVII. Meanwhile, in Spain, the proprietors, Lucius Postumius, and Tiberius Sempromnius, settled between them, that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vacceans, and thence return into Celtiberia. Gracchus penetrated into the remotest parts of that province ; because the commotions there were the most dangerous. First, he made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda, by night, and took it by storm ; then, having received hostages, and placed a garrison in the town, he proceeded to attack their forts, and ravage the country with fire, until he arrived at another small town called by the natives Certima. While he was employed here, in advancing his works to the walls, deputies came out from the town, who spoke with all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes to continue the war, if they could procure strength to support it.—For they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and solicit assistance from them ; and said, that “if they did not obtain it, they would then consult their own interests, separately, without regard to them.” This being granted by Gracchus, they went accordingly ; and, in a few days after, came back with ten ambassadors. They arrived about noon ; and the first thing that they asked of the prætor was, that he would order some drink to be given them. After drinking off the first cups, they called for more, while all who were present could not refrain from laughing at a people so unpolished, so ignorant of every thing like civilized manners. Then the eldest of them said, “We have been sent by our nation to ask what it is that gives you so much confidence, that you should venture to come and make an attack on them?” To this question Gracchus answered, that “he came relying on an excellent army ; which if they chose to see, in order to carry back certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity ;” and then he ordered the military tribunes to draw up, in array, all the forces both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise in arms. After this sight, the ambassadors were dismissed ; and they gave such ac-

counts, as deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. The townsmen raised fires on the towers, which was the signal agreed on, but receiving no answer, and being thus disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A contribution of two million four hundred thousand sesterces<sup>1</sup> was imposed on them; and they were obliged to furnish forty horsemen, of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

XLVIII. Gracchus then marched to the city of Alce, where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which the ambassadors had lately come. For some days, he harassed them with skirmishes, sending his light troops to charge their advanced guards; and then made more important attacks, in order to draw them from out their entrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his plan took effect, he gave orders to the præfects of the auxiliaries, that, after a short contest, they should suddenly turn their backs, as if overpowered by numbers, and fly, with all haste, to the camp: in the mean time he himself drew up all his forces in order, within the rampart, at all the gates. It was not long until he saw his detachment flying towards him, as had been previously agreed, and the barbarians following in a disorderly pursuit. This was exactly what he wanted; and his troops were formed in readiness to lay hold on the occasion. He therefore delayed no longer, than to leave the passage open for his party, which was flying to get into the camp; and then, raising the shout, he caused them to rush out from all the gates at once. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They who came to assault his camp could not even defend their own; for they were instantly routed, put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches; and, at last, beaten out of them. In this action, nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with a hundred and twelve horses, and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell an hundred and nine.

XLIX. After this battle, Gracchus employed the legions in ravaging the country of Celtiberia. After he had spread depredations of

every kind, to a vast extent, some states voluntarily, others, through fear, submitted to his yoke; so that within a few days, he received the submission of a hundred and three towns, besides having acquired an immense booty. He then marched to Alce, whence he came, and opened the siege of that city. The townsmen withstood the first assault; but when they afterwards found themselves attacked, not only by arms, but works also, they despaired of being able to defend the place, and retired into the citadel. After some time, they sent envoys, and surrendered themselves, and every thing belonging to them, to the Romans. The plunder here was very great. Many prisoners of distinction fell into the victors' hands; among whom were two sons and a daughter of Turrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen he sent for a passport, and coming into the camp to Gracchus, asked him, first, Whether the lives of himself and his subjects would be spared? The prætor answered that they would; then he asked again, "Whether it would be allowed him to bear arms on the side of the Romans?" To this too Gracchus assented, on which he said, "I will follow you, then, against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me." From that time, he united himself to the Romans, and acted in their service, on many occasions, with great courage and fidelity.

L. After this, Ergavia, a city of great power and opulence, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. Some writers say, that the submissions of these towns were not made with sincerity; but that, whenever the legions were led away from any quarter of the country, the natives resumed their arms; and that the Roman general fought, afterwards, near Mount Canus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, which was warmly contested, from break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans had no strong proof of their gaining the victory, excepting that, next day, they offered battle, and the enemy refused to come out of their entrenchments: that they employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, and, on the day following, fought a more desperate battle, in which the Celtiberians were at length completely defeated,



and their camp taken and plundered : that twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed in the action, more than three hundred taken, with almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards ; that this put an end to the war : and that the Celtiberians concluded a peace, with a real intention to keep it, and not with their former insincerity. They say also, that during the same summer Lucius Postumius fought two battles, in the Farther Spain, with the Vaccæans, and gained complete victories, killed thirty-five thousand men and took their camp. It is, however, more probable, that he came into the province too late to assist greatly in that campaign.

LI. The censors reviewed the senate with cordial harmony. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate ; three were expelled. Lepidus restored some who were struck out by his colleague. They then divided a part of the money assigned to them, and completed therewith the following works :—Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure what ought to have been done at his own expense. He agreed with contractors for building a theatre near the temple of Apollo, and for embellishing the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and the columns around it ; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood incommodiously before them, and took down the shields and military ensigns of all sorts, which were hung upon them. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for more numerous and more useful works ; a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it ; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, censors, many years after, caused the arches to be erected ; a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons ; also a forum and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina ; another portico behind the dock-yard, and one at the temple of Hercules ; also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had, besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought to the city, and the raising of the necessary arches ; but Marcus Licinius Crassus put a stop to this work, which he would not suffer to be brought through his

grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that several public chapels, which were then occupied by private persons, should again be open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting ; for, through all the regions, they divided the tribes<sup>1</sup> according to the different ranks of men, and their several occupations and callings.

LII. One of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate, that a sum of money should be voted to him for the celebration of games, on occasion of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand *asses*.<sup>2</sup> He dedicated those temples in the Flaminian circus ; in which place he exhibited stage plays for three days, after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and two, after that of Diana, and for one day in the circus of Rome. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea<sup>3</sup> in the field of Mars. This had been vowed eleven years before, by Lucius Æmilius Regillus, in the sea-fight with the ships of king Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription :

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The same was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, on the capitol.

LIII. Two days after the censors had reviewed the senate, the consul Quintus Fulvius marched against the Ligurians ; and making his way amid the mountains and difficult passes, fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Liguria, surrendered to the conqueror. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province quickly reached Rome, and a thanksgiving of two days was voted on account of his successes. The prætors, during this

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of which regulation, all those of each tribe, who were of the same rank and occupation, voted together.

<sup>2</sup> 647, 11s. 4d.

<sup>3</sup> Neptune, Thetis, and Glaucus.

<sup>4</sup> Here are given, in the original, some lines, as the inscription ; but so corrupted and so defective, as to be utterly unintelligible. Gronovius endeavours, in vain, to explain them ; Crevier gives the matter up.

thanksgiving, sacrificed forty victims of the larger kinds. The other consul, Lucius Manlius, did nothing in Liguria worth recording. Some transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, came over into Italy, without offering to commit hostilities of any kind, and petitioned the consul and senate for some land, proposing to live as became peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been their advisers and leaders in passing the Alps.

LIV. This year died Philip, king of Macedonia, being worn out with age, and the grief which had continually preyed on him since the death of his son Demetrius. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned by the loss of his son, and by remorse for his own cruelty. He also received constant cause of disquiet from Perseus, who now considered himself, as did every one else, quite secure of the throne. Philip perceived that the eyes of all were turned from himself; in his old age, forsaken and desolate. Some only waited for his death to show their inclinations, while others did not even wait for that event. All this added to the bitterness of his sorrow; in which the only one who sympathised with him was Antigonus, son of Echeocrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had been guardian to Philip. He was a man of royal dignity, and famed for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the Guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname.<sup>a</sup> His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, alone remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment was the cause that Perseus, who had never been his friend, became now his open and most inveterate enemy. He plainly foresaw the great dangers which threatened him, in case of the succession of the crown coming to Perseus; and therefore, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to be softened, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of Demetrius; that he sometimes listened to people conversing on the subject, and sometimes even introduced the mention of it, as of a proceeding too rashly executed, accompanying the lamentations of Antigonus

with his own;—and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he pursued these with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. The common cry in the palace now was, that it was a forgery, contrived by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

LV. While this, however, was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, on whom he immediately laid hands, and brought to the palace; then, leaving him in custody of a guard, he went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said,—“From many conversations, I think I may conclude, that it would be highly satisfactory to you, to be able to learn the truth respecting your sons; which of the two was guilty of treachery, and plotting against the other. The only man in the world who can unravel this mystery is now in your power, Xychus. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; I entreat you to order him to be called into your presence.” On being brought in, he at first denied every thing; but with such irresolution, as showed that a slight application to his fears would readily extort the truth. Accordingly, he did not withstand the sight of the executioner and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villany of the ambassadors, and the part which he himself had acted in it. Orders were instantly despatched to seize the ambassadors; and Philocles, who was in the town, was apprehended; but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Chærea, getting notice of the discovery made by Xychus, fled over into Italy. With respect to Philocles, no certain account has been published: some say, that, for a time, he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that when Xychus was confronted with him he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip's grief was hereby renewed and doubled; and he felt his unhappiness, with regard to his children, press the heavier on him, because one of them was still alive.

LVI. When Perseus was told that all was

<sup>a</sup> They called him also *Euergetes*, and *Soter*.



discovered, being too powerful to think flight necessary, he only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, during the remainder of Philip's life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment. His father, having now no hope of bringing him to punishment, resolved to take vengeance in the only way that was left him; and accordingly he employed all his endeavours to prevent his enjoying the prize his villany aimed at. To this end, he addressed himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the full discovery of the fratricide; and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king. "Antigonus," said he, "since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, would to me be a blessing, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have, whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish the regal dignity to perish and become extinct, rather than be a prize to the treacherous villany of Perseus. I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead, and restored to me, if I can leave, in this place, such a representative as you, who alone have wept for his innocent death, and for my unhappy error." After this discourse he omitted no opportunity of promoting his interest, by conferring on him honours of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace, he made a circuit round the cities of Macedonia, recommending Antigonus to the men of principal consequence; and, had he lived a little longer, he would undoubtedly have left him in possession of the throne. After leaving Demetrius, he staid longest at Thessalonica; and, on going thence to Amphipolis, was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet it was evident that the disorder of his mind was greater than that of his body, and that the immediate causes of his death were his troubled thoughts and want of rest; for he was frequently thrown into violent agitation by a supposed apparition of his innocent murdered son, and drew his last breath in dreadful imprecations on the other. Nevertheless Antigonus might have been seated on the throne, if either he had been on the spot,

or the death of Philip had been immediately divulged. But Calligenes, the physician, who had the care of the king in his sickness, as soon as he observed the first desperate symptoms, despatched the account to Perseus by couriers, who, according to a plan settled, had been previously disposed in convenient places; and, until the prince arrived, he concealed the death of the king from all but those who were in the palace.

LVII. Perseus, therefore, by his sudden arrival, as people neither expected it, nor knew what had happened, crushed all thoughts of opposition, and seized on the throne, the object of his wicked devices. The demise of Philip happened very seasonably for the purpose of gaining time, and collecting strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence of long solicitation, set out from their own country, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and crossed the Danube. Antigonus and Cotto went forward, to carry intelligence of this to the king. Cotto was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigonus had been sent, much against his will, with this same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade his countrymen to take arms. At a small distance from Amphipolis, common report first, and then authentic information, acquainted them with the king's death; which event disconcerted the whole of their plan. The scheme had been settled in this manner:—Philip was to procure for the Bastarnians a safe passage through Thrace, and supplies of provisions; in order to be able to effect which, he had gained the confidence of the chieftains in that country by presents, and had pledged his faith, that they should march through it in a peaceable manner. It was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dardaniens, and to give settlements to the Bastarnians in their country: from which measure a double advantage was expected; as, in the first place, the Dardaniens, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and watchful to take advantage of the misfortunes of its kings, would be removed out of the way; while the invaders might leave their wives and children in Dardania, and be sent to ravage Italy. It was concluded, that the road to the Adriatic sea and Italy was through the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army could not make its passage by any other way; that the Scordiscians would readily grant a passage

to the Bastarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resembling themselves in language and manners, and would probably join them in an expedition, when they saw that their object was the plunder of a most opulent nation. The remainder of the plan was accommodated to every kind of event that might take place; for, in case of the Bastarnians being cut off by the Romans, still the removal of the Dardanians, the booty to be gained from the remains of the former, and the full possession of Dardania, would prove a great consolation. But if they should be successful; then, while the forces of the Romans would be directed against the Bastarnians, the king might recover what he had lost in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

LVIII. The Bastarnians at first marched through the country, without doing any mischief, according to the engagements of Cotto and Antigonus. But, on hearing the news of Philip's death, the Thracians soon became troublesome to deal with, and the Bastarnians not content with what they could purchase; nor could they be kept in a body, so as not to go out of the road. In consequence, injuries were committed on both sides; and, from the daily multiplication of these, war at last blazed out. In the end, the Thracians, unable to withstand the great strength and numbers of the enemy, deserted their towns in the plains, and betook themselves to a high mountain, which they call Donuca. The Bastarnians in vain attempted to follow them. We are told that the Gauls, when plundering Delphi, were destroyed by a storm; so a like storm now discomfited the people, when they were approaching the summit of the mountain. They were not only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by prodigious thick showers of hail, and accompanied with tremendous noises in the sky, peals of thunder, and flashes of lightning, which dazzled their sight; but the thunderbolts, also, fell so thick on all sides, that they seemed to be aimed at their bodies: and not only the soldiers, but their officers also, were struck by them and fell. They fled, therefore, precipitately; and hurrying along, without looking before them, tumbled down the high precipices of the rocks, while the Thracians, pursuing close, increased their dismay; but they themselves said, that the gods had put them to flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When after their dispersion by the storm, as after a shipwreck, they returned (most of

them half armed) to the camp whence they had set out, they held a consultation about their future proceedings; on which a disagreement ensued, some advising to return home, and others to push forward into Dardania. About thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, proceeded thither; the rest marched back, by the same road through which they came, to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, ordered Antigonus to be put to death; and, until he could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the treaty concluded by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedonia.

LIX. The consul Quintus Fulvius triumphed over the Ligurians; but it was plain that he was indebted for this triumph to interest, rather than to the greatness of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms, taken from the enemy, but no money; yet he distributed to each soldier three hundred *asses*, double to centurions, triple to horsemen. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable, than that it happened to be celebrated on the same day of the year on which he had triumphed, after his prætorship, the year before. After this, he proclaimed the assembly of election, in which were chosen consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Aulus Manlius Vulso. [Y. R. 574. B. C. 178.] Afterwards when three prætors had been appointed, Publius Ælius Ligus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Marcus Titinius, a storm interrupted the election; but on the following day, the fourth before the ides of March,<sup>1</sup> the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Titus Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were repeated by the curule ædiles Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Appius Claudius Cento, on account of the prodigies which had occurred. In the public forum, during the celebration of a lectisterium, there was an earthquake. The heads of the gods who lay on the couches, turned away their faces, and the cloak and coverings placed on Jupiter fell off. It was also construed as a prodigy, that the olives on the table were gnawed by mice. For the expiation of these, nothing more was done than the re-celebration of the games.

<sup>1</sup> The eleventh of March.





THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XLI.

The sacred fire of the temple of Vesta extinguished. Titus Sempronius Gracchus, proconsul, subdues the Celtiberians, receives their submission, and, for a perpetual monument of his exploits, builds a town in Spain, to which he gives the name of Gracchuris. The Vaccæans and Lusitanians subdued by Postumius Albinus, who triumphs over them. Aulus Manlius, consul, marching into Istria, suffers a partial defeat; but afterwards routs the Istrians. Quintus Voconius Saxa proposes a law, that women shall not inherit, which is supported by Cato, and carried. Successful operations, under different commanders, against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians. Perseus prepares for war; solicits the assistance of the Carthaginians, of the Græcian states, and of Antiochus Epiphanes. Character of Antiochus.<sup>1</sup>

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1. *In the distribution of the provinces, those assigned to the consuls were,—to Manlius, Gaul; and to Junius, Liguria. As to the prætors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius; the Hither Spain, to the other Marcus Titinius; and the Farther Spain, to Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the forum, and destroyed a great number of buildings. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished: the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. The lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, desiring a renewal of the league, and the title of king; and although the Romans entertained no friendly disposition to Perseus, whom they had reason to believe disposed, as soon as he should think himself strong enough, to take the first opportunity of commencing that war, which*

*had been so long projected by his father Philip; yet, not to furnish him with any pretext for a quarrel, they complied with both his requests. When Perseus received their answer, he thought himself effectually confirmed on the throne, at the same time hoping to gain the favour and affection of the Greeks, and which by various acts of kindness and munificence, he in a great measure effected. Before the new prætors arrived in the Spanish provinces, very important services were performed there by Postumius and Gracchus; the latter of whom, in particular, acquired a very high reputation, not only as a military commander, but as a statesman, from his wise adjustment of the terms of peace between the Romans and the conquered nations. For he distributed lands, and assigned habitations, to such as wanted them: and, for all the states in that part of the country, he wrote out accurate copies of the like conditions of amity and alliance as with the others, and had them ratified by the oaths of all the parties; and the authority of which treaty was often appealed to, in the following age on occasion of the wars which then broke out. To a town hitherto called Illurcis, he gave*

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<sup>1</sup> This book is very imperfect; a great part of the beginning of it is lost; and there are, besides, considerable chasms in other parts of it. The supplemental

passages which the translator has introduced, to complete the connection, are taken from Crevier. They are printed in a different character.



the name of *Gracchuris*, as a memorial of his meritorious labours in the province. *Postumius* did not obtain an equal share of renown; yet he subdued the *Vaccæans* and *Lusitanians*; and both of them, on their return home, after delivering up the provinces to their successors, were honoured with triumphs. In Gaul, *Manlius*, the consul, to whose lot that province had fallen, not finding any employment that could afford him hopes of a triumph, eagerly embraced an opportunity, which fortune threw in his way, of entering into a war with the *Istrians*. This people had formerly sent assistance to the *Ætoliens*, in their quarrel with the *Romans*, and had lately shown a disposition to be troublesome. The king at that time on the throne was called *Epulo*, and was of a turbulent temper. His father had kept the nation quiet; but it was now reported, that this prince had compelled them to take arms, and that this had highly endeared him to the youth of the country, who were eager for plunder. The consul held a council on the subject of a war with *Istria*; in which some were of opinion, that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted; the former opinion was adopted. Accordingly, the consul marching from *Aquileia*, pitched his camp at the lake *Timavus*, which lies very near the sea. Thither came *Caius Furius*, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships; for two commanders had been appointed to direct the operations of the fleet against that of the *Illyrians*; and they were ordered, with twenty vessels, to protect the coast of the upper sea, making *Ancona* the common boundary between their stations; so that *Lucius Cornelius* had to guard the coasts on the right, from thence to *Tarentum*; and *Caius Furius* those on the left, as far as *Aquileia*. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the *Istrian* territory, with a number of transports, and a large store of provisions; while the consul, following with the legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, out posts were fixed around the camp; with a guard opposite the country of *Istria*. A newly-levied cohort of *Placentines* was posted between the camp and the sea; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to

*Marcus Æbutius*, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. *Titus Ælius*, military tribune, led out the third legion, on the road towards *Aquileia*, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, at the distance of about five miles, a party of Gauls, not exceeding three thousand in number, lay encamped, under the command of a chieftain, called *Carmelus*.

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II. When the Roman army first reached the lake *Timavus*, the *Istrians* took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen; and on its march thence followed it through bye-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw the weakness of the advanced guards of the *Romans*, and that the market-place was filled with an unarmed crowd, who carried on a traffic with the camp, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land, or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once, the *Placentine* cohort, and the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design; and when this began to disperse as the sun grew warm, the light, piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance of every thing, imposed so far on the *Romans*, that they thought the force of the enemy much greater than it really was. The troops in both the posts were so terrified that they ran in the utmost confusion to the camp, where they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves: for they could neither tell what made them fly, nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates. There were no guards at them capable of withstanding an attack: and the hurry in which the men crowded and pressed against each other, from the want of light, made it suspected that the enemy were already in the camp. One only cry was heard from all, to hasten to the sea. These words were uttered by one alone, yet the cry quickly resounded in every part. At first, therefore, a few with their arms, and many more without them as if they had received orders so to do, ran off to the sea-shore; then followed others

in greater numbers, and, at length, almost the whole of the army, with the consul himself, who had endeavoured to call back the runaways, by commands, advice, and, at last, by entreaties, but all to no purpose. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies alone, remained; the rest of his legion having gone off. The Istrians, breaking into the empty camp, and meeting none other to oppose them, came upon him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters; on which a fight ensued, more vigorous than could have been expected from so small a band; nor did it cease until the tribune, and those who stood round him, were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the quæstor's quarters, and the adjoining forum, called Quintana. In the quæstor's tent was plenty of all kinds of food ready dressed and laid out, and the couches being placed in order, their chieftain lay down, and began to feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

III. Affairs among the Romans wore a very different aspect. There was nothing but confusion both on land and sea; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore; the soldiers in a panic pressed into the boats, and even into the water. The seamen were in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, so that some of them opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, not without wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen; until, by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed; and, out of so large a number, he hardly found twelve hundred who had preserved their arms; very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them; while the rest formed only an irregular ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey to the enemy, had they thought of pursuing their advantage. At length an express was despatched to call in the third legion and the foragers; and at the same time the troops began to march back from all parts

in order to retake the camp, and repair their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their men to throw away the forage and wood, and the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown, each horseman taking a young foot-soldier behind him. He told them, "it would reflect great honour on their legion, if they should recover, by bravery, the camp which had been lost by the cowardice of the second; and that this might be easily effected, if the barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with tokens of the utmost alacrity; the standards advanced with speed, nor did the soldiers give any delay to the standard-bearers. The consul, and the troops that went back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but told them, that "if the Istrians meant to retain the camp which they had taken by the same arms which gave them possession of it, they would, in the first place, have pursued their enemy to the sea; and, in the next place, they would certainly have stationed guards outside the rampart; and that, in all probability, they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

IV. Saying this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would throw it in. Then, exerting all his strength, he threw the standard across the entrenchment, and was the first that entered the gate. At this juncture arrived, on the other side, Titus Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden; also the consul with the main body. As to the Istrians, a few, who were not quite so much intoxicated as the rest, had sense enough left to fly; death perpetuated the sleep of the others; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great slaughter. Caius Popilius, surnamed Sabellus, a horseman, distinguished himself on



this occasion above all the rest. He had been left behind in the camp, on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he did much greater execution among the enemy than any other. Eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The king of the Istrians, though in a state of ebriety, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning, than in the retaking of the camp.

V. It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, with recruits lately enlisted at Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men then, leaving their baggage, and flying back to Aquileia, caused a general consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; for there it was reported, not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as usual in cases of uncommon danger, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and the Latine allies were ordered to furnish ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. The consul Marcus Junius was sent into Gaul, to demand from the several states of that province, whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was mentioned in the decree, that Tiberius Claudius, the prætor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latines, to assemble at Pisæ; that, with this force, he should guard that province during the consul's absence; and that Marcus Titinius, prætor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set out for Pisæ, the province allotted him. Titinius, sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to command the legion there, employed himself in raising soldiers in Rome. The consul Marcus Junius, (passing over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and as he went along, collecting auxiliaries from the Gallic states, and recruits from the

colonies,) came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after despatching a letter to Rome, to put an end to the alarm, he sent home the Gallic auxiliaries, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. The unexpected news caused great joy at Rome; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had been enlisted and sworn were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, who, with a numerous force, were encamped at no great distance from the consul, when they understood that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed, and returned to their several states; when the consuls led back their legions into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

VI. The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, the senate passed an order, that the consul should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome, to preside at the elections. Two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March; in order that he might immediately, on the expiration of his office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition, Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far, as to prevent its being passed. About this time, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain. The prætor Marcus Titinius gave them an audience of the senate, in the temple of Bellona, that they might represent their services, and demand such honours as they merited, together with a thanksgiving to the immortal gods. At the same time arrived a letter from Titus Æbutius, the prætor, brought by his son to the senate, informing them of great commotions in Sardinia; that the Ilians, having procured aid of the Balarians, had made an inroad into the peaceable part of the province; and that it was not possible to make head against them with a feeble army, whose numbers were greatly diminished by an epidemic sickness. Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, and besought the senate to send relief to their cities;

for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing relative to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. An embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. "They had formerly," they said, "been under the dominion of Antiochus; and their bondage under that king, compared to their present condition, appeared an honourable state of liberty; that they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but individuals underwent every suffering, as if really slaves. That themselves, their wives, and children, were abused alike by them; cruelties were practised on their persons, while the vilest aspersions and calumnies were cast on their character. They were openly treated with contemptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising an usurped prerogative, and to show that no distinction was made between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them, that "it was the will of the senate, that neither the Lycians should be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor any other free-born people be reduced to such a state; but that the Lycians should be under the government, and, at the same time, the protection of the Rhodians, in like manner as the allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

VII. Two triumphs for conquests in Spain were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies; next day, Lucius Postumius, over the Lusitanians, and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession twenty thousand pounds weight of silver, Albinus forty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses,<sup>1</sup> double to a centurion, triple to a horseman; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The consul Marcus Junius happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate, with questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To their inquiries, the con-

sul answered, that "he had been not more than eleven days in that province; and that, as to what had happened when he was not present, his information, like their own, rested on report." But they still proceeded to ask, "why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome, that he might account to the Roman people for his having quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into Istria? When had the senate decreed a war with that nation? When had the people ordered it? But he will say, 'Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authority, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.' On the contrary, it is impossible to say, whether the impropriety in undertaking it, or the misconduct in the carrying it on, was greater. Two advanced guards were surprised by the Istrians; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry and cavalry were in it; the rest, in disorder, without arms, and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these matters when he became a private citizen, since he had avoided it while consul."

VIII. The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day the following persons were elected prætors, Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintus Flaminius, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell, by lot, to Tubero; the foreign, to Quintus; Sicily, to Numisius; and Sardinia, to Mummius; but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province, and bestowed on Gracchus. The lots gave Istria to Claudius; and Gaul, divided into two provinces, to Scipio and Lævinus. On the ides of March, [Y. R. 575. B. C. 177.] the day when Sempronius and Claudius assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was made of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there; but on the day following, the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Manucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, attended; and from them the senate learned the real state of the war in those provinces. The attention of the senate was also



attracted by ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience. They came with complaints, the amount of which was, that "their citizens, having been rated in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed thither; and that, if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, that their towns, and even their country, would be so deserted as to be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented, that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellæ: and that in the levying of soldiers their quota was not lessened, nor that of the others increased on this account. That there had been practised two species of fraud in the method of an individual quitting one state to become a member of another: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latines, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by a perversion of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. For, first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of conformity to law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law, that no one should acquire a property in any man's person, or alienate such property for the purpose of that man's enfranchisement, in any other state than his own; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen."

IX. The senate granted their petitions; and then proceeded on the business of Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in a state of war. It was ordered, that two legions should be raised for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and the allies and Latines, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and that

the consul should take ten ships, of five banks of oars, out of any docks he chose. The same numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain, to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse, and five thousand foot and three hundred horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces, several prodigies were reported: that, in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that, in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua, many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and, at Puteoli, two ships were burned by lightning. While these prodigies were reported from abroad, one happened in Rome itself; for a wolf, having come in through the Colline gate in the middle of the day, was, for a long time, driven about through the city, and at length, though pursued by great multitudes, escaped through the Esquiline. On account of these prodigies, the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and there was a supplication, for one day, at all the shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; when Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, procured a law to be passed respecting the allies, and issued a proclamation, that "any of the allies and Latine confederates, who, themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November." Lucius Mummius, the prætor, was commissioned to make inquiry concerning such as did not obey. To the law, and the proclamation of the consul, was added a decree of the senate, that "the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, for the time being, before whom any slave should be brought, to receive manumission, should cause the said slave so to be discharged, to make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his being admitted a citizen of any state, of which he was not already a member;" and any one refusing this oath, the decree ordered, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business, for the future, was assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

X. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during winter at Aquileia, led their army early in the spring, into the Istrian territories, and spread their depredations through a great part of the country; on which the Istrians, rather out of grief and indignation at seeing their property plundered, than from any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, flew to arms. They hastily assembled their young men, who ran together from all their cantons; and this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than it was able steadily to support. Four thousand of them were slain in the field; and the rest renouncing all thoughts of farther opposition, dispersed and fled to their homes. Soon after they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, began to fear that this proceeding might, perhaps, take the province and the army out of his hands; and therefore, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, he set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming. For, in an assembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight; and after railing at Marcus Junius, as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. They replied, that when the consul should come, in the regular manner, agreeable to ancient practice; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the capitol, attended by his lictors, and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. This threw him into such a furious rage, that he called the person who acted as quaestor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. This man, too, slighted the consul's command; and the surrounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against Clau-

dus, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the ship that had brought him. From thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new-raised troops, who were enlisted for Istria, to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no delay at Rome, but set out, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished, in the military habit. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and a short day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

XI. A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesatium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their king, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders: invested the town himself; and prosecuted the siege with regular works. A river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the besieged with a convenience of water, he, with many days' labour, turned out of its course, and conveyed away in another channel. This event, of the water being cut off, terrified the barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children; exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. During this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as their king heard the uproar, and understood, from the cries of terror uttered by the flying inhabitants, that the place was captured, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive; the rest were either killed or made prisoners. After this, two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expect-



tation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods, and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the king, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states giving hostages, and submitting to the dominion of the Romans.

XII. For some time before the conclusion of the war of Istria, the Ligurians had begun to hold consultations about the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, at the head of one legion, posted at Pisæ, held the government of that province. He gave information to the senate, by letter, of their proceedings; and they ordered, that "the same letter should be carried to Caius Claudius," for Gracchus had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree, that, peace being established in the province of Istria, he should, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time, a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the account given by the consul, in his letter, of his services performed in Istria. The other consul, Sempromius, likewise, was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians, who had received a powerful reinforcement from the Balarians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states, defeated and put them to flight, and made himself master of their camp, having killed twelve thousand of their men. Next day, the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burned, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter-quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius, and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred captured in the fight, and in the camp, for that too was stormed; and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived fled back into the mountains; the consul ravaged all the low country, but met, nowhere, any appearance of arms.

Claudius, having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

XIII. Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustuminum, a kind of vulture, which they call the Bloodsucker, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke, in Campania; that, at Syracuse, a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull, which had strayed from the herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustuminum, on the spot; the cow at Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense, and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated according to directions given by the aruspices, respecting the deities to whom supplications should be offered. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luna, under the care of Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, who allotted to each fifty-one acres and a half of land. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians, before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, consul, arrived at the city, and, after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, demanded a triumph, which was granted. He triumphed, in office, over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses,<sup>1</sup> and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses.<sup>2</sup> To each soldier he gave fifteen denariuses,<sup>3</sup> double to a centurion, triple to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less, by half, than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence to show their disgust.

XIV. While this triumph over the Ligurians was celebrated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisæ had been disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, laid aside their fears, and, collecting an army, secretly crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains; where, after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession of the

city itself. When an account of this was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurius, were chosen consuls. Then were elected prætors, Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus. Caius Claudius, consul, was continued in command for a year in the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latine troops, which he had brought home to attend his triumph. When the consuls, Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office, [Y. R. 576. B. C. 176.] sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, according to custom, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice other oxen, until he should find the omens favourable. The senate then proceeded to the disposal of the provinces, when Pisæ and Liguria were decreed to the consuls. It was further decreed, that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should, at the time of the elections, come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions, and three hundred horse; and should order the allies, and Latine confederates, to furnish ten thousand foot and six hundred horse to each. Tiberius Claudius was continued in command until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

XV. While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a messenger, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the conscript fathers, that the liver of a fat ox, which he had sacrificed, had melted away; that when this was told to him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, but went himself and ordered the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled; when he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the fathers were under much terror on account of this

prodigy, their alarm was augmented by the other consul, who informed them, that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims, until he should find the desired tokens. It is said, that the victims offered to the other deities at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and prætors cast lots for their provinces, when Pisæ fell to Cneius Cornelius; Liguria to Petillius. Of the prætors, Lucius Papirius Maso obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Abutius, the foreign; Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis, the Farther Spain; Lucius Aquilius Gallus, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, Marcus Popillius requested he might not be obliged to go to Sardinia, alleging, that "Gracchus was bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that the senate had assigned him the prætor Titus Æbutius as an assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to interrupt the train of business for the completion of which there was no method so efficacious as the continuing the management in the same hands; for, between the transferring of the command, and the successor coming (a stranger to the business of the province,) it often happened, that very favourable opportunities were lost." The excuse of Popillius was admitted. Then Publius Licinius Bassus alleged, that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices, necessary to be performed. That which had fallen to his lot was the Hither Spain. But he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear, in the public assembly, that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the Farther Spain. Both the prætors accordingly took an oath in the same words. It was ordered, that Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius, proconsuls, should remain in Spain, with authority as before; and that a reinforcement should be sent to them, of three thousand Roman foot, with three hundred horse; and five hundred Latine foot, with three hundred horse.



XVI. The Latine festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May;<sup>1</sup> and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate had not prayed for the ROMAN PEOPLE, THE QUIRITES, a scruple arose concerning the validity of the performance. The matter being laid before the senate, and referred by them to the college of pontiffs, the latter determined, that the Latine festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, who had given cause for the repetition, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern, excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of uneasiness. The consul Cneius Cornelius, as he was returning from the Alban mount, fell down, and lost the use of one-half of his limbs; he was carried to the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly, as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latine festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August,<sup>2</sup> and the Latine festival for the third before the ides of the same month.<sup>3</sup> While people's minds were much troubled, from the apprehension of the displeasure of the gods; to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened: that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings, at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Gravisca, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterwards, one of them, by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latine festival, Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Within three days from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the colonists: on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only repre-

sented this success, but likewise boasted, that, through his good conduct and good fortune, there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, sufficient, if distributed in shares, for the accommodation of many thousand people.

XVII. During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, and killing fifteen thousand of the enemy, totally subdued the people of Sardinia, and reduced, under the Roman dominion, every state in the island that had revolted. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, he sent deputies to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province and bring home the army with him. The senate gave audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August, was finished in one day, and the consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Laevinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man had been long ambitious of the government of a province, and, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence, that the Ligurians were again in arms. Wherefore, on the nones of August,<sup>4</sup> he assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul, and that the commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisæ, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus

1 5th May.    2 3d August.    3 11th August.

4 5th August.

Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. On the other hand, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion in Liguria, hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, and with this force marched to the frontiers of Liguria.

XVIII. On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolved to rely on situation, rather than arms, for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled. With this design, they took post in two mountains, called Letum and Balista; and, for greater security, they surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised, and put to the sword,—one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition, vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. The prisoners they mangled in a shocking manner, and put to death: the cattle they butchered in the temples, rather than decently sacrificed: and then (satiated with the destruction of living creatures) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use, rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying, that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and at the appointed place gave up the command of the army to the consul. To these plains came, in a few days after, the other consul, Caius Valerius. Here they agreed on a division of their forces; but before they separated, both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. Valerius clearly performed his part of the ceremony with propriety; but with regard to Petillius, as the augurs afterwards pronounced, the procedure was faulty, for he was not in the consecrated place when he put his lot into the urn which was afterwards carried in. They then began their march in different directions; Petillius led his troops against the ridge of Ba-

lista and Letum, which joined the two together with one continued range, and encamped at the foot of it. We are told, that while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled for the purpose, without reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression: "Before night I will have Letum." He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division, where he commanded in person, advanced briskly: the other was repulsed by the enemy; and the consul riding up thither, to remedy the disorder, rallied indeed his troops, but exposing himself too carelessly in the front, was pierced through with a javelin, and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed; and the few of his own party, who saw the disaster, carefully covered the body from view, knowing that on the concealment of what had happened, the victory depended. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy, and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain, and of the Roman army only fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius, *when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army, thus bereft of its commander, join his own; then, attacking the enemy again, he shed copious streams of their blood, to appease the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion, at whose head the consul was killed, was severely punished by the senate; this year's pay was stopped, and that campaign was not allowed in their number, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate to send them assis-*

1 Letum, the name of the place, in the Latin language, signifies death.



tance. The senate thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and Aulus Postumius was immediately commissioned to go thither. The colleagues joined with him were some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate; for people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed, that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consul was not qualified to hold the elections. An interregnum, therefore, took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a second time. Then were chosen prætors, Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the prætorian provinces, Sardinia fell to Cornelius Sulla, and Hither Spain to Claudius Centho; but how the rest were distributed is not known. There was a great mortality of cattle this year. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and at the same time there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, and then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that the rugged face of the mountains, which they inhabited, contributed to the ferocity of their tempers, followed the example of some former consuls, and brought them down into the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lapicinians, and Hercatians, had lived on the hither side of the Appenine, and the Brincatians on the farther side.

XIX. On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ, reduced them all to subjection, and stripped them of their arms. On account of these services, performed under the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria, at the beginning of this year, were thus speedily suppressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public, respecting a war with Macedonia,

still continued. For Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors, sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedonia, returned to Rome, and brought certain information, that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time, came envoys from king Perseus, with assurances, that he had neither invited the Bastarnians, nor countenanced any of their proceedings. The senate neither acquitted the king of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered warning to be given him, to be very careful to show, that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thought it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any reasonable prospect of success. Accordingly, they assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten, and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the place, not doubting that, on the day following, either the enemy would surrender it, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, easily possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a guard. The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. When they arrived at the Danube, they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice, so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But, when it came to be pressed under the im-

mense weight of the whole body of men and cattle, crowding together in their haste, after supporting the burthen for a long time, it suddenly split into numberless pieces, and plunged the entire multitude in the deep. The greatest part were instantly swallowed up; many, striving to swim out, were sunk by the fragments of the ice, and a very few escaped to either bank, none without being severely cut or bruised. About this time, Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, having received the kingdom of Syria greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during a reign of twelve years never distinguished himself by any memorable enterprise; and, at this time, called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending, in his stead, his own son Demetrius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way, when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. This man aimed at the crown for himself, but was obliged to fly by Attalus and Eumenes, who put Antiochus in possession of it, expecting great advantages to themselves from having him bound to them in gratitude for a service so important. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star, because, when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but such perversity and indiscretion prevailed in his whole conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and instead of Epiphanes, called him Epimanes, or Madman; for many were the acts of folly or madness which he committed. He used frequently to go out, without the knowledge of any of his servants, clad in garments embroidered with gold; at one time to annoy the passengers, by throwing stones at them; at another to amuse himself by flinging handfuls of money among the crowd, to be scrambled for. He allowed himself to commit the most egregious follies and the vilest indecencies in common tippling houses and in the public baths; drinking with strangers, and mingling with the

lowest of the people. Among many other instances of his folly, it is mentioned that he used to lay aside his royal robes, and put on a gown, as he had seen the candidates for office do at Rome, and then go about the forum saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the ædileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people, and then, according to the Roman custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters.

XX. He never thought of adhering to any rule, but rambled incessantly, adopting by turns, every kind of behaviour, insomuch, that no one could judge with certainty as to his real character. Sometimes he would not speak to his friends, nor scarcely afford a smile to his acquaintance. By a preposterous kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some, in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweatmeats, cakes, or toys; while on others, who, having no claims, expected nothing, he would bestow large sums of money. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing; some said that he acted from a silly, sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for the purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytæneum, the state-room of the city, where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions, in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens was of itself a sufficient testimony; being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only



the ceilings, but all the walls, were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places he did not finish, as his reign was short. His magnificence in the exhibition of public shows, also surpassed that of all former kings, both by their uncommon splendour, usual in his own kingdom, and by the great number of Grecian performers. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which at first, among a people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure; but by frequently repeating them, sometimes permitting the combatants to go no farther than wounds, at other times to proceed to extremities, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in the young men a passion for arms; insomuch that, although, at the beginning, he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome, by high rewards, he soon found a sufficient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. *The shows which he exhibited formed, in every respect, a perfect contrast to his own character, which was a compound of every thing that was absurd and trifling: nothing could be more magnificent than these were; nothing more vile and contemptible than the king himself. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this king has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sardinians for sale" became a vulgar proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scaevola and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligurians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, were chosen consuls. In the election of prætors, there happened a particular competition between Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, and Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. For, after five prætors had been declared, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so*

*far from the virtues of his father, that every one of the centuries would have given the preference to Cicereius, had not the latter, with singular modesty, withdrawn himself. He could not reconcile it to himself, that, in a disputed election, he should gain the victory over the son of his patron; but, immediately, throwing off the white gown, he became from a competitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius, Scipio obtained a post which he would never have procured from the people, and which reflected greater honour on Cicereius than on himself.*

XXI. *The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the prætors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus, and the foreign, to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica, with a new legion, raised by the consuls, consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of the Farther Spain, and to Publius Furius Philus for that of the Hither Spain, were assigned—to each, three thousand Roman foot, with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latine foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius, without any reinforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions, of the regular numbers in foot and horse, and to call on the allies for ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence which, the year before, had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized by it, seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive, lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest among the slaves, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. Nor were there conductors of funerals sufficient to bury even the people of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed, that, during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were any where seen. Of the public priests, there died, by this contagion, Cneius Servilius Cæpio*

father of the prætor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs<sup>1</sup> were chosen Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. New augurs were appointed, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio, chief curio. The plague continuing, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people, assembled in the forum, made a vow, in words dictated by Quintus Marcius Philippus, that "if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days' continuance." In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman forum, and three suns shone at once; and, the following night, many lights were seen gliding through the air, about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake, with a mane, having its body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved, that an ox had spoken in Campania.

XXII. On the nones of June,<sup>2</sup> the ambassadors returned from Africa. They had first waited on king Masinissa; whence they proceeded to Carthage; but they received much more certain information respecting the proceedings in that city from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said, they had sufficient proof, that ambassadors had come from king Perseus, and that the senate had given them audience, by night, in the temple of Æsculapius; and the king asserted, that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedonia, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate, hereupon, resolved

to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, in order to chastise some of the Dolopians, who were refractory, and insisted on the matters in dispute being determined by the Romans, and not by the king, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Æta, and, on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphi, to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but even in Asia, whither an account of the disturbance was brought to king Eumenes. He staid only three days at Delphi, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay; but despatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would "think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; for that the disputes had not been so violent as that they might not, and ought not, to be dropped. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship." Above all, he wished, particularly, to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

XXIII. This nation, and the state of Athens, had carried their resentment to such a length, as to prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Macedonia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedonia to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter to the Achæans, telling them that, out of good will toward them, he had sent home their slaves who had fled into his dominions; but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future. When this letter was read by the prætor Xenarchus, who wished to recommend himself to the notice of the king, the greater part who were present, but especially those who had lost their slaves,

<sup>1</sup> So in the original; the name of the person who was chosen in the room of Cæpio being lost.

<sup>2</sup> 7th of June.



commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written ; but Callicrates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to this effect ;—"Acheans,—some of you seem to consider the business under consideration, as being of little consequence. Now, for my part, I think it of the utmost importance ; and that, instead of being under consideration, it is already in a manner decided. We prohibited the kings of Macedonia, and all their subjects, from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree, not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, who might attempt to draw us from our duty ; yet we, I say, listen to what may, in some measure, be deemed the discourse of the king, though absent, and what is more, approve of his discourse. Although brute beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction ; yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. Is there a man among you who does not see, that the result expected from this business, is an alliance with the king, and consequently a dissolution of the treaty with Rome, the grand support of all our interests ? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans, is not, I believe, a matter of doubt : it was expected during the life of Philip, and would have taken place, if his death had not interrupted its progress ; it will, now, that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was far superior in birth, on the mother's side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation. But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people ; and raised Perseus to the throne, because he knew that his own antipathy to the Romans would descend to him, with the crown. Accordingly, how has the present king employed himself since his father's death, but in preparing for the war ? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations, he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania ; where, if they had made a lasting settlement, they

would have proved more troublesome neighbours to Greece, than the Gauls are to Asia. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war ; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia, by force of arms ; and would not listen to their appeal to the arbitration of the Romans. Then, crossing *Æta*, that he might show himself in the very heart of Greece, he went up to Delphi. What, think you, was his view in taking a journey so uncommon ? He next traversed Thessaly ; and as to his refraining on his rout from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us, with show of an act of kindness, and in which it is recommended that we consider of such measures as may prevent our needing the same in future ; that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus ; to receive again ambassadors from him their king ; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects ; and, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, himself at their head, crossing over the narrow strait from Delphi into Peloponnesus, and thus be blended with this people, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state, until the question shall be decided with certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus ; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous."

XXIV. After him, Arco, brother to the prætor Xenarchus, said :—"Callicrates has laid me, and every one who differs in opinion from him, under a difficulty in delivering our sentiments ; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging designs formed, and meditated attacks on that state, yet (although there be no design formed, or attack meditated,) whoever dissents from him must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passed in secret. Nay more, inspired with a

divining faculty, he pronounces what would have happened if Philip had lived, how Perseus became heir of the kingdom, what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause, nor in what manner, Demetrius perished, nor what Philip would have done, if he had lived, must accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of king from the senate, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the king, and were graciously received by him. As far as I can judge, all these circumstances do not prognosticate hostility; and the Romans cannot be offended if, as we followed their lead in war, so we follow now their example in peace. For my part, I cannot see, why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against this kingdom. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedonia? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all states? No; on the contrary, thanks to the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength, as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment, as the Thessalians and Ætolians; we have no more credit or influence with the Romans, though ever their friends and allies, than the Ætolians, who but lately were their enemies. Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why are we, alone, to carry inveterate rancour so far as to oppose the common claims of mankind? Admitting that Philip's conduct was such as to justify our passing the decree against him, which we did when he was in arms, and making war on us; yet how has Perseus, a prince just seated on the throne, whom we cannot charge with any kind of injustice toward us, and who endeavours, by his own kindness, to obliterate the memory of his father's quarrels;—how has he deserved, at our hands, that we should be his only enemies? I may go farther, and affirm, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Macedon, that the ill usage, suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip, *ought to be forgotten*, especially

after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cenchræ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating, whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was, certainly, something that made our deliberation last so long; and that was, the connection which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians; the distinguished favours which we had, of old, received from their kings. Let the same considerations prevail at present,—not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately entangle ourselves, but merely to open the intercourse of affording and demanding justice; and so as not by excluding his subjects from our territories, to exclude our slaves from his dominions; nor yet to let the latter have a hiding-place to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world? Why do we raise groundless alarms? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with our allies, render others odious and suspected? If war shall take place, even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities, if they are not terminated, be at least suspended." Those who approved the king's letter expressed their approbation of this speech; but the chief men in the assembly represented it as so humiliating, on their side, that the king, without deigning even to employ an embassy on the occasion, should compass his end by a letter of a few lines, that it was agreed to postpone coming to any resolution on the subject. Perseus afterward sent ambassadors, when the council was sitting at Megalopolis; but those who dreaded a rupture with Rome took care to prevent their being admitted to audience.

XXV. Some time before this, the Ætolians vented their fury on each other, with such violence, and so much blood was shed by the contending parties, that the total extinction of the nation seemed to be at no great distance. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambass-



sadors to Rome, and also opened a negotiation between themselves for the restoration of concord: but this was broken off by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. Some exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, had received a promise of being re-admitted into their native city; and Eupolemus, first magistrate of the state, having pledged the public faith for their security, they returned home, to the number of eighty persons of distinction. Eupolemus went out, among the rest of the multitude, to meet them; they were received and saluted with every expression of kindness, and right hands were reciprocally given. But no sooner did they enter the gate, than they were all put to death; while they, in vain, appealed to the faith pledged to them, and the gods who witnessed the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. The deputies of both parties debated the business before them at Delphi, with great heat on both sides; but Proxenus particularly distinguished himself, and appeared to have greatly the advantage, both in the merits of his cause, and his talents as an orator. A few days after, he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who being convicted of the crime, went into banishment. Crete was torn in pieces by the same kind of madness; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time, the Lycians, too, suffered many hardships from the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations, among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; having, in the relation of those affairs, in which the Romans were concerned, a task of more than sufficient weight.

XXVI. In Spain, the Celtiberians, (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet; Marcus Titinius, prætor, holding the government of the province,) on the arrival of Appius Claudius, resumed their

arms, and commenced hostilities, with a sudden attack on the Roman camp. At the first dawn the centinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, desecring the enemy approaching at a distance, gave the alarm. Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and after exhorting the troops, in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage; and in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness of the same, the Romans could not all come into action. Pressing forwards, however, and following close on each other, they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to stretch out their line, until it extended as far as the wings of the enemy, who were endeavouring to surround them; and now they made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour, they were driven from the field; fifteen thousand were either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp, also, was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways, to their several towns, and, thenceforward, submitted quietly to the Roman government.

XXVII. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius being created censors, this year, reviewed the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then prætor, and exercising the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius, was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given information that the disputes between contending factions had become so violent as to produce a civil war. The ambassadors who had gone into Ætolia, to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported on their return, that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the

Patavians saved them from ruin ; and having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who engaged workmen to pave the streets of Rome with flint stones, to make roads, outside the city, with gravel, and to form raised footways on the sides. They caused bridges to be built in several places, and seats in the theatre to be set apart for the prætors and ædiles ; fixed up goals in the circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots ; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the capitoline hill to be paved with flint, and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the capitol, to the senate-house, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate Trigemina, they also paved a market-place with stones, and inclosed it with a paling ; repaired the Æmilian portico ; and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house ; contracted for walls to be built at Galatia and Oximum, and, selling lots of ground there, which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the forums of both places. Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius declared, that, without a decree of the senate, or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them,) agreed for building a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum ; and another at Fundi ; for bringing water to Pollentia ; for paving the street of Pisaurum, and for many various works at Sinuessa ; among which were, the drawing round a sewer to fall into the river, the inclosing of the forum with porticoes and shops, and erecting three statues of Janus. These works were all executed under the direction of Fulvius, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. These censors were also very active and strict in their superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

XXVIII. At the close of the year, there was a thanksgiving, for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, proconsul ; when twenty victims, of the larger kinds, were sacrificed. There was also a supplication, for one day, at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, on account of a violent earthquake which had happened in Sa-

binia, and demolished a great number of buildings. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came on, and, after a very warm contest, in consequence of the great number of candidates, the choice fell on Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas. [Y. R. 579. B. C. 173.] Then were chosen prætors, Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus, a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula, a second time. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of mother Mātuta, with this inscription :—UNDER THE COMMAND AND AUSPICES OF TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, CONSUL, A LEGION AND ARMY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE SUBDUED SARDINIA ; IN WHICH PROVINCE ABOVE EIGHTY THOUSAND OF THE ENEMY WERE KILLED OR TAKEN. HAVING EXECUTED THE BUSINESS OF THE PUBLIC WITH THE HAPPIEST SUCCESS ; HAVING RECOVERED THE REVENUES, AND RESTORED THEM TO THE *commonwealth*,—HE BROUGHT HOME THE ARMY SAFE, UNINJURED, AND ENRICHED WITH SPOIL, AND, A SECOND TIME, ENTERED THE CITY OF ROME IN TRIUMPH. IN COMMEMORATION OF WHICH EVENT HE PRESENTED THIS TABLET AN OFFERING TO JUPITER. A map of the island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and representations of the battles fought there were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year ; the only one particularly remarkable, was that given by Titus Flamininus on occasion of his father's death, which was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage-plays, which lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. *The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which was debated with great heat. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were equally capable of taking inheritances as men. In consequence of this capacity the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as was supposed, of the state ; to which it was no*



small advantage that the descendants of distinguished ancestors should, by their wealth and splendour, be an ornament and defence, rather than by being reduced to indigence, become a disgrace, and a burden to the public. It was also thought, that, to the weaker sex, wealth might hold out dangerous temptations to luxurious indulgence; and that, fond, by nature, of dissipation, dress, and show, they might be induced to depart from that sanctity of manners, and purity of conduct, which of old were deemed the brightest ornaments of the female character. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Saza, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, that "no person whatever should make any woman, whether married or unmarried, his heir; also, that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of taking, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand sesterces."<sup>1</sup> Voconius, also, thought it proper to provide that estates should not be too much diminished by legacies; or, which sometimes happened, left away entirely from the right heirs. Accordingly he added a clause to his law, that no person should bequeath to any person or per-

sons property exceeding in value what was to go to the right heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation; it appeared reasonable, and likely to be very little grievous to any. But the former clause, utterly disqualifying women from taking inheritances, passed not so easily; there was a strong opposition to it, and a very violent debate, to which, at length, a speech of Marcus Porcius Cato put an end. His strenuous defence of the Oppian law, and bitter invective against the indecorous behaviour of the women, we have already related.<sup>2</sup> On the present occasion he exerted himself with equal earnestness, nor did he treat the female character with less severity. He declaimed, with great vehemence, against the extravagance and ostentation of the richer matrons; "who," he said, "retain to themselves large sums of money, which they do not entrust to the power of their husbands, but only lend to them; and then, upon any quarrel arising between them, they send their own slaves, who importunately demand repayment, and treat the husbands as if they were entire strangers, happening to be their debtors."—The law passed, as proposed by Voconius.

<sup>1</sup> 2072d. 18r. 4d.

<sup>2</sup> Book XXXIV. c. 1.

## HISTORY OF ROME.

## BOOK XLII.

Eumenes, king of Asia, makes heavy complaints and charges, in the senate, against Perseus, king of Macedonia.

War declared against Perseus. Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul, to whom the conduct of the war is committed, leads an army into Macedonia; fights Perseus, unsuccessfully, in several small engagements, in Thessaly; at length, defeats him entirely near Phalanna. The senate appealed to by Masinissa and the Carthaginians, in a dispute concerning the bounds of their territories. A census held; the number of Roman citizens found to be two hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one. Successes against the Corsicans and Ligurians.

I. THE first business which Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate, was the distribution of the provinces; when Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions, each having two assigned him for the service of that province, and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the Latine confederates; and, as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. Besides these, they were ordered to raise one thousand five hundred Roman foot and one hundred horse; with which the prætor, to whose lot Sardinia should fall, might cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was farther ordered, that, in the mean time, the former prætor, Marcus Atilius, should hold the government of that country. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atilius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Marcus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved, that before the magistrates went abroad, Lucius Postumius should go into Campana, to fix the bounds between the lands

which were private property, and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. The consul had conceived a great aversion from the people of Præneste, because on his going thither formerly, in a private capacity, to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they had paid him no compliment either general or particular: for which reason, before he set out from Rome, he sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the public expense; and that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expense whatever. To prevent any such exaction, those magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors indeed sent to any place, on a sudden emergency, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay; but no other expense was ever imposed on the allies by the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the



consul, which, even if well founded, ought not to have been exerted, during his office; and the too modest, or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to his successors, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of laying on the confederates other such kinds of burdens, the weight of which was continually increased.

II. In the beginning of this year, the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedonia, returned, and reported, that "they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, some of his court saying that he was abroad, others that he was sick; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, they clearly perceived that he would not long defer the commencement of hostilities. That in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority." As a war with Macedonia was daily expected, the senate resolved, that, before it broke out, all prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of the gods invoked, in such kind of supplications as should be found directed in the books of the Fates. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell; and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts; also that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprung up from under the earth as it was turned. The books of the Fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods, and with what victims, sacrifices should be offered; that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies; and also another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, with a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered agreeable to the written directions of the decemvirs.

III. In the same year, the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, censor, in erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed during the Celtiberian war, was anxiously desirous that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that it would be a very great embellishment to this temple if it were roofed with marble, he went to Bruttium; and stripped off about the half of that of the temple of Juno Lacinia; for he

computed that so much would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor from making opposition to the sacrilege. On his return, the marble was landed, and carried to the temple; but, though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly, it occasioned considerable murmuring in the senate; and all the members expressed their desire that the consuls should take the opinion of the fathers on the subject. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with much asperity. They cried out that "he was not content with violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated; but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor, for the purpose of regulating men's manners, and bound in duty, according to long-established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping off the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, and what might be deemed scandalous, if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods, involving the Roman people in the guilt of impiety; as if the deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." Such evidently appeared to be the sentiments of the senators, before their opinion was asked; and, when the question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting, that proper persons should be employed to carry back the marble in question to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed; but those who undertook to see to the repairing of the building, made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of it, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

IV. Of the pretors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Envoys, sent by the Massilians, brought an account of this event; on which the senate resolved that

Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined, very commodiously, that Publius Furius, the former governor, should continue. During this year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree, that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Titilius, city prætor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that purpose, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cetheges, Quintus, and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius Saloniæ, and Caius Munatius. They apportioned ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latine colonist. At this time ambassadors came to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; as did others from Thessaly with accounts of the proceedings in Macedonia.

V. Perseus, applying his thoughts to the war, which had been resolved on during the lifetime of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. The inclinations of that people in general were much better disposed towards him than towards Eumenes, notwithstanding that most of the leading men were under obligations to Eumenes, for valuable presents, and other acts of kindness; and that, in the administration of government, his conduct was such, that none of the states under his dominion felt any disposition to change situations with those which were free. With regard to Perseus, it was currently reported, that, after his father's death, he had killed his wife with his own hand; and invited from exile Apelles, who had formerly been his instrument in the villanous destruction of his brother, and who had, on that account, been carefully searched after by Philip, in order to bring him to punishment. Perseus having prevailed on Apelles to return, by promises of the most ample rewards for his services, put him privately to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations and of others, and possessed

not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes,—to a prince of such affection towards his relations, such justice towards his subjects, and such liberality towards all mankind; whether they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the Macedonian kings, as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, or were desirous of exposing him to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction, on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent Appius Claudius, as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and after cancelling so much of the debts, as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. In the same manner, Appius regulated the business of Perrhæbia. In the meantime, Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination, to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. A reconciliation accordingly took place between them, and was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

VI. A meeting was appointed at Corinth, in order that the hostages might be lodged in that city. On the breaking up of the Ætolian council, Marcellus crossed over from Delphi into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation, for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect the sooner, in consequence of king Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with



him a written state of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five ambassadors were now sent to the king, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedonia; whence they were to proceed to Alexandria, to renew the treaty of friendship with Ptolemy. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cæcilius Denter. About the same time, came ambassadors from king Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his king, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of it, that the king might not trespass on their indulgence, in any other respect than that of time. He was moreover charged with a present of gold vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested, that the treaty of alliance and amity, which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and entreated the Roman people freely to demand from him every service which might be expected from a prince sincerely disposed to prove himself a faithful ally. They would never find him remiss in the performance of any duty towards them. He had, while in Rome, experienced so great kindness from the senate, and so much courtesy from the younger part of the community, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage." A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city questors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases, which they were directed to deposit in whatever temples they should judge proper. One hundred thousand *asses*<sup>1</sup> were presented to the ambassador, and it was ordered, that a house should be given him for his accommodation, and his expenses defrayed, as long as he should remain in Italy. The ambassadors, who had been in Syria, represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the king, and a very warm friend to the Romans. Such were the occurrences of this year respecting the provinces.

VII. Caius Cicereius, prætor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement the prætor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to that people, on their petitioning for it, and a contribution was imposed, of two hundred thousand pounds weight of wax. Corsica being thus reduced to subjection, Cicereius sailed back to Sardinia. In Liguria, also, a battle was fought in the territory of Satiella, at the town of Carystas. The Ligurians had assembled there a numerous army, who, for some time after Marcus Popilius' arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterwards, on the Roman general preparing to lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul declined not an engagement; it was, indeed, the point he aimed at in threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner, that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions no where gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once, with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, which struck such terror into their whole army that they fled in confusion on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter, chiefly, the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been killed, and more than seven hundred taken, in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict; for neither party giving way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

VIII. When the Ligurians, after their dispersion in this defeat, re-assembled in one body, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving); on which they surrendered. They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity, than had been practised

by former commanders. But he immediately stripped them all of their arms, and razed their town. He then made sale of themselves and their effects; which done, he sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius read this letter in the council, (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania,) the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light; "that the people of Statiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and even after surrendering themselves into the protection of the Roman people, should be abused and exterminated by every instance of the most barbarous cruelty, they held utterly unpardonable; that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had reckoned on the faith of the Roman people, afforded an example of the most mischievous tendency, and was enough to deter any from surrendering to them in future; dragged as they were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. For these reasons the senate ordered, that the consul, Marcus Popilius, should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects, and also their arms; and that, when these things were done, he should immediately retire out of the province; for they observed, that victory became honourable by subduing opposition, not by cruelty to the vanquished."

IX. But the same ferocious temper which actuated the consul in his conduct towards the Ligurians, urged him to refuse obedience to the senate. He immediately sent the legions into winter-quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against the senators and the prætor, went home to Rome; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he poured forth a torrent of invectives against the city magistrate, who, "when he ought to have proposed the offering of a thanksgiving for the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him, in favour of the enemy; transferring thereby his victory to the Ligurians; and, though only a prætor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them: he therefore

gave notice, that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded a repeal of their decree passed against him; and that the thanksgiving, which they ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should, now, when he was present, be voted; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and, next, out of some kind of regard to himself." Many of the senators censured him to his face, in terms no less severe than they had used in his absence; and not being able to obtain either of his requests, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came home to Rome to hold the elections, when Caius Popilius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus were chosen consuls. Then were elected prætors, Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time.

X. The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number would have been much greater had not the consul, Lucius Postumius, given public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latine allies, (who, according to the edict of the consul Caius Claudius ought to have gone home,) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. The censors conducted themselves in the office with perfect harmony and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius, at this time, dedicated the temple of Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain, during the battle with the Celtiberians; he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great crowds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into



Apulia, that they covered a great part of the country; in order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sici-nius, prætor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people, to gather them up, which took a considerable time. The beginning of the year, in which Caius Popilius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. [Y. R. 580. B. C. 172.] The senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be reconsidered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popilius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate; and, by giving notice, that if any vote should be passed on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although the consuls wished for Macedonia, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, they assigned Liguria as the province of both, declaring that they would not vote Macedonia to them, unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popilius. The consuls, afterwards, demanded that they might be authorised to raise either new armies, or recruits to fill up the old; both were refused. The prætors for Spain, also, applied for reinforcement: Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and Spurius Lucretius for the Farther, and were in like manner refused. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate, appointed an early day for the Latine festival, at the same time declaring openly, that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business, except what belonged to their own government.

XI. Valerius Antias writes, that, in this consulate, Attalus, brother to king Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, with heavy charges against Perseus, and an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert, that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, was received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his de-

serts, but also to their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance. Being introduced to the senate, he said, that "the reason which had induced him to come to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond which he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus." Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse from a war with Rome, and of calling the Bastarnian nation from their several residences, that he might have their support in coming into Italy. "While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men, the bitterest foe to the Romans. Perseus, therefore," said he, "having received this scheme of a war, as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful, in respect of the number of his young men, a long peace having produced a plentiful progeny; he is powerful, in respect of the resources of his kingdom; and powerful, likewise, in respect of his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for even from his childhood, he accompanied his father in his campaigns, and thereby became inured to it, not only against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him in many and various expeditions. Add to this, that since the government came into his own hands, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, accomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

XII. "Besides his strength, he has such a degree of influence as is usually acquired, in a great length of time, by many and important kindnesses. For, in the several states throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him; neither can I with certainty say whether it is the effect of some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance, a general dislike to

the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes, his influence is exceedingly extensive. He married the daughter of Seleucus, a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnised amidst congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, the royal couples being escorted by the most renowned nations, acting as bridal attendants. The Bœotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia, (only that the proceeding was stopped by a few persons, threatening them with the displeasure of the Roman government,) the business was nearly effected of allowing him admission into that country. But, as to the honours formerly paid to myself, (whose kindnesses to that nation have been such, that it is hard to say, whether my public or private benefactions were the greater,) they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means. Who does not know that the Ætolians, lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and is laying up a store of corn for ten years, so that his country is in no kind of danger with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount, as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men."

XIII. The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: "Conscript fathers," said he, "the representations which I have made to you are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my

enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to make it. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample, and highly respectable, and crossed such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece, every day, gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Perseus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which he could not subdue. I perceived how unfair a footing matters stood on, while his intentions toward you were evidently hostile, and yours toward him perfectly pacific; although, to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but to be rather waging war. Abrupolis, your ally and friend, he dethroned. Artetarus, the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, he put to death, on hearing of some information which he had afforded you. The Thebans, Eversa and Callicrates, two of the chief men in the state, he procured to be taken off, because, in the council of the Bœotians, they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him, and declared, that they would inform the Romans of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris, with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and by the help of the party which had the worse cause to crush the other which had more right on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. As you remained inactive and patient during all these transactions, and as he sees Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms, until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, yourselves will consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dishonour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war, before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and, in some measure,



freed and exonerated my faith; what can I do farther, except beseeching the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us, your allies and friends, who depend upon you?"

XIV. His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one, without doors, could know any thing more than that the king had been in the senate-house, such secrecy was observed by all the members; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war, that the purport of king Eumenes' speech and the answer to it, transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their minds had been so prepossessed by king Eumenes, that every plea offered in his justification by the ambassadors, and every argument to alleviate the charges against him, was disregarded. They were still farther exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said, that "the king was indeed desirous, and even anxious, that they should give credit to his asseveration respecting his conduct, that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but that, if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with courage and resolution. The fortune of war was open to all and the issue uncertain." All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter's journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither, under pretexts of other business. Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured, by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that king with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been. This rendered his discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia, (for the popularity of Per-

seus had spread even to them,) but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him; so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

XV. After the embassies were dismissed, Harpalus hastened home to Macedonia, and told the king, that he had left the Romans, not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper, that it was very evident they would not defer it long. Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. Being more violently incensed against Eumenes than against any other, he resolved to commence the war by shedding his blood; and he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that king, giving them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. Thither the assassins, with Evander, proceeded in search of a convenient place for the execution of their design. On the road from Cirrha, to the temple, before they came to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side, at the foot of which was a narrow path, where single persons could pass; on the right, the ground had sunk, and formed a precipice of considerable depth. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from that of a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the king, as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterwards, the road, growing gradually narrower, consequently made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the king. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck Eumenes on

the head, and the other on the shoulder, with such force as to deprive him of sensation; and, as he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice, they poured a multitude of stones upon him. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways; but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the king.

XVI. The assassins might, by making a short circuit round the wall, have run down and completed their business; they yet fled off towards the top of Parnassus with precipitation. One of them, however, being unable to keep up with the rest through the pathless and steep grounds, and thus retarding their flight, they killed him lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the king, ran together and raised him up, while he was in a swoon, and quite insensible. However, they perceived, from the warmth of his body and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards pursued the tracts of the assassins with much fatigue to the summit of the hill, but returned without being able to overtake them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously; so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. Next day the king, who had by this time come to himself, was conveyed by his friends on ship-board, and sailed thence to Corinth; then, having drawn their vessels across the neck of the isthmus, they crossed over to Ægina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, no one being admitted to see him, that a report of his death was carried into Asia, and was believed, even by Attalus, with more readiness than became an affectionate brother; for he talked, both to Eumenes' consort, and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This, afterwards, came to the knowledge of the king; who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus, on his premature haste to get a wife. The report of Eumenes' death spread even to Rome.

XVII. About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador into Greece, to examine the state of that country, and to observe the movements of king Perseus, returned home; and his reports accorded, in every

circumstance, with the representations made by Eumenes. He brought with him, from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins; and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, giving information to this effect: that Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundisium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the kings. By these means he became known to Perseus, although his dominions were so distant; and in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the king, and, in a short time, found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn, oftener than he wished, into private conversations. Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him, that, "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privy of several; besides, the dose was not always certain in its operation, either as to its power to produce the desired effect, or its safety with respect to concealment;—he would, therefore, give him some which would not afford any sign that could lead to detection." Rammius dreading, lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance, and departed; but not thinking it prudent to return to Brundisium, without first applying to Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis, he first disclosed the affair to him; and then, by his order, accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

XVIII. These discoveries, added to the representations made before by Eumenes, hastened a declaration of war against Perseus; the senate perceiving that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a king, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. It was resolved, that the new consul should have the conduct of the war; but, in the mean-



time, an order was given, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise a body of troops to be led with all expedition to Brundisium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the sea-coasts; so as that the consul, who should have Macedonia as his province, might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, his wounds proving dangerous, and the cure difficult; but, as soon as he could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, to which he was now stimulated by the late atrocious villany of Perseus, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Ambassadors soon came from Rome, with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. The war with Macedonia was deferred to the next year; on this, (when the other prætors had gone away to their provinces,) Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by teasing the senate with frequent repetitions of the same request, obtained at last a grant of recruits for their army. They were commanded to raise three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse, for the Roman legions; and to levy, from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: this number of forces the new prætors carried with them into Spain.

XIX. In consequence of the inquiries made by the consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons, indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public. Wherefore, in this year, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censors should let those lands to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years, since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, and while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that "the king had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might, even from childhood, be acquainted with

the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he requested, that they would allow him to enjoy, not only the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and in some measure the guardianship, of the public." This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Ambassadors from some of the states of Thrace attended the senate, for their decision of a dispute, and requested a treaty of alliance and friendship; and they not only obtained their request, but received each of them a present to the amount of two thousand *asses*;<sup>1</sup> for the Romans were rejoiced at gaining the friendship of those states, in particular, as they lay at the back of Macedonia. But, in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether any attempts were made by Perseus to seduce the affections of the allies.

XX. While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety and suspense, with respect to the impending war, a storm happened in the night, during which the pillar in the capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, *which had been erected in the first Punic war by the consul Marcus Æmilius*, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event was deemed a prodigy, and reported to the senate, who ordered, that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication, and prayers, for the averting of misfortunes should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed both in the capitol at Rome, and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated as soon as possible, in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed; and the aruspices answered, that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships, which the storm had scattered, were to be held

as spoils. There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions : it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers of blood fell during three successive days ; that an ass, with three feet, was foaled at Calatia ; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning ; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Oximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

XXI. The consuls were not yet gone to their provinces ; for they would not comply with the senate, in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popilius ; and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popilius was aggravated by a letter received from him ; in which he mentioned that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, ten thousand of whom he had killed, and that the rest of the Ligurian states, (no doubt provoked at the injustice of this attack,) had all taken arms.

On this the most severe animadversions were uttered in the senate, not only against the absent Popilius, for having, contrary to all laws, human and divine, made war on people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in peace, but also against the consuls for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebeian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Sylla, declared publicly, that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls, if they did not repair to their station. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. The purport of it was, that "it should be decreed, that in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty, before the calends of August then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery ;" and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they issued the same. Before the departure of the consuls, the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, prætor of the former year. After recounting his services in Corsica, he demanded a triumph ; but this being refused, he rode in state on the Alban

mount ; a mode of celebration for victory without public authority, which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius, respecting the Ligurians ; and in pursuance thereof, Caius Licinius, prætor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry, according to the order ; whereupon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

XXII. The consuls repaired, at last, to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popilius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome ; for he dreaded the being brought to trial, while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a prætor likewise who had taken the opinion of the senate, on an inquiry pointed against him. Against this design to evade a trial, the plebeian tribunes employed the menace of another order,—that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. This drew him home in spite of his reluctance ; and when he appeared in the senate he was received with the strongest marks of displeasure and resentment. His conduct was arraigned by many of the members in the bitterest terms ; and a decree was passed, that the prætors, Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius, should take care that all such of the Ligurians, as had not been in open arms since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should be restored to liberty ; and that the consul Caius Popilius should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree many thousands were so restored, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. The trial of Marcus Popilius, on the Marcian law, was twice brought to a hearing, before Caius Licinius ; but at a third hearing the prætor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popilian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office ; so that, being then in a private capacity, he could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people, respecting the Ligurians, eluded by artifice.

XXIII. There were, at this time, in Rome, ambassadors from Carthage, and also from



Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm disputes passed, in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained that "besides the district, about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome, to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who suffered no consideration to restrain him. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and although they knew that, if they forced the Numidians thence, the war would be waged within their own territory, yet they were deterred, by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But things were come to such a pass, that the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. They were sent," they said, "to beseech the senate to grant them one of these three things: either that they, as a common ally, should, on a fair discussion, determine what was the right of each; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves, in a just war, against unjust attacks; or finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. Their grants would, at all events, be more moderate than his usurpations, and the extent of them would be ascertained; whereas, he would set no limits but the arbitrary dictates of his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage, under Roman masters, to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe, under the will of an executioner." Having spoken thus, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground; and, in this posture, excited both compassion for themselves, and *no less displeasure* against the king.

XXIV. It was then voted, that Gulussa should be asked, what answer he had to make to these charges; or that, if it were more

agreeable to him, he should first tell on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa, said, that "it was hard for him to speak on subjects, concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father to have given him instructions, when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business which they intended to bring forward, nor even their design of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations, in the temple of Æsculapius, from whence ambassadors were despatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father's reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to imputations, laid by their common foe, against him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people." After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put, respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, ordered this answer to be given, that "it was their will, that Gulussa should, without delay, return to Numidia, and desire his father to send ambassadors immediately to the senate, to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come, and support their allegation. All the honour in their power they had hitherto paid to Masinissa, and would continue to pay him; but they did not give him a privilege of screening misconduct under their favour. Their wish was, that the lands should, every where, be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend that new boundaries should be established, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace, of what they had not taken from them by the right of war." With this answer the Carthaginians, and the prince, were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions, which hospitality required, were performed with all courtesy.

XXV. About this time Cneius Servilius Cæpio, Appius Claudius Centho, and Titus Annius Luscus, who had been sent ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand restitution and renounce the king's friendship, returned, and inflamed, to a greater height, the resentment already entertained by the senate against Perseus, by relating, in order, all that they had seen and

heard. They said, that "through all the cities of Macedonia they saw preparations for war, carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the king, they were refused admission to him, for many days; at the end of which, despairing of meeting with him, they left the place, and were then, at last, called back from their journey and introduced to him. The topics on which they insisted in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and after his father's death, renewed with himself; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and, likewise, from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts, which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes, in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation, in Samothracia, with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him, that, for these injuries the senate expected satisfaction to be given, as well as restitution, to them and their allies, of their property, which he held contrary to the tenor of the treaty. On this, the king spoke at first with great vehemence, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with sending ambassadors one after another, to pry into his words and actions; expecting that, in every case, he should speak, and act, in compliance with their dictates, and obedient to their nod. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. This he accordingly delivered to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but because, being so lately come to the throne, he was obliged to acquiescence in every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, the terms ought, first, to be agreed on; if they were satisfied to treat on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done, on his part, and he doubted not but they would be careful enough of the interest of their own state. After this, he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared, that they renounced his friendship and alliance, at which he was highly exasperated; halted, and, with a loud voice, charged them to quit his dominions within

three days. They departed accordingly; and, neither on their coming, nor while they staid, was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. The senate wishing to know as soon as possible, what commanders were to be employed in the service of the state, voted, that a letter should be sent to the consuls, directing, that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates.

XXVI. The consuls, during that year, performed no exploits that deserved much notice. As the Ligurians had been highly exasperated, it was thought the most eligible plan, to pacify and appease them. While the public were looking forward to a Macedonian war, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, king of Illyria; for they complained that "he had, a second time, ravaged their country;" affirming, likewise, that "the kings of Macedonia and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans, and that there were then in Rome Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said, that they were sent by their king, to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to the regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; but not giving a satisfactory answer, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give them any answer, as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; but a resolution passed, that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to acquaint him with the complaints made by the allies, of his having ravaged their country; and to represent to him the impropriety of his conduct." On this embassy were sent Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Platorius, and Caius Cicercius. The ambassadors who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state, came home from Asia, and reported that "they had conferred there with Eumenes; in Syria with Antiochus; and at Alexandria with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by em-



bassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment, except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus." Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians, to exculpate them from the imputations, which, they knew, were openly urged against them; but a resolution was made, that "they should have audience of the senate, when the new magistrates came into office."

XXVII. It was judged necessary to make immediate preparations for war. A commission was accordingly given to Caius Licinius, prætor, to refit as many as could be made serviceable of the old quinqueremes which lay in the docks at Rome, to make up a fleet of fifty ships, and if he were at a loss for any to complete that number, to write to his colleague, Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him, to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so as that they might be sent, with all expedition, to Brundisium. Caius Licinius, prætor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freedmen's sons, to man twenty-five ships; Caius Sicinius to levy, from the allies, an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latine confederates, eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been prætor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundisium, and transport them to Macedonia; and Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, to keep them in readiness for embarkation. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the prætor, wrote to the consul Caius Popilius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the Latine nation, to be in Brundisium, on the ides of February. With this fleet, and this army, Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedonia, until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, voted by the senate, were vigorously executed; thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks, and given to Lucius Porcius Licinus, to be conducted to Brundisium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were despatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army;

these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the prætor, Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city, and went to Brundisium.

XXVIII. The consul, Caius Popilius, came home to Rome, when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; for he had been ordered, in consideration of such an important war impending, to elect magistrates as soon as possible. For this reason the consul's recital, in the temple of Bellona, of his services performed in Liguria, was not favourably listened to by the senate. He was frequently interrupted, and asked, why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians, who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were, Publius Licinius Crassus, and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected prætors, Caius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The provinces decreed to these prætors were, the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The consuls elect received orders from the senate, to offer a sacrifice, with victims of the larger kinds, on the day of their entering into office; and to pray to the gods, that the war, which the Roman people intended to engage in, might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day, the senate passed an order, that the consul Caius Popilius should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings, in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the capitol, that the games should be celebrated, and the offerings made, at such expense as the senate should direct, and the vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus the chief pontiff, in the presence of not less than one hundred and fifty persons. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff, who had been censor the year before. The latter ended his life in a shocking manner: he

had received an account, that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady : his grief and fears, together, overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. It was generally believed, that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound ; and it was now said, that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substituted decemvir, in the place of Æmilius ; and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff, in the room of Fulvius.

XXIX. In this consulate of Publius Licinius and Caius Cassius, [Y. R. 581. B. C. 171.] not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states, both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedonia. Eumenes was instigated against Perseus, not only by an old hatred, but also by recent anger, for having been, through his nefarious contrivance, almost slaughtered, like a victim, at Delphi. Prusias, king of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event ; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans against his wife's brother, so he trusted, that, in case of Perseus proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having, in his own name, promised aid to the Romans ; had, ever since his connexion of affinity with Eumenes, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. Antiochus, indeed, entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, and despising the unripe age of Ptolemy, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, thought he might, by raising a dispute about Cœlesyria, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war there, without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedonia : yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. The king of Egypt, too young to determine for himself, was directed by others ; and his guardians, at the same time while they were preparing for war with Antiochus, to secure possession of Cœlesyria, pro-

mitted the Romans every support in the war against Macedonia. Masinissa not only furnished supplies of corn to the Romans, but prepared to send into the field, to their assistance, a body of troops, and a number of elephants, with his son Misagenes. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place ; for, if success should attend the Romans, he judged that his own affairs would rest in their present state, and that he ought to seek for nothing farther ; as the Romans would not suffer violence to be offered to the Carthaginians ; and, if the power of the Romans, which, at that time, protected the Carthaginians, should be reduced, then all Africa would be his own. Gentius, king of Illyria, had indeed given cause of suspicion to the Romans ; but he had not yet determined which party to espouse, and it was believed, that he would join either one or the other, through some sudden impulse of passion, rather than from any rational motive. Cotys, the Thracian king of the Odrysians, declared openly in favour of the Macedonians.

XXX. Such were the inclinations of the several kings, while in the free nations and states, the plebeians, favouring as usual the weaker cause, were almost universally inclined to the Macedonians and their king ; but among the nobles might be observed different views. One party were so warmly devoted to the Romans, that, by the excess of their zeal, they diminished their own influence. Of these a few were actuated by their admiration of the justice of the Roman government ; but by far the greater number, by the hope that their distinguished exertions would procure them a large share of power in their several states. A second party wished to court the king's favour, by every compliance, some of them being driven headlong into every scheme of innovation by their debts, and despair of retrieving their circumstances, while the public affairs remained in their present state ; and others, through a fickleness of temper, following Perseus as the more popular character. A third party, the wisest and the best, wished, in case of being allowed the choice of a master, to live under the Romans, rather than under the king. Yet, could they have had the free disposal of events, it was their wish that power should not be acquired from the ruin of either party, but rather that both, with their strength unimpaired, should continue in peace on an equal foot-



ing; for thus the condition of their states would be the happiest, as they would always be protected by one from any ill treatment intended by the other. Judging thus, without declaring their sentiments, they viewed, in safety, the contest between the partizans of the two contending powers. The consuls, having on the day of their commencement in office, in compliance with the order of the senate, sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, in all the temples where the lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year, and having, from them, collected omens that their prayers were accepted by the immortal gods, reported, that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and prayers offered respecting the war. The aruspices declared, that, "if any new undertaking was intended, it ought to be proceeded in without delay; that victory, triumphs, and extension of empire were portended." The senate then resolved, that "the consuls should, on the first proper day, propose to the people assembled by centuries,—that whereas Perseus, son of Philip, and king of Macedonia, contrary to the league struck with his father, and after Philip's death renewed with himself, had committed hostilities on the allies of Rome, had wasted their lands, and seized their towns, and also had formed a design of making war on the Roman people. That he had, for that purpose, prepared arms, troops, and a fleet; and therefore, unless he gave satisfaction concerning those matters, that war should be proclaimed against him." The question was passed by the people in the affirmative: on which, the senate decreed, that "the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedonia; that the one, to whose lot Macedonia fell, should seek redress, by force of arms, from king Perseus, and all who concurred in his designs; unless they made amends to the Roman people."

XXXI. It was ordered, that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. For the service in Macedonia, it was judged proper to exceed the usual standard. Instead, therefore, of five thousand foot, and two hundred horse, assigned to the consul's legions, according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted, for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops, also, the number was augmented in the army

ordered into Macedonia,—namely, sixteen thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot, and six hundred horse, of the allies, were deemed sufficient. In another instance, an extraordinary degree of attention was shown to the service in Macedonia; for the consul was authorized to enlist veteran centurions, and soldiers, whom he chose as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding, with regard to the military tribunes, was also introduced on the same occasion: for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people, that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and prætors should have full power to choose and appoint them. The prætors had their several commands assigned them, in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to go to Brundisium, to the fleet; to review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, to enlist, in their places, sons of freed men, taking care that two-thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions, from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved, that the prætors, who obtained the government of those provinces, should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the inhabitants, and to take care to have the corn conveyed into Macedonia, to the army. The lots gave Sicily to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

XXXII. The consuls had a slight dispute about their province. Cassius said, that "he would take the command against Macedonia without casting lots, nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was prætor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly, that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and, surely, they could no more be performed duly in his absence, when he was consul, than when he was prætor. If the senate thought proper

to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished, in his consulship, than to what he had sworn in his prætorship, he himself, for his part, would at all events, be ruled by that body."

When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him, whom the Roman people had not refused to elect to the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions; when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth, to remain in Italy. In making the levies, the consuls took unusual pains. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them offered themselves voluntarily as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war, or in Asia, had become rich. When the military tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, and who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer the matter to the consuls; "the cognizance of it belonging properly to those who had the charge of the levies and of the war:" but the rest declared, that since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

XXXIII. The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. There the consul and the centurions attended, with Marcus Popilius, a man of consular rank, as advocate for the centurions. The consul then required, that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that "as military men, they had served out their regular time, and that their strength was now spent through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services, they only entreated that they might be favoured so far, as not to be appointed to posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army." The consul, Publius Licinius, first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was deter-

mined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed, that as many veteran centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, "at a time when a new war was breaking out, so near to Italy, and with a most powerful king, they would not either obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, it might be referred to the decision of the senate."

XXXIV. When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people; and all having consented, he spoke, we are told, to this effect: "Romans, my name is Spurius Ligustinus; I am of the Crustumian tribe, and of a family originally Sabine. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedonia I served as a common soldier, against Philip, two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flaminius, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. That no one commander living was a more accurate observer, and judge of merit, is well known to all who have had experience of him, and of other generals, in a long course of service. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Æto-



lians and king Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. Flaccus brought me with him, among others, to attend his triumph, out of regard to our good services. It was at the particular request of Tiberius Gracchus that I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for good behaviour. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, I might reasonably expect to be discharged. But what I have said I wish you to consider merely as a state of my case; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, they themselves can best determine. That no one in the army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, so will it be highly becoming in you to show yourselves obedient to their orders, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

XXXV. Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him, from the assembly, into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks; and the military tribunes, in consideration of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, enlisted without farther demur. That the

magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latine festival was celebrated on the calends of June; and, as soon as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the prætor, after sending forward every thing requisite for the fleet, went to Brundisium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the prætor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose out of the senate four military tribunes to command them; likewise, to require from the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse, to be held in readiness to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the consul, Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of natives and allies under his command: two thousand Ligurians; a body of Cretan archers, whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning, whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send; likewise the Numidian cavalry and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians, —Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius: also, to Crete, —Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

XXXVI. At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus, who were not suffered to come into the city; as the senate had already decreed, and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against the Macedonians. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Bellona, when they spoke to this purport: that "king Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedonia; and that if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the king would satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their allies might complain." Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece, by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the king with the storming of Perrhæbia, the taking of several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. This they declined, declaring that they had no farther instructions. On which they were ordered to tell their king, that "the consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedonia at the

head of an army. To him he might send ambassadors, if he were disposed to make satisfaction, but he need send none to Rome; nor would they be suffered to pass through Italy." After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Licinius, to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them, until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome, before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From thence he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; those people themselves having invited him to establish garrisons, to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

XXXVII. A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were appointed ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Coreyra; where they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was fixed on to go to Gentius, king of Illyria, with instructions to sound him, as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia, that from thence they might cross over into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. Marcius and Atilius were appointed to visit Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly; they were directed to take a view afterwards of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Coreyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, inquiring the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger, who brought the letter, that the motive of the Romans was, the securing the safety of the cities themselves. The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, exhorted all the states, without distinction, as

they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in like manner, against Perseus. This occasioned some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended, that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedonia, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and taken an active part against Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people, and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

XXXVIII. Marcius and Atilius, going up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, held there a council of the Epirotes, in which they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a prætor was chosen, in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over into Thessaly. There they were attended by envoys from the exiled Acarnanians and Bœotians. The Acarnanians had orders to represent, that "whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate. As, when their demerits were great, they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people, so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity." The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus; but they threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of a party, and alleged, that, "several states were drawn into that measure, contrary to their own judgment." to which Marcius replied, that "this would appear, for it was intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself." The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. At this meeting, both parties had abundant matter for mutual expressions of gratitude: the Thessalians



for the blessing of liberty conferred on them; and the ambassadors, for the vigorous assistance afforded by the Thessalians, in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. Their reciprocal acknowledgments of past favours kindled such zeal in the breasts of the assembly, that they voted every measure desired by the Romans. Soon after this meeting, ambassadors arrived from king Perseus, whose principal inducement to this step was, the hope he derived from a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which was formed by their fathers. The ambassadors began with reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the king an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy. That he had not so long delayed to give the king a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Dium; of which they would send notice to the king."

XXXIX. Perseus, on this, withdrew from Dium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived some degree of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the embassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The king came surrounded by a multitude both of friends and guards. The train of the ambassadors was not less numerous, for they were accompanied by a great many from Larissa, and by the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a king, and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which should cross it; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. A jocular expression of Marcius put an end to the difficulty:—"Let the younger," said he, "cross over to the elder;

the son to the father:" for his own surname was Philip. The king was easily persuaded to comply; but then another perplexity arose, about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be proper to be attended by his whole retinue; but the ambassadors required, that he should either come with three attendants only; or, if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent as hostages, Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The intent of demanding hostages was not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to demonstrate to the allies, that the king did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

XL. After a short silence, Marcius began thus:—"I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter, sent to Coreyra, in which you ask the reason, why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities? To this question it is painful to me either to refuse an answer, lest I should appear too haughty; or to give a true one, lest, to your ears, it might seem too harsh. But since the person who infringes a treaty must be reproved, either with words or with arms, as I could wish that any other, rather than myself, should be employed in a war against you, so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion, that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew *the treaty made with your father,—which yet it would have been better never to have renewed*, they think, than afterwards to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, thereby showing that you were pleased at their act, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the Malian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours

to the Byzantians. You concluded and swore to a separate alliance with the Boeotians our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers, than to charge the fact on any one. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravaged by you in person. King Eumenes, on his way from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered, as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground, at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundisium states in his communication, I take for granted that you have received full accounts, both by letter from Rome, and the report of your own ambassadors. There was one way by which you might have avoided hearing of these matters from me, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had asked the question, it would have been more blameable to keep silence, than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship derived to us from our fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may say, and shall be happy if you afford me any grounds on which I may plead your cause before the senate."

XLII. To this the king answered,—“A cause which would approve itself good, if tried before impartial judges, I am to submit to the opinion of judges, who are at the same time my accusers. Of the facts laid to my charge, some are of such a nature, that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them; others there are, which I shall confess without a blush; and others, which as they rest on bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundisian informer, or Eumenes, allege against me that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people,) no other enemy than me? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever

seeing again? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who it is well known, perished by shipwreck; and of the death of Artetarus; with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me, than that the persons who killed him lived in exile in my dominions. To such reasoning as this, unfair as it is, I will not object on my part, provided you will admit it on yours; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, to what purpose should people be allowed to go into exile, if they are nowhere to be admitted? As soon however as I understood from your representations, that those men were in Macedonia, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot on my dominions. On these articles, indeed, I stand accused as a criminal; the others effect me as a king, and must be decided by the terms of the treaty subsisting between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that even in case of war being made on me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom; I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that force may be repelled by force; how, I pray you, ought I to have acted when Abrupolis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons, a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing the justice of the war waged against him, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils incident to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain if they happened to fall upon himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to use the same mode of defence; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were my subjects, were



under my dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor other my confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would it appear that I have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the governor whom I had set over them, after using him in such a manner, that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

XLII. "But, it seems, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos, (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before,) I went up to Delphi, in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined, that I was attended by an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing,—to seize the towns, and put garrisons in them. Now, call together, in assembly, the states of Greece, through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that, under a pretence of sacrificing, I covered other designs. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambassadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time, my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one, who, by misrepresenting and distorting every occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you, that Greece could not be free nor enjoy the benefit of your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedonia subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than was Antiochus; and that your allies can never enjoy quiet so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which you have made against me, and the arguments, which I urged in my defence, will have just so much weight, as the ears and the tempers of

the hearers are disposed to allow them; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself, that I have not, knowingly, done wrong; and that, if through imprudence I have fallen into any error, the reproofs which I have now received are sufficient to correct and reform me. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving of punishment by war and plunder: for, surely, the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill-founded; if, on such causes as scarcely justify complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you."

XLIII. Marcius for the time assented to the reasonableness of what he urged; and recommended it to him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. It remained to be considered, how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the king should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the persons requesting it. At that juncture, the Romans had made few preparations for war; they had no army, no general: whereas Perseus had every thing prepared and ready: and if a vain hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself, and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this conference, (the truce being ratified by both parties,) the Roman ambassadors bent their route towards Bœotia where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, on being told the answer of the ambassadors, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the forming of the alliance with the king." First, deputies from Cheronea; then, others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them, that they were not present in the council, wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors gave them no answer at the time, but ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest.

The party defeated in the election of prætors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes, that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled, betook themselves to Thespiæ, where they were received without hesitation; and, the people's minds changing, they were recalled to Thebes. There they got a decree passed, that the twelve persons, who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment: and afterwards, the new prætor, Ismenias, a man of distinction and power, procured another, condemning them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis; and, from thence, they proceeded to Larissa, to the Romans; to whom they represented, that Ismenias alone was to be blamed for the alliance concluded with Perseus. The contest originated in a party-dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

XLIV. When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans. Ismenias recommended, that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome; on which so violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would have been in the most imminent danger of losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the king, the other to the Romans; and multitudes had come together, from Coronæ and Haliartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But the firmness of the chiefs, (who desired them to judge, from the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire,) so far prevailed on the people, that they not only passed a resolution to cancel the alliance of the king; but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. This deputation from the Thebans gave great joy to Marcius and Atilius, and they advised the states to send separate embassies to Rome to make a renewal of friend-

ship. They required, as an essential point, that the exiles should be restored; and passed a sentence, condemning the advisers of the treaty with the king. Having thus disunited the members of the Bœotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to Peloponnesus, first sending for Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans, than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent to secure Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

XLV. Marcius and Atilius having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been despatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three: Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more zealous were they in their applications, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but support a great share of it by their own strength, having, pursuant to the advice of Hagesilochus, forty ships ready for sea. This man being chief magistrate, whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish those hopes, which they had conceived from courting the favour of kings, and which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to cherish carefully the alliance of Rome, the only one at that time in the world that could be relied on for stability, whether power or fidelity were to be considered. He told them, that "a war was upon the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, at a time when it ought to be at sea, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships: and that this they ought to do with the greater diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes." Roused by these arguments, they



rigged and fitted out a fleet of forty ships, which they showed to the Roman ambassadors on their arrival, to convince them they had not waited to be solicited. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states in Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and under the scandalous suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

XLVI. Perseus, after the conference on the bank of the Peneus, retired into Macedonia, and sent ambassadors to Rome to carry on the negotiation for peace commenced with Marcius, giving them letters, to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of all the letters was the same; that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors; what he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however represented in such colours, as that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that "they were confident of a continuance of peace, for it was by the advice of Marcius and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if their mediation should prove ineffectual, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one only nation. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians, as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependence, if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans." Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness; they had, however, but little efficacy towards working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By public order this answer was given:—that "the Rhodians wished for peace; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services performed on their part both in war and peace." The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states

of Bœotia, Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the king, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans, though somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles, and the restoration of the exiles, yet suffered not their sentiments to be changed; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to kings, sent ambassadors to Macedonia, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the king answered, that, "on account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops; but he recommended to them, to guard themselves against ill-treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him."

XLVII. When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, and reported in the capitol the result of their embassy, they assumed no greater merit for any one matter, than for having over-reached the king by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him; for "he was so fully provided," they said, "with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might be pre-occupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece; but, in consequence of gaining so much time by the truce, the Romans would begin the war in a state of much better preparation; whereas he would come into the field without any advantage beyond what he already possessed." They mentioned, also, that "they had so effectually disunited the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians." A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom; but the older members, who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared, that "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight, and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor so as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. Their practice was, to

declare their intentions to the party before they entered on action; nay, they sometimes appointed the spot whereon to fight. Actuated by these principles of honour, they gave information to king Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life; and, from the same motive, they delivered, bound, to the Faliscians the betrayer of their children. These were Romans acts, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtlety of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to overcome him by force. It sometimes happens that greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever, when the confession has been extorted from him, that he was vanquished, not by artifice, nor by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, who did not approve of this modern kind of wisdom. But the majority paid more regard to utility than to honour, and passed a vote approving of Marcius' conduct in his former embassy, at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice, Perseus might send troops, and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this design it was ordered, that Atilius should be furnished by Cneius Sicinius with two thousand foot. Publius Lentulus, who had come home from Achaia, was commissioned to take the command of a party of three hundred soldiers, natives of Italy, to fix his quarters with them at Thebes, and to endeavour to keep Bœotia in obedience.

XLVIII. After these preparatory steps were taken, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the king's ambassadors. Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The point which they laboured with the greatest earnestness, was, the exculpating him from the guilt of the ambush laid for Eumenes; but their arguments carried no degree of conviction, the affair was so notorious. The rest consisted of apologies, and wishes for the continuance of amity. But their hearers were not

in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. They were ordered to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedonia had fallen, was charged to appoint the day for assembling the army as early as possible. Caius Lucretius, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueres; for it was judged proper to keep at home, for other exigencies, some of the vessels that were repaired. The prætor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquere; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephallenia. He received from the Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Bruttians four; and then, coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to king Gentius, he affected to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans; and carrying them all off, sailed in three days to Coreyra, and thence directly to Cephallenia. The prætor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the strait, arrived on the fifth day at the same place. There the fleet halted until the land-forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated in the voyage, might rejoin it.

XLIX. About this time the consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony, which is always conducted with great dignity and solemnity, on this occasion particularly, engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree,—and this, by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. Besides, they were drawn together, not only by their desire to pay him the customary respect, but by an earnest wish to behold the show, and to have a sight of the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety. Then occurred such reflections as these: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and suc-



cesses ; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders ; and on the contrary, what advantages accrued from their judgment and valour. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy ; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army mounting the capitol, in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure ; or whether they were to give a like cause of exultation to their enemies." Then king Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip ; who besides many prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides, the name of Perseus himself was formidable, having been, ever since his first accession to the throne, the constant subject of conversation and apprehension on account of the expected war. The consul was accompanied by two military tribunes of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius ; and by three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two Manlius Acidinuses, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundisium to the army ; and sailing over thence, with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

L. A few days before this, Perseus, having learned from his ambassadors, on their return from Rome, that every hope of peace was cut off, held a council, in which a long debate ensued. Some were of opinion, that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if that were insisted on ; in short, that he ought not to refuse submitting, for the sake of peace, to any hardship whatsoever ; and by no means to pursue measures which would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, "if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread." A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that "the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory :

but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires, are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood an overpowerful king, as a yoke on their necks ; while they had removed Antiochus, and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, in case of any shock being given to the power of Rome, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether it were more advisable to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg from the Romans, either Samothracia or some other island, where he might grow old in poverty and contempt : or on the other hand, to stand forth armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour, and, as is the part of a brave man, either to endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring upon him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful, in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy ; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, who had shown the utmost vigour in resisting the unjust designs of his brother, aspiring to the throne, after he had fairly obtained it himself, to surrender it up to foreigners. That war was the proper means even for procuring peace, was so generally allowed by all the world, that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

LI. The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian kings. In conclusion, Perseus said, "Let us then, with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion ;" and, despatching letters to all the commanders of the troops, he drew together his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedonia. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcide, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedo-

nians and foreign auxiliaries, had assembled here before his arrival. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one-half composed the phalanx and were commanded by Hippias of Beroea; there were then two cohorts selected for their superior strength, and the vigour of their age, out of the whole number of their shield-bearers: these they called a legion, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphilus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. About the same number, of three thousand, was made of Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Parstrymonia (places subject to Thrace), with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians. These had been armed and embodied by Didas, the Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own general, Susus of Phalasarna, and Syllus of Gnossus. Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks, of various descriptions: this man was said to be of the royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans on account of a letter to Perseus, which was intercepted. The Ætolians and Bœotians, in all not exceeding the number of five hundred, were commanded by Lycho an Achæan. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry, he had collected from all parts of Macedonia, three thousand: and Cotys, son of Seutha, king of the Odrysian nation, was arrived with one thousand chosen horsemen, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

LII. It was now twenty-three years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip; and Macedonia, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and

become qualified for the duties of the field; the unimportant wars also, which they had sustained with the neighbouring states of Thrace, had given them exercise rather than fatigue, so that they were in continual practice of military service. Besides, as a war with Rome had been long meditated by Philip, first, and afterwards by Perseus, every requisite preparation was fully completed. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The king endeavoured to animate the troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the instances of injurious treatment practised by the Romans on Philip and himself; told them, that "his father, having been compelled, by every kind of indignity, to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his preparations for war, arrested by fate: that, when the Romans sent ambassadors to himself, they at the same time sent troops to seize the cities of Greece: that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to put themselves in force; that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse." He desired them, "after hearing the state of the enemy's forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled, both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion; whereas themselves had from childhood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and seasoned in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians; while his were Thracians and Gauls, the fiercest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself: but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal



stores, and had been made with much care, at the expense of his father, in a course of many years. Provisions they must bring from a great distance, and subject to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. Every advantage, in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods, or the care of their sovereign, the Macedonians possessed in abundance: it would, therefore, become them to show the same spirit which animated their forefathers; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a new world unknown even by report, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But the contest, to which fortune now called them was not about the remotest coasts of India, but, in truth, about the possession of Macedonia itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedonia to slavery, that there might be no king in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation, renowned in war, should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the king and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and submit to obey their orders."

LIII. During the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; but on his uttering the last expression, their vociferations became so loud, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedonia, who were come with offers of money and corn, in proportion to the abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. He only desired them to provide carriages, for the conveyance of the engines, and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and after en-

camping at the lake Begorrites, advanced, next day, into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then, passing the mountains through a narrow defile, called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated, for a little time, because they had given hostages to the Larisseans; but the view of immediate danger prevailed on them to capitulate. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival, he got possession of their city, without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretæ, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but, on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he brought them to a surrender, before night.

LIV. Mylæ, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hope of their works being impregnable, had conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the king, they assailed him with opprobrious sarcasms, on himself and on the Macedonians, which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, uncommon spirit was displayed both in the assault and in the defence. The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; but on the part of the besieged, as the same persons were employed night and day, they were quite exhausted, not only by wounds, but by watching and incessant labour. On the fourth day, the scaling-ladders being raised on all sides, and one of the gates being attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, by which they made a sudden sally. This was the effect rather of inconsiderate rage, than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength; and the consequence was, that, being few in number, and worn down with fatigue they were routed by men who were fresh; and having turned their backs, and fled through the open gate, they gave entrance

to the enemy. The city, thus taken, was plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage, were sold. The king, after dismantling the place, and reducing it to ashes, removed, and encamped at Phalan-na; and next day arrived at Gyrtion; but understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippas, prætor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, without even attempting a siege, he passed by, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe; he therefore left the latter under an able guard of horse and foot, and strengthened it, besides, with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait there the approach of the Romans; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts that owned the enemy's authority: for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, with abundance of water, from numerous and never-failing springs in every quarter.

LIV. About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open; but afterwards, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, he encountered such difficulties as to be obliged to make very short marches, and endured much fatigue, before he could reach Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the king had opposed him with his army in proper order, and at an advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny, that the battle must have been attended with very great loss on their side. When they arrived at Gomphi, without opposition, as they felt much joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, so they conceived great contempt of the enemy, who showed such utter ignorance of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses; and then, hearing that the Macedonians were over-running Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, as

all were by this time sufficiently refreshed, he marched on to Larissa. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, called Scea, he encamped on the river Peneus. In the meantime, Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus, (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to the latter,) having left his other brother Philetærus at Pergamus, to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece; but most of them so small, that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; those of the Thessalians acted separately. The Romans had not in their camp above three hundred horse of their own. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

LVI. In the mean time, Caius Lucretius, the prætor and naval commander at Cephalenia, ordered his brother Marcus Lucretius to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis; and going himself on board a trireme, he sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might as early as possible, put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, hearing that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the prætor's name, to retire from the place: accordingly, the lieutenant-general who had undertaken this enterprise, with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, abandoned the town. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one: for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the king's forces under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the prætor came up from Creusa. At the same time, several ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis: two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclæa in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and also five quinque-



remes from Rhodes. The prætor, having no enemy to oppose at sea, excused the allies from this service. Quintus Marcius also brought his squadron to Chalcis, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While the affairs of Bœotia were in this state, Perseus, who, as has been mentioned, lay encamped at Sycurium, after drawing in the corn from all adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. But seeing that his depredations did not induce them to stir, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

LVII. Both the consul and the king held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The king assumed fresh confidence, from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans; and in consequence, resolved to advance directly to their camp, and not to suffer them to lie longer inactive. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended at their having neglected to succour the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, Eumenes and Attalus being present in the council, a messenger in a violent hurry acquainted them, that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that, in the meantime, a party of Eumenes' troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javeline-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt, and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant, when they descried the enemy's horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light-infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, as he knew not the

force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of Thracians, and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no reinforcements were sent upon either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, being followed by a number of waggons carrying water; for, in a length of twelve miles of the road, none could be had, and the men were greatly incommoded by the dust: he also considered that, if, on first sight of the enemy, an engagement should take place, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. The Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart; on which the king's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both cavalry and light-infantry, easily and in any spot face about upon them.

LVIII. Finding that this scheme did not succeed, the king removed his camp; entrenching himself at the distance of five miles from the enemy. At the first dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light-infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in great abundance and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm, though for some time, little credit was given to the intelligence that was brought; because during all the preceding days, the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sunrise. But the shouts set up by great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, soon removed all doubt of the matter, and great confusion ensued. The tribunes, præfects, and centurions, hastened to the general's quarters, and their soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill, called Callinicus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen, had the command of the left wing, the light-

infantry being placed between the ranks of the cavalry. On the right wing, were the Macedonian horse, with whose troops the Cretans were intermixed. Milo, of Berea, had the command of these last; Meno, of Antigone, that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings, were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops, selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations; the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the king; and on each side of him the band called Agema, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonice, and Timanor, a Dolopian. Such was the disposition of the king's forces. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light-infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. The command of the right wing, which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light-infantry intermixed, was given to Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies, sent by the states of Greece, and the light-infantry of the same nation; and the centre, under Quintus Mucius, was composed of a chosen body of select horsemen, of the allies. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance, beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

LIX. Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light-infantry, the two parties encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on, with a hideous yell, fell upon the Italian cavalry in the right wing with such fury, that even those men, who were fortified against fear, both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the

flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks; and now, the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in reserve at a little distance from the left wing, and from their situation had not been engaged, but hitherto mere spectators of the fight, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks, whose rear was hard pressed by the enemy. For, retreating leisurely, and preserving their order until they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him they afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in disorder, and as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the king's troops, who in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. At this moment, the king, after his success in the fight of the cavalry, might, by a small degree of perseverance, have put an end to the war. The phalanx, however, came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops; for Hippias and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the king, struck with the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander, the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay king Eumenes at Delphi, seeing that body somewhat embarrassed as they advanced round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended to him, "not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success, as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace; or if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune." The king's own judgment rather inclined to this plan; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the infantry to march back to their camp, and gave the signal of retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen; about two hundred horsemen were made



prisoners; but of the king's only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

LX. When the victors returned to their camp, all were full of joy, but the Thracians particularly distinguished themselves by the intemperance of their transports; for on their way back they chanted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief for their misfortune, but the dread of an immediate attack of the enemy on their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame which would attend such an acknowledgement of fear; yet he yielded to reason, and, leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the king advanced with intent to provoke the enemy to battle; and on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault, in lying idle during the night; for even by calling forth his light infantry only, he might in a great measure have destroyed the army of the enemy during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they had their camp in a place of safety; but, among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætoliens, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. It was asserted, that five chiefs of the Ætoliens were the first persons seen turning their backs.

LXI. The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement, were brought to the king, out of which he made presents,—to some, of remarkable armour, to some, of horses, and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breast-plates amounted to more than one thousand, and the number of helmets,

swords, and missile weapons of all sorts, was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the king made to an assembly of the troops: he said, "You have anticipated the issue of the war: you have routed the best part of the enemy's force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible. For, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth; the cavalry is the seminary of their senate; out of them they choose the members of that body, who afterwards are made their consuls; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished, than it was for them in the hurry of their fears; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. If they should choose to meet us in the field, be assured that the event of a battle with the infantry will be similar to that of yesterday's dispute with the cavalry." Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to show their zeal in the king's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the enemy. The king then dismissed the assembly; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

LXII. The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety, where they were joined by Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse, and a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The king soon after held a council, on the general plan to be pursued; and, as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune, as the means of obtaining an

honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes, as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that "to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence, who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul, to renew the treaty, on the same terms which had been granted to his father by Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could any conjuncture afford firmer hopes of a lasting peace, as the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, would be more reasonable in a negotiation. But, should they, with their native obstinacy, refuse to accede to reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus, and to the stubborn pride of the others." The king's inclination was never averse from such measures; and the majority, therefore, approved of the advice. The ambassadors sent to the consul had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested, that "a peace might be concluded; promising, that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which was engaged for by Philip, and should evacuate the same cities, lands, and places, which Philip had evacuated." Such were the proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council took them under consideration, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. The practice of that time was, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "That peace should be granted on this only condition; that the king should refer himself entirely to the senate, who were to make such terms as they thought proper, and to determine concerning him, and concerning all Macedonia." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting, were astonished at the obstinate perseverance of the Romans, and most people advised the king to make no farther mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that, which they now disdained when offered." But this haughtiness, as flowing from confidence in their own strength, created no small fears in the breast of Perseus, who continued his endeavours to prevail on the consul,

offering a larger sum of money if a peace might be purchased. The consul adhered inflexibly to his first answer. The king, therefore, at length despairing of success, determined to try again the fortune of war, and marched back to Sycurium.

LXIII. When the news of this battle of the cavalry spread through Greece, it produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For, not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians,—all received the account with joy; and that, for no other cause, than out of an unaccountable passion which actuates the vulgar, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the prætor Lucretius pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. The besieged, though destitute of foreign aid, excepting some young Coronæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and without hope of relief, yet maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. They made frequent irruptions against the works; when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who directed the blows, changed their position, they set all hands to work, and, collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The prætor, finding that he made but little progress by means of his machines, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this; besides, that on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins, and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, some part or other might be left defenceless, and open to be mastered by scale. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground, overspread with the rubbish, they placed fagots of dry bushes, and stood with burning torches in their hands, in order to set them on



fire; that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to fence themselves with a wall.' But this plan was rendered abortive; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain, as hindered the faggots from being kindled; so that it was not difficult to clear a passage, by drawing them aside. Thus, while the besieged were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by scalade in many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town, the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was rased to the ground. The prætor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles, and the party that sided with the Romans; selling, as slaves, the families of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the king and the Macedonians. As soon as he had finished this business in Bœotia, he marched back to the sea-coast to his fleet.

LXIV. During these transactions in Bœotia, Perseus lay a considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there, that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that the grain might be the cleaner when threshed, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp, he conceived that he might set it on fire. Accordingly, he ordered torches, faggots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the uproar among the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go fore-

most, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself, with the cavalry and light-infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue, and harass the hindmost of his troops. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp, without any disturbance. After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they lay there, without any apprehension of danger, from which they thought themselves secured by the distance between the camps, and by the difficulty of the march, through a country destitute of water, as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the king's cavalry and light-infantry appeared suddenly, at the dawn of day, on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon, the preceding day, and had left their body of foot in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be tempted to come out with their cavalry; but seeing that they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to pick up any scattered parties that might separate from the rest; but, seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

LXV. The king disliking such long marches, removed his camp to Mopsium; and the Romans, having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. Perseus, being informed by a deserter, that they carried on their reaping there, without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and, hastening his march with all possible speed, fell on the Romans while quite unprepared. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about, killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station, where any of their

troops were posted, which he supposed might be overpowered without much difficulty. The commanding officer there was Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune; who, while his men were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, led them off to a hill at a little distance, hoping to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men in a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which, Perseus, surrounding the hill, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers, in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and, if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. What galled them most severely was, a new kind of weapon invented in that war, and called *Cestrophendanon*. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft, half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger, round which, as is commonly done with arrows, three feathers were tied, to balance it. To throw this, they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size, and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so fatigued that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield. Just at this juncture, when they had determined to hold out till death, they were unexpectedly cheered by the enlivening prospect of relief. For some of the foragers, having made their escape, and got back to the camp, acquainted the consul that the party was surrounded; whereupon, alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen, (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans,) he set out with the cavalry and light-infantry, joined by the newly arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, leaving orders with the military tribunes, that the battalions of the

legions should follow. He himself, having strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince Misagenes.

LXVI. The first sight of the standards of their friends raised the distressed Romans from the lowest depth of despair, and inspired them with fresh spirits. Perseus's best plan would have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in besieging this detachment of the enemy; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off, while he might, with safety; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent people in haste to to bring up the phalanx. But it must have come too late for the exigency. From its rapid celerity, too, the men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time, made resistance; but finding themselves overmatched in every respect, and having lost three hundred foot, and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the Sacred Cohort, (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body,) they endeavoured to retreat: but this was conducted in a manner more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. As the phalanx, after receiving the hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered by this encounter abundance of trouble and perplexity; but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses being goaded, pushed furiously through the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the king's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a scene of consternation and tumult, not unlike a total rout; insomuch, that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little



farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill, content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. Some authors affirm, that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the king's generals, and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards; that the victory was not without loss on the side of the Romans, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

LXVII. The event of this day revived the spirits of the Romans, and greatly disheartened Perseus; insomuch that, after staying at Mopsium a few days, which were employed chiefly in burying his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedonia. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affection of the Magnesians, and other neighbouring states. On his arrival at Pella, he sent his troops to their winter-quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received, that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Seeing, therefore, the necessity of letting Cotys go home to defend his own territories, he honoured him, at his departure, with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents,<sup>1</sup> which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his

army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town. It stands directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, and close to the entrance of it; so that it serves as the safest barrier to Macedonia, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation, and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, took Mallæa at the first assault, and demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagenes and his Numidians, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner, that while all had commodious winter-quarters, they served, at the same time, as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Amdracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states, except the Achæans. With the other half of his army, he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. The people of Antron made a voluntary surrender, and he then marched against Larissa: this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonian garrison, belonging to the king, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coronæans, pressed him to go into Bœotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country would afford better winter-quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

<sup>1</sup> 38,750*l*.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XLIII.

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Several prætors punished for cruelty and avarice in the administration of their provinces. Publius Licinius Crassus, proconsul, takes several cities in Greece, which he plunders, and treats the inhabitants with great cruelty ; the captives, which he had sold as slaves, restored to their freedom by a decree of the senate. Successful operations of king Persens in Thrace and Illyricum. Commotions excited in Spain by Olonicus ; suppressed.

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I. DURING that summer, in which the Romans were worsted in Thessaly in one battle of the cavalry, and successful in another, the lieutenant-general, sent by the consul to Illyricum, having reduced, by force of arms, two opulent cities, gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified. But he could neither persuade them to surrender, nor hope to get the better of them by a siege. That the fatigue, therefore, which his soldiers had undergone in the two sieges, might not be quite fruitless, he sacked those cities, which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing worth mention in Gaul, the province that fell to his lot ; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedonia. His having undertaken that march the senate learned from deputies of Aquileians, who came to represent, that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians ; and to beg the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the consul Caius Cassius, replied, that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedonia. The fact was at

first deemed incredible, and it was generally supposed that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take upon them to affirm, was that the soldiers had been furnished with corn for thirty days, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedonia, had been sought for, and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly, as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another ; leading his army through unknown and dangerous roads, through foreign states, thereby opening, for so many nations, a passage into Italy. It was unanimously decreed, that the prætor Caius Sulpicius should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, and charge him not to engage in any war except that authorised by a vote of the senate. The three deputies accordingly left the city ; they were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

II. Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from several states of both the Spains ; who, after complaining of the avarice and pride



of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill-treated than their enemies. Among other hardships, it was clearly proved, that considerable sums of money had been extorted from them. A charge was therefore given to Lucius Canuleius, the prætor to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint out of the body of the senate, five judges delegate, to try each person against whom demands of money might be made by the Spaniards; and that they should give the latter power to choose their patrons. The ambassadors were then called into the house; the decree of the senate was read to them, and they were ordered to select their protectors: on which they named four,—Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. Their first application to the judges was against Marcus Titinius, who had been prætor in Hither Spain in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A separation took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons, Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. The states of the hither province brought to trial before the judges, Publius Furius Philus; those of the farther, Marcus Matienus; the former of whom had been prætor, three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter, two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both were accused of most heinous crimes, and the causes were adjourned; but, upon the re-hearing, it was represented on their behalf, that they had quitted the country, and were gone into voluntary exile, —Furius to Præneste; Matienus, to Tibur. There was a report, that the complainants were not suffered, by their patrons, to bring charges against people of high birth and power; a suspicion that was strengthened by the behaviour of the prætor Canuleius; for he neglected that business, and applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers; and then suddenly went off to his province, lest more accusations might be brought by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate took some care of the in-

terest of the Spaniards in future: they passed an order, that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths, at such prices as they were pleased to impose; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

III. There came also from Spain, an extraordinary embassy, from a body of men who had never before been heard of. They represented that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, who had not been joined in marriage; that their number amounted to more than four thousand: and they petitioned for a grant of some town to be allotted to them for their residence. The senate decreed, that “they should exhibit their pretensions before Lucius Canuleius; and that as many as he should judge deserving of freedom, should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean. That such of the present inhabitants of Carteia as wished to remain there, should have the privilege of being considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them; that this should be deemed a Latine settlement, and be called a colony of freedmen.” At this time arrived from Africa, Gulussa, son of king Masinissa, as ambassador from his father; and likewise ambassadors from Carthage. Gulussa was first introduced to the senate, where he gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedonia, and assured them, that if they chose to lay any farther commands on him, he would cheerfully execute them, in gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by the Roman people. He warned the conscript fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians, who “had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians; but when it should be equipped, and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe.”

IV. *During the following year, [Y. R. 582. B. C. 170.] in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were consuls, the Celtiberians raised disturbances in Spain, being instigated by a strange kind of leader named*

*Olonicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness; and showing himself to the people, brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he had attracted universal attention. Having formed the mad design of destroying the Roman general, he came to the camp with a single accomplice in the dusk of the evening, and was killed by a centinel with a javelin. His attendant met with the same fate. The prætor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and to be sent thus to their camp by some of their prisoners.* When these arrived with their charge such a panic ensued, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp, they might have taken it: as it was, a general flight took place. Many, on this, advised to send ambassadors, and supplicate for peace; while a great number of states, on hearing of the affair, made their submission. These all asserted their innocence, laying the entire blame on the two who had suffered for their intended crime; on which the prætor granted them pardon, and proceeded immediately to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority; so that in traversing all that tract of country, where, a short time before, the flames of war had raged with the greatest violence, he had not once occasion to employ his arms, but found every thing in a state of peace and quietness. This lenity shown by the prætor, was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the conduct of the consul Licinius, and the prætor Lucretius, in the war in Greece, had been marked with uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily, in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour, that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was, at that very time, at his own estate near Antium; and, with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Loerina; for the execution of which work, it is said he had agreed to pay one hundred and thirty thousand asses.<sup>1</sup> He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But the current of the public displeasure, and of disgrace, was diverted from Lucretius, and turned on his successor, by am-

bassadors who came from Abdera. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained, that "their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason," they said, "for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses,<sup>2</sup> and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject, both to the consul Hostilius, and to Rome; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." At this the senate expressed much indignation, and passed a decree respecting the people of Abdera, of the same purport with that which they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the prætor, to publish notice, as had been done the year before, in a general assembly. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Sextus Julius Cæsar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the consul Hostilius, and to the prætor Hortensius, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

V. At the same time, complaints were made to the senate, by ambassadors from Cincibilis, a king of the Gauls, against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedonia, under Aulus Hostilius. His brother made a speech to the senate, saying, that Caius Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came likewise from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapidans, who represented, that "the consul Cassius, at first, after obliging them to furnish him with guides to conduct his army, which he was leading into Macedonia, had gone away in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but that, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overrun their country, committing every act of hostility, and spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they been yet able to discover for what reason the consul treated them as enemies." The absent prince of the Gauls, and the



states present; were answered, that "the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was employed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, face to face, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was farther resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to those nations, (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states,) to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted, that presents, to the amount of two thousand *asses*<sup>1</sup>, should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince, and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains, containing five pounds weight of gold; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were presented to them; and, on their request; they were indulged with the liberty of purchasing ten horses each, and carrying them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

VI. Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented, that "they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the consul Publius Licinius, and the prætor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn; and, notwithstanding the sterility of the soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with imported grain, yet, that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service that might be required of them." The Milesians pretended not to any past service, but promised readily to afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had

erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity; that they had brought a golden crown, of fifty pounds weight, to be deposited in the capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them; and they requested permission to lodge the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. The same request was made by ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown, of eighty pounds weight, and represented to the senate, that "they had renounced the party of Perseus as soon as the Roman army appeared in Macedonia, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, there might be a special clause in their favour to prevent their falling again into his power." The rest of the ambassadors received gracious answers, and the prætor, Quintus Mænius, was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to all, two thousand *asses* to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedonia, to the consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time came ambassadors from Africa; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate, that they had brought down to the sea-coast a million of measures of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, "to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible," they said, "that this offer, and act of duty, were very inferior to the deserts of the Roman people, and to their own inclinations; but that, on many other occasions, when the affairs of both nations flourished, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies." In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, which he would execute with as much zeal as what he had proposed himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the king; and they were requested to send the supplies, which they promised, into Macedonia, to the consul

Hostilius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors.

VII. Ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned, that they had sent into Macedonia the archers demanded by the consul Publius Licinius; but, being interrogated, they did not deny, that a greater number of these were in the army of Perseus than in that of the Romans: on which they received this answer; that "if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of king Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on." In the meantime, they were desired to tell their countrymen, that "the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of king Perseus." The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, the chief of whom, by name Miction, having lost the use of his limbs, was carried on a litter: which demonstrated that their business was a matter of extreme necessity; since, either a man, in that infirm state, had not thought proper to plead ill health in excuse from being employed, or the plea had not been admitted. After premising, that no other part was alive but his tongue, which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he represented, first, the friendly assistance given by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions, and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman prætor, Caius Lucretius, and were at that very time suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than give themselves up to the power of Macedon. "With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it had been safer to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into the city. For those cities, which had so done, remained in safety, as Emathea, Amphipolis, Maronea, and Ænus; whereas, in Chalcis, the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege, and dragged persons of free condition into slavery; the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine, and suffered

daily depredations. For, pursuing the practice of Caius Lucretius, Hortensius kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children."

VIII. The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned in his absence; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Marcus Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people; and there, reproaching him with many heinous crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Mænius, gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that "the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that they retained a proper sense of their friendly conduct: that, as to the ill-treatment, which they complained of having received formerly from Caius Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman prætors, it could not possibly be supposed that such things were done with the approbation of the senate. It should be considered that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not of subjecting friends and allies to such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the prætor Lucius Hortensius, informing him, that the proceedings, of which the people of Chalcis complained, were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons, who had been reduced to slavery, should be sought out as soon as possible, and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore." Pursuant to the senate's order, a letter to this purport, was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expense, to carry



him commodiously to Brundisium. When the day of Caius Lucretius's trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined in the sum of one million of *asses*; and the tribes proceeding to vote, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty, and confirmed the fine.

IX. In Liguria, nothing of moment occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country; on the contrary, seeing a certain prospect of peace, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latine confederates early into winter-quarters at Luna and Pisæ, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war any where but in Macedonia, yet there was reason to suspect the designs of Gentius, king of Illyria. The senate, therefore, voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundisium to Issa, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked four thousand soldiers, whom the prætor, Quintus Mænius, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the neighbouring states. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he made up the number of eight thousand men; and, after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus in the territory of the Dassaretians.

X. Not far from hence was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came, secretly, to Claudius, telling him, that "if he brought his army nearer, there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while; for he would find booty sufficient to satisfy the utmost wishes, not only of his friends, but of his soldiers." Such alluring hopes blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained any of those who came, nor required

hostages for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch, he set out, leaving about one thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and in loose disorder, were separated, by mistaking their way in the night, and arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But, as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by these, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Struck by such a number of terrifying circumstances, the Romans were unable to support the first onset; so that a greater number of them were killed flying than fighting, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their escape. The distance from the camp being great, numbers sunk under fatigue, and were overtaken by the enemy. Appius, without even halting in the camp to collect his stragglers, which would have been the means of saving many, led back, directly, to Lychnidus, the remains of his unfortunate army.

XI. These and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedonia were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. These advices having rendered the senate apprehensive of some greater disgrace ensuing, they deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedonia, and bring certain information of all transactions there; at the same time ordering that the consul Aulus Hostilius should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, so that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the meantime it was resolved that the prætor, Marcus Recius, should call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators, from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and that such as were in Rome should not go farther

than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fourth day before the calends of February. The persons chosen were, Quintus Marcius Philippus, a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio. Three days after, were appointed prætors, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito. To the prætors elect were assigned, besides the two city provinces, these four: Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of February the deputies returned from Macedonia, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the king's power. They reported, that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining the good-will of the men; the blame of which the consul laid upon the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand on the consul. The disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius," they represented as "not so considerable as was supposed; because of the men who were lost very few were natives of Italy, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy." The consuls elect received orders, immediately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedonia to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedonia were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year, Lucius Flaminius, *augur*, and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Caius Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

XII. In the beginning of the ensuing year, [Y. R. 583. B. C. 169,] the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cneius Servilius, having proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, without delay, either settle between themselves about Macedonia and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide

this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men, requisite for each province, should be ordered. For Macedonia were voted six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latine allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse, and three hundred of the allies. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens, which the other consul was to enlist for a reinforcement, was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Of Latine infantry, a larger number was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot, with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; they were created by the votes of the people. The Latine confederates were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness, to march out should any exigency demand it. Macedonia engrossed the greatest share of the senate's attention; they ordered, that one thousand Roman citizens, the rank of freed-men, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and that the prætor, to whose lot the government of the latter province fell, should take care to carry these over to Macedonia, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. To recruit the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted. With regard to that army, too, the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the prætor, to whose lot Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

XIII. I am well aware, that, through the same disregard of religion, which has led men into the present prevailing opinion, of the gods never giving portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the trans-



actions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique ; and I feel a kind of religious awe, which compels me to consider that events, which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, must certainly be worthy of a place in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year : that a blazing torch was seen in the air ; and that a cow spoke, and was maintained at the public expense. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome, the keeper of a temple asserted, that in that of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many ; and another, that, in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. There were two others not attended to : one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person ; Titus Marcius Figulus having reported, that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house ; the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ,—where, in the house of Lucius Atreus, a spear which he had bought for his son, who was a soldier, burned, as was said, for more than two hours, yet no part of it was consumed. The decemvirs, having consulted the books, with regard to the public prodigies, directed, that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities, whom they pointed out ; that a supplication should be performed ; and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds, in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All this was performed accordingly.

XIV. Then was held an assembly, for the creation of censors, which office was canvassed for by several of the first men in the state ; Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The two last were created censors by the Roman people in assembly. As, on account of the Macedonian war, the business of levying troops was deemed of more importance than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did

not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians ; asserting, that “the levying of soldiers proved difficult, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity ; that these enlisted no man against his inclination ; and that, to convince the conscript fathers of the truth of this, the prætors, who in their office had less power and authority, would, with their approbation, complete the levies.” That business was accordingly committed to the care of the prætors by an unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published, in a general assembly, the following notice : that “they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear, when challenged, in this manner,—You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors ; and this, too, as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors’ continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted.” Also, as there was a report, that many men, belonging to the legions in Macedonia, were absent from the army, on leave granted by the commanders, without any time limited for their return ;—in order to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been draughted for that country in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popilius, or since that period ; that “such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair to Macedonia within thirty days ; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grandfather, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged ; and if any discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, they would order the persons so discharged to be enlisted again.” In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Beside the reinforcements

for the armies, four legions were raised by the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

XV. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces; the prætors, in order to provide for the civil jurisdiction, having determined theirs before. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius; the foreign to Caius Decimius; Spain, to Marcus Claudius Marcellus; Sicily, to Servius Cornelius Lentulus; Sardinia, to Publius Fonteius Capito; and the fleet to Caius Marcius Figulus. Of the consuls, Servius obtained Italy for his province; Quintus Marcius, Macedonia; and as soon as the Latine festival could be celebrated, the latter set out. Cæpio then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul; when they ordered, that the prætors Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius should give the consul such of the legions, which they had raised, as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of prætors, adjourned the senate; and standing at the tribunal of the prætors, demanded, that, pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions; but the prætors left the choice of them to the consul. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was, now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put an oath to them to this effect: "Do you sincerely swear, that you will, without deceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedonia, according to the edict of the censors Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

XVI. In the review of the knights they acted with much harshness and severity, depriving many of their horses; and after giving this offence to the equestrian order, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, which ordered, that, "no person who had farms of the public revenues or taxes from the censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should again propose for them, nor should have any partnership or con-

nexion in the farms then to be made." Although the former farmers made many complaints to the senate, yet they could not prevail on that body to interfere, and check the power of the censors; but at last, they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They ordered a client of his, a freed man, to throw down a wall, which stood opposite to a public building in the sacred street, as being built on ground belonging to the public. The citizen appealed to the tribunes; but none of them would interfere, except Rutilius; when the censors sent to seize his goods, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a publication suddenly appeared, in the name of one tribune, of a proposed order of the people, that "all leases made of the public revenues and taxes by Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should be void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them." The tribune appointed the day for an assembly to consider this matter. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, Gracchus was heard with silent attention: but when Claudius began to speak, his voice was drowned in noise; on which he directed the crier to cause silence, that he might be heard. This was done; and the tribune, then, complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was stripped of the privilege of his office, retired from the capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, for having fined and seized the goods of a person who had appealed to a tribune; and for refusing to admit his right of protest. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius for the same, declaring his intention to prosecute both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city prætor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. The censors declared that they had no objection to the people passing their judgment on them as soon as they pleased; and the days for trial of the treason were fixed for the eighth and seventh before the calends of Octo-



ber. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business, until the judgment of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and after eight out of the eighteen centuries of knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings in the sight of the people, put on mourning; and in that suppliant manner solicited the commons in his favour. Yet, it is said, that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for on the commons crying out, on all sides, that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that if his colleague were condemned, he would not wait for their sentence on himself, but would accompany him into exile. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries more would have condemned him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said, that he had nothing to do with Gracchus.

XVII. This year, on the Aquileians petitioning, by their ambassadors, for an addition to the number of their settlers, the senate ordered one thousand five hundred families to be enrolled for the purpose; and Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterwards carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering, that "no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war, except what should be directed by a vote of the senate." This, besides present satisfaction, afforded the allies a pleasing confidence, with regard to the future, of being relieved from the heavy burdens and expenses, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Argos, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broke out in that country; but mistrust and jealousy universally prevailed, and nothing was

heard but reciprocal accusations and recriminations. To put a stop to these, the ambassadors demanded hostages, and, without waiting to cure the evil effectually, passed on to Acarnania. The Acarnanians held a council at Thyrium to give them audience. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the nobles requiring that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who laboured to engage the nation in favour of the Macedonians; and others, objecting to the measure, as throwing such an affront on peaceful and allied cities, as was practised only on towns taken in war, or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. From thence, the ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter-quarters in Ambracia.

XVIII. Perseus ventured not to go out of Macedonia, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but on the approach of the winter-solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between that and Thessaly impassable, he thought the season favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so as to relieve himself from all apprehension of danger from them, while he was employed elsewhere. As Cotys and Cephalus, by their sudden defection from the Romans, afforded him security on that part of the kingdom which lay next to Thrace and Epirus, and as he had lately subdued the Dardanians by arms, he considered that Macedonia was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans. He hoped, however, that in case of reducing the nearest part of Illyria, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him. Setting out, therefore, at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, he proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn, sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he continued his march, and on the third day encamped before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the

dispositions, sometimes of the commanders, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. Perceiving no prospect of succeeding by negotiation, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by storm; but though his men, relieving one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt setting fire to the gates, yet the besieged withstood all the fury of the assault; for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure long the violence of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the Roman army would not give the king so long a respite as should allow him to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution failed; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn, or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Wherefore, despairing of being able to hold out, the Roman garrison sent Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius to desire Perseus, first, to allow the troops to march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The king promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

XIX. Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stubera the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Penestia, with design to reduce the city of Oæneus; which, besides other advantages of its situation, affords a passage into the country of the Labeatians, where Gentius was king. As he passed by a fort, named Draudacum, which was full of men, a person, well acquainted with the country, told him, that "there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power; for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect." His army no sooner appeared before

it, than all the inhabitants agreed to capitulate immediately. Encouraged by the early surrender of this place, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom were one thousand five hundred soldiers, who had been stationed there in garrison. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to him and his party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege, having a much greater number of men than the others, with strong fortifications. It was inclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; circumstances which gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works, or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by escalade in many places at once. All the males, who had reached the age of puberty, were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent, as ambassadors to Gentius,—Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Apputeus, a Macedonian, from Beroea. Their instructions were, to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

XX. They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedonia; and, at



length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus, to which place he invited the ambassadors, and lent a favourable ear to their representations, but gave them an indecisive answer: that "he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking." This answer they brought to the king, while he was busy at Stubera in selling the prisoners from Illyria. He immediately sent back the same ambassadors, to whom he added Glaucias, one of his body guards, but without any mention of money; the only thing that could induce the needy barbarian to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army, once more, into Penestia; and having strengthened the garrisons of Uscana, and the other fortresses which he had taken in that quarter, he retired into Macedonia.

XXI. Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded, at that time, in Illyria. While the king was in that country, he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana, in Penestia: in which, being repulsed, with great loss, by the Macedonian garrison, he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him, also, to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, and he received them from both nations without any trouble: those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia; those of the Parthinians, to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius, wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries, to the amount of six thousand men; but he gained no advantage; for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimeia, and, after purifying his army, led it to Stratus, in compliance with an invitation of the Ætolians. Stratus was then the strongest city in Ætolia. It stands on the Ambracian gulf, near the river Achelous. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse;

for he did not choose to bring a larger party of the latter, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads. On the third day he came to Mount Citium, which he could scarcely climb over, by reason of the depth of the snow; and, afterwards, with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road, or the weather, was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of Jupiter, called Nicæus. After a very long march thence, he arrived at the river Aractus, where the depth of the water obliged him to halt until a bridge could be made. As soon as this was finished, he led over his army, and, having proceeded one day's march, met Archidamus, an Ætolian of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

XXII. On that day Perseus encamped at the bounds of the Ætolian territory; and, on the next, arrived before Stratus, where pitching his camp near the river Achelous, he expected that the Ætolians would come in crowds, to put themselves under his protection; but, on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that, the very night before he arrived, a Roman garrison, under Caius Popilius, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, while Archidamus was present, had out of deference to his authority, submitted to invite the king, as soon as he went out for that purpose, had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in Popilius, with one thousand foot, from Ambracia. At the same juncture came also Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with Perseus; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans. Nor was Popilius less on his guard than was requisite among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, removing Dinarchus and the Ætolians, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under pretence of garrisoning it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept

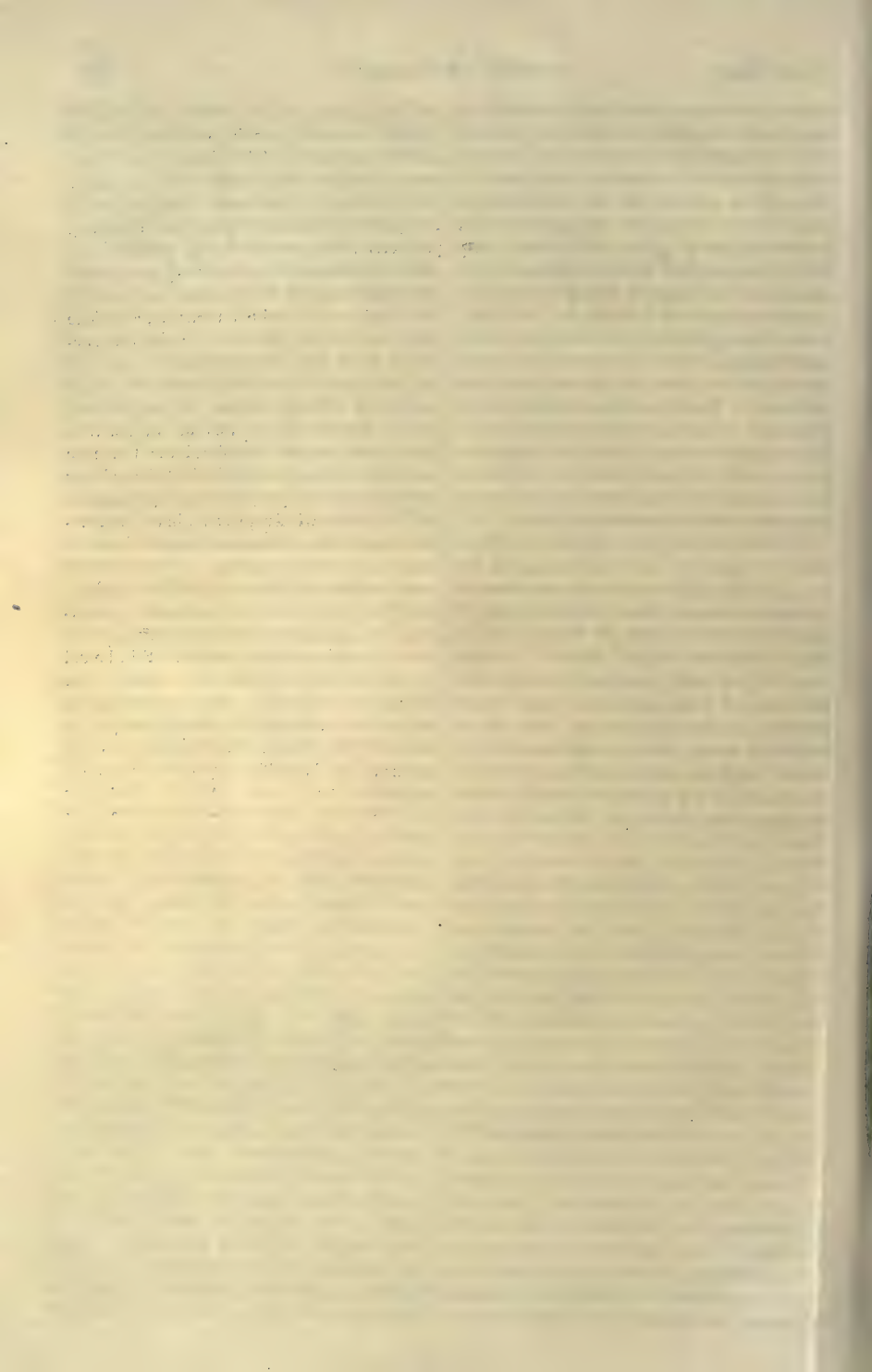
him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus advised, that he should remain there; but the Macedonian nobles argued, that it would be wrong to fight against the severity of the season without having magazines of provisions; in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged: especially, as the winter-quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: which considerations so much discouraged him, that he marched away into Aperantia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus, with universal consent: and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

XXIII. The king then marched into Macedonia, his men and horses suffering, on the way, hardships no less severe than they had encountered on leaving home. However, the report of Perseus's march to Stratus obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of a mountain, in a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped in a plain named Eleon, where he remained for some days. Meanwhile Cle-

vas, being joined by Philostratus, governor of Epirus, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his party, posted himself in ambush. The troops at Antigonea hastened out against the straggling plunderers, but, on their flying, pursued them with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful every where, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering violence to any of their allies. Appius, finding that he wasted time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then sending the troops to their several winter-quarters, in the confederate cities of the Parthinians, he went home to Rome to perform a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from Penestia one thousand foot and two hundred horse, whom he sent to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not give up his design, but sent embassy after embassy, to solicit him; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business.

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THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XLIV.

Quintus Marcius Philippus, consul, with much difficulty, penetrates into Macedonia, and takes several cities. The Rhodians send an embassy to Rome, threatening to aid Perseus, unless the Romans made peace with him. Lucius Æmilius Paullus, consul, sent against Perseus, defeats him, and reduces all Macedonia to subjection. Before the engagement, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, foretells an eclipse of the moon, and warns the soldiers not to be alarmed at that phenomenon. Gentius, king of Illyria, vanquished by Anicius, prætor, and sent prisoner, together with his wife and children, to Rome. Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, complain of Antiochus making war upon them. Perseus, not paying Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Gentius, king of Illyria, the money he had promised them for their assistance, is deserted by them.

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I. EARLY in the following spring, the consul, Quintus Marcius Philippus, set out from Rome, with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to reinforce his legions, and arrived at Brundisium. Marcus Popilius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in quality of military tribunes, for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same time, Caius Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundisium; and, both sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then, disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The prætor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the gulf of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bœotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any consequence; yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to greet the consul. The meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and in transacting business afterwards, *they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety*. The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, *exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander*. He then recommended them, *in warm terms, to the consul, and, as soon as he had despatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome*. A few days after, the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father; he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by the most nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty.



"How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods, Perseus would feel," he said, "in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always favoured righteous and honourable dealings; by means of which the Roman state had risen to its present exaltation." He compared the strength of the Roman people, whose authority was now acknowledged throughout the whole world, with that of Macedonia; and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then he asked, "Was not the power of Philip, and that of Antiochus, much superior?" and yet both of them had been conquered.

II. Having animated his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign; being joined by the prætor, Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time, by delaying longer in Thessaly; but to decamp immediately, and advance into Macedonia; and that the prætor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear, at the same time, on the enemy's coast. The prætor then took his leave; and the consul, ordering the soldiers to carry a month's provisions, struck his tents, on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and putting the troops in motion, marched until night. Before he proceeded, he called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, desiring them to withdraw, he asked the opinion of the council, as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, where the consul Hostilius had marched the year before; while others, again, preferred that which passed by the side of the lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of way, which led alike towards all of these; the farther consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perrhæbia, and posted himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the mean time, Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry,

under the command of Asclepiodotus; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dius; but afterwards, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast, with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleus, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dius.

III. By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of Philip formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to despatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful: the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintus Marcius the consul's son. The main body followed close after, but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles; they then encamped on a spot called the tower of Eudieru. Next day they advanced seven miles; and, having seized on a hill, at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had arrived within sight of the enemy; and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on account of the badness of the road into which he had brought the army, and for the fate of the small force he had sent forward among the posts of the enemy. His spirits were therefore greatly revived; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect, presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dius and Phila, together with a large tract of the sea coast; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the king's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So highly were they animated, that they pressed the consul to

lead them on directly; but, after the fatigue that they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, marched against the enemy.

IV. Hippias had been sent by the king, a short time before, to maintain that pass; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forth to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the Macedonians; light troops being the fittest for the kind of fight in which they were about to engage. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict; but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so narrow, as scarcely to allow space for three files in front; so that the greater part, especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the enemy; never considering either the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, provided they could but come to action. That day, too, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the Macedonian, with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat: he had therefore no other plan left than to persevere in his bold attempt, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wisest course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy, like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a severe defeat. But while the king, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dius; and, though almost within hearing of the shout and noise of twelve thousand of his forces who were engaged, neither sent up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; the Roman general,

notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted with extraordinary resolution in his bold undertaking; and, leaving Popilius to guard the summit, marched across, through places which would have been impassable, if he had not sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them, while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

V. In descending the mountain, the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if possible, by the way they came. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method was contrived for bringing them down. They fastened in the earth, some way from the top, two long strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, which stretched across the precipice, by means of which they formed a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; a little lower, another; then a third bridge, with several others one after another, where steeps were found. The elephant walked forward on solid footing; but, before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge, they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and this operation was repeated until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and baggage, by which they were severely hurt; insomuch, that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny, but



that the whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night, they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, they could not immediately discover whether it was a place of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popilius, and the forces left behind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground,—almost, indeed, as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded on the third day, through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. The road before them was not more easy than what they had passed; but experience had taught them to surmount the difficulties, while they were supported by more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy any where, and as they were coming nearer to the sea. On the fourth day, they marched down into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleus and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

VI. The king, it is said, was bathing, when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat, in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; he then rushed out, and afterwards continued in a state of such perturbation, that he could neither give any orders, nor form any plan, but what his fears dictated, and even these he frequently altered. Of his two most intimate friends, he sent Nicias to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, with orders to throw all that he found there into the sea, and Andronicus to Thessalonica, to burn the dock-yards. At the same time, he recalled Hippas and Asclepiodotus from the places which they had been appointed to guard, and opened every pass to the Romans. He went himself to Dius, where, collecting all the golden statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, he put them on board the fleet, which he ordered to remove with all speed to Pydna. This behaviour of Perseus was the cause, that the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate, yet car-

ried, in fact, the appearance of judicious boldness. For there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation: one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other by Dius into Macedonia; and both these were occupied by parties of the king's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of the Romans' approach, they could neither have retreated by Tempe, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions from thence. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that, supposing no obstruction given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it; being so narrow for the length of five miles, that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass: the precipices, also, on both sides are so abrupt, that it is scarcely possible to look down from them, without a degree of dizziness of the eyes and head; while the horror of the scene is increased by the roaring and depth of the river Peneus flowing through the middle of the glen. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, had, for its security, four parties of the king's troops, stationed in different places: one near Gonnus, at the first entrance; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylus; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax; and the fourth on the road itself about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and which might have been easily defended even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed over the same mountains from which they came down; but even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights; and besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this situation, to which want of caution had brought them, they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dius; and if the gods had not deprived the king of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and, of the remain-

ing plain, a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter: the rest being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But the king's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden fright, that he reflected not upon any one of these circumstances; on the contrary he evacuated all his strong posts, leaving them open to the enemy, and fled back to Pydna.

VII. The consul, perceiving that the enemy's total want of courage and conduct presented him a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popilius, to examine all the passes round Dius; and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be pitched under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city; and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that a place of such importance had been abandoned, without a design to cover some stratagem. He waited therefore one day to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and supposing that he should find plenty of corn in his way, advanced to a river called the Mytis. On the day following continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassa; whereupon, in order to gain the good opinion of the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring the inhabitants, that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at the river Ascondus; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dius; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been shut out from an intercourse with Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippas, and

Asclepiodotus; asserting that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia; although, in fact, no one deserved more justly to be blamed for it than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce; but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy; when very seasonably, a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessities.

VIII. This news highly rejoiced the consul; and he immediately removed his quarters from Dius to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and, at the same time, to distribute corn to the soldiers, on the spot, as the carriage of it thence would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation: some said that he retired from the enemy through fear; because if he had staid he must have risked a battle: others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands, advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which, in all probability, he could never regain. For, by giving up the possession of Dius, he at once roused the enemy to action; who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before, through his own fault. On hearing of the consul's departure, therefore, Perseus marched back to Dius; repaired whatever had been destroyed by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all round, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of Enipeus, making use of the river, the passage of which was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom, into the sea, makes very deep gulfs, while the sinking



of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. By the help of this river, Perseus thought that he might impede the march of the enemy, and perhaps prevent his proceeding any farther during the remainder of the summer. In the meantime, the consul sent Popilius, with two thousand men, against Heracleus, about five miles from Phila, midway between Dius and Tempe, and which stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

IX. Popilius, before he attacked the town, sent to recommend to the magistrates, rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice was totally disregarded, the fires in the king's camp on the Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore,) as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the area with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot race and one set of tumblers were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, the directors of the games used to introduce about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of soldiers, and which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping, like the roof of a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if re-

PELLING an enemy, and sometimes engaged each other on the middle of it. On the present occasion they raised the like against a part of the wall, and the soldiers, standing thereon, mounted until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements; these they soon beat off, and the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference between this and the playful contrivance was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them, as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them from the walls, as they advanced, did them no injury, while those that were poured in showers on the roof slid down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleus was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dius; and, after driving the king thence, to advance to Pieria. But seeing it time to prepare quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for store-houses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

X. Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits, after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica, Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, deferred the execution of his order, leaving him time for repentance, which accordingly took place; but Nicias, less provident, threw into the sea what treasure he found at Pella: his error, however, turned to be not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, Perseus was so very much ashamed of his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witness of such dastardly conduct. In the meantime, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from Heracleus to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide depredations on the country; and when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but

the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded, with stones thrown from them, not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to *Ænia*, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to *Pydna*, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at *Antigonea*. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterwards a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, put them to a precipitate flight, and, pursuing them to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, filling them with despair of any other means of safety than by resistance, and with indignation at their disgrace. They renewed the fight on the shore, assisted by the seamen; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From *Antigonea* the fleet sailed on to the district of *Pallene*, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of *Cassandra*, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by king *Eumenes*, who came from *Elea* with twenty decked ships; and king *Prusias* also sent five of the like kind thither.

XI. Such a large accession of strength encouraged the prætor to lay siege to *Cassandra*. This city was built by king *Cassander*, in the pass which connects the territory of *Pallene* with the rest of *Macedonia*. It is washed on one side by the *Toronæan*, on another by the *Macedonian* sea; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite *Magnesia* to a height equal to that of *Mount Athos*, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called *Posideum*, the smaller *Canastræum*. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides; the Roman general, at a place called *Clitæ*, drew a trench from the *Macedonian* to the *Toronæan* sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while on the other

side, next to the *Euripus*, *Eumenes* carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench, which *Perseus* had dug in the way; and on the prætor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it any where, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this, he formed the design of opening a way into the city, by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to effect this before it should be discovered, if, by assaulting another part by scalade, and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at *Cassandra*, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred *Agrians* and two thousand *Illyrians* from *Penestia*, sent thither by *Pleuratus*, and the men of both countries, were remarkably warlike. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken down, and the city laid open; and if those who effected this, had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so elated with joy, that they raised a sudden shout, expecting to force their way in at several different places.

XII. At first the enemy wondered what this sudden shout could mean; but when *Pytho* and *Philip*, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make the first charge; and, therefore, they sallied out, with a strong body of *Agrians* and *Illyrians*, who, while the Romans were coming together from various parts, and endeavouring to form their battalions to march into the city, attacked them thus disordered and irregular; and, quickly routing them, drove them to the trench, into which they were tumbled, in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by the prætor, having thus recoiled on himself, damped his spirit for any other attempts; and as *Eumenes* made little or no progress, though he carried on his operations both



by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any reinforcement from Macedonia: and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were adjusting matters, according to this plan, ten barks, belonging to Perseus, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, took advantage of the darkness of the night, and keeping as close to the shore as possible, in a single line, effected their passage to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Toron. This town, also, they intended, to besiege; but, perceiving that it had a strong garrison to defend it, they dropped the design, and proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the fortifications fully manned; they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

XIII. In the meantime, the consul, not to lie inactive, sent Marcus Popilius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of the Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The townspeople were terrified by the approach of the enemy; but, soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, to those parts where they apprehended an attack; so as to cut off from the enemy all hope of taking the place by an immediate assault. The Romans therefore made preparations for a siege, and began their works for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed of this, and that the fleet lay at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that, if he could compel the Romans to retire from before the place, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos. As soon as the force employed against Melibœa beheld him on the high grounds, they abandoned their works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus was

Melibœa relieved, and Euphranor marched instantly to Demetrias. His arrival gave the townsmen full confidence that they should be able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands, also, from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without success. However the prætor and the king rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain, that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcus Figulus, the prætor, sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, and with the remainder repaired to Oreum in Eubœa; judging that the most convenient place for sending supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting king Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the prætor, though often solicited by letters: nor did he part with the consul in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him; he says too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the constant tenor of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment and an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

XIV. While the war was proceeding thus in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents,—a golden chain of two pounds weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. Afterwards, the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown, of the value of twenty-thousand Philipppics, and requested permission to deposit it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the capitol, which

was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand *asses*.<sup>1</sup> Then audience was given to the ambassadors of king Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians. The subject of both these embassies was the same, but their manner of treating it was widely different. The purpose of both was, to effect a peace with king Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands; for he declared, that "he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate:" and he requested that, "if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would allow him some share of merit in the re-establishment of peace." Such was the discourse of the king's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of king Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, "at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with king Perseus, which they had, since, unwillingly broken, without having any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war. For three years past they felt many inconveniences from the war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to warn him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should obstruct a pacification." I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation; we may, then, easily judge

what emotions they produced in the minds of the senators.

XV. According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given; and the senate only directed a decree to be read, by which the Roman people ordered, that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour, just before, seemed to hold the senate in contempt, sunk into abject despondency. Other writers say, that an answer was given to this effect: "That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with king Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors, just now, had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. The Rhodians, by their messengers, had acted the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world: at their nod the Romans must take up arms and lay them down; and must soon appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties. And was this indeed the case; that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each state," according to its deserts in the course of the war. Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand *asses* each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

XVI. Then were read letters from the consul, Quintus Marcius, informing the senate, that "he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia; that the prætor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter; and that he had brought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome: that clothing for the troops must be sent from



Rome; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, which he wished to be Numidian; where he was, he could procure none." The senate decreed, that every thing should be done as desired in the consul's letter. The prætor Caius Sulpicius agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all which were to be approved by the consul; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate, Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the king to peaceable measures, and recommended to him, that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over twice every day, the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently, observe the same practice. Finding that he could not dissuade him from war, he at first absented himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him, and hints thrown out of charging him with treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate thereupon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies; that ample accommodations should be provided for him; also, a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people; with a house in Tarentum. The charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the prætor. On the ides of December, the censors performed the general survey with more severity than usual. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one-half of the taxes of that year was paid by the questors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public, the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butchers' stalls

and shops adjoining; where he built the public court-house, afterwards called the Sempronian.

XVII. The end of the year now approached, and people's thoughts were so deeply engaged by the war in Macedonia, that the general topic of their conversation was, what consuls they should choose, to bring that war at length, to a conclusion. The senate therefore, passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home, to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the prætor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the \* \* day of \* \* \*. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed prætors: Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Corbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered, that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which prætor that of the fleet; in order that they might without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary, they voted, that, "on the magistrates coming into office, the Latine festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul who was to go into Macedonia, should not be detained on account of it." When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the prætors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the prætors, Cneius Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

XVIII. It immediately became evident to

all, that the conduct of Lucius Æmilius, in the prosecution of the war, would not be deficient in vigour; for, besides the well-known energy of his character, his thoughts were turned, with unremitting attention, solely on the business relative to that war. In the first place, he requested the senate to send commissioners into Macedonia, to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information respecting the wants both of the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the king's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who were faithful allies to us, who were doubtful, and ready to join either party that fortune favoured, and who were avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land-carriage, whence by the fleet; and what progress had been made during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought, that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, the plans for future proceedings might be constructed on sure grounds. The senate directed the consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners, into Macedonia, such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, were commissioned accordingly, and they began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days' solemnity was performed. Of the priests, died this year, Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked as an instance of the increasing magnificence of the times, that in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, curule ædiles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

XIX. At the beginning of the following year, [Y. R. 584. B. C. 168.] Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Licinius, consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear

what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paullus said, that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that "they were then, at Brundisium, after having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium in attempting the passage: that he intended, shortly, to propose the business of his province to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within very few days." He added, that, "in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the calends of April had been fixed for the Latine festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that, in his absence, his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent to the army, should be provided and sent; and that, in the meantime, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations." The usual sacrifice being duly offered, the first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra. They came into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive; there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory, in a sea-fight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across the Nile, he led over his army, and laid siege to Alexandria itself, to the great terror of the inhabitants; so that he seemed almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of their empire. they said, that such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that, if they only sent ambassadors, to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But if this



were not done, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome in the character of dethroned exiles, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for having neglected to succour them in their extreme distress." The senate were so much affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, that they immediately sent Caius Popilius Lænas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them, that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party should give cause to their continuance, must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

XX. These ambassadors set out, within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and, on the last day of the feast of Minerva, the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and received the report of the commissioners. They stated, that "the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then possessed by the king; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king was not disposed to fight, nor was our general strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the severity of the winter had interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six days: that the force of the Macedonians was said to amount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the king might be perplexed by his standing between two enemies; but that, as the case stood, both Appius, and the troops under his command, were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. "From the camp," they stated that "they had gone to the fleet; where they learned, that many of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board

had neither pay nor clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither accidentally, had both come, and gone away, without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that king seem to be thoroughly settled." While their report stated every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as dubious, it represented Attalus as steady and faithful in the highest degree.

XXI. After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said, that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war: and the senate decreed, that "tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls, and half by the people; but that none should be named for that year who had not held some office of magistracy: that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia; and that as soon as the Latine festival should be finished, the said consul, with the prætor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province." To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the prætor who had the foreign jurisdiction; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand, from the Latine confederates, seven thousand foot and four hundred horse; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved, that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so as that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a reinforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in

the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

XXII. When the senate had passed these decrees, the consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect : “ Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Macedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day of my commencement in office ; for which I can assign no other reason, than your having conceived an opinion, that I shall be able to bring the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust, that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid. That some of these consequences will ensue, I have reason to believe ; that the rest will, I have grounds to expect. One thing I know, and take upon me to affirm, with certainty ; which is, that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that the hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service, the senate has ordered ; and, as it has been resolved, that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay ; my colleague Caius Licinius, whose excellent character you well know, will forward every measure with as much zeal, as if he himself were to carry on that war. I request, that full credit may be given to whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate ; but that you will not encourage the propagation of rumours unsupported by authority. For, as the practice is at present, (and I have observed it to be uncommonly frequent, since this year began,) no man can so entirely divest himself of all regard to common fame, as not to let his spirits be damped. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia ; who know where the camp ought to be placed ; what posts ought to be occupied by troops ; when and through what pass that territory should be entered ; where magazines should be formed ; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea ; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but, if any thing is done, in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul, as if he were on trial before

them. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs : for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own ability be questioned through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought at no time to receive advice ; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise, who regulated every proceeding by the standard of his own single judgment. What then is my opinion ? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent ; by those who have made the art of war their particular study, and whose knowledge is derived from experience ; from those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy ; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, like people embarked in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished with a ship, a horse, a tent ; even his travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation ; let it confine its passion for talking within its own precincts, and rest assured, that we shall pay no attention to any councils, but such as shall be framed within our camp.” Soon after this speech the Latine festival being celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the prætor, set out directly for Macedonia. Some writers mention, that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous ; and that people, with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul, to a glorious triumph.

XXIII. During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he could not, at first, prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to his party Gentius, king of Illyria, on account of the money which



would be demanded for it; yet, when he found, that the Romans had penetrated through the difficult passes, and that the final determination of the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer, and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver,<sup>1</sup> provided hostages were given on both sides; he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Medeo, in the province of Labæas, and there received his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him, came persons to receive the money; and, by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes, with ambassadors from Macedonia. For this purpose, Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the king's oath, the hostages, and money; and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped, that, by the joint influence of the two kings, the Rhodians might be prevailed upon to declare war against Rome, and that, if they were joined by that state which was acknowledged to hold the first rank as a maritime power, the Romans would be precluded from every prospect of success, either on land or sea. On hearing of the approach of the Illyrians, Perseus marched at the head of all his cavalry, from his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Dius. There the articles agreed on were executed in the presence of the troops, who were drawn up in a circle for the purpose; for the king chose that they should be witness to the ratification of the treaty with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence of success. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money, were sent to Pella, where the king's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes, with the Illyrian ambassadors, were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed, that the Rhodians were ready to join in the war; he was set at the head of the joint embassy.

XXIV. At this time Perseus sent ambassadors to Eumenes and Antiochus, charged

with the same message to both, which was such as the state of affairs might seem to suggest: that "a free state, and a king, were, in their natures, hostile to each other. That the practice of the Roman people was, to attack kings, singly, one after another; and, what was more shameful, to work the destruction of them, by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus was vanquished; and now, both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia; the next, in their way, would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that lay Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them, far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, in a moment of victory, was forbid to touch Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired each of them to "consider these matters seriously; and to guard against future contingencies, either by compelling the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, by treating them as common enemies." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, brought on him charges of a heavier nature. For they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterwards, had one meeting with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, both officers under the king at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Cryphon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the kings, remained a secret.

XXV. Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus, nor intended to employ his arms against

him; and his ill-will arose not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The jealousy of the two kings was not so moderate, that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring so vast a share of power and of fame as must fall to his lot, if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, had tried every means which he could devise to bring about a peace; and every day, as the danger approached nearer, his wishes for it grew stronger; insomuch that all his thoughts and actions were directed to that alone. He considered too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to it, attended as it was with so great inconvenience and difficulty. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded, that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, a pacification would probably ensue in the ordinary course of things; and therefore he wished to act in such a manner, as might enable him to assume to himself the merit of having effected a reconciliation. He therefore, sometimes, laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents;<sup>2</sup> for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred;<sup>3</sup> and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself willing, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated on the article respecting the hostages; when it was agreed, that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when the sum required came to be mentioned, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, one, at least, of the considerations was too mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He was sufficiently inclined to purchase a peace with Rome, but declined paying the money until the business should be concluded; proposing to lodge it in the mean-time, in the temple of Samo-

thrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said, that the money might as well be at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present. Thus, after all their endeavours to circumvent each other, they gained nothing but disgrace.

XXVI. This was not the only business which Perseus left unfinished from motives of avarice. It is seen that for a small sum of money, he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased, even with half of his kingdom; while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view, as an enemy laden with the hire of treachery, and drawn upon him the just resentment of the Romans. It was from the same disposition that the alliance of king Gentius, when just brought to a conclusion, with the assistance of a large army of Gauls, who had penetrated through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, were lost: of these, came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen. The practice of the latter was to keep pace with the horses in their movements, and when any of the riders fell, to mount in their place, and carry on the fight. They had stipulated that each horseman should receive in immediate payment, ten golden Philippics, each footman five, and their commander one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus with half of his forces to meet them; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road, to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Almana, and encamped on the bank of the river Axios, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions, that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axios, and the king's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty of every thing was provided on the road by the king's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would



judge of those things when they saw them ; at the same time asking him, whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman ? To this no direct answer was given, on which Clondicus, their prince, said, " Go back, then, and tell your king, that, until they receive the gold and the hostages, the Gauls will never move one step farther." The king, on receipt of this declaration, called a council : and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give ; he, being a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. " The disasters," he said, " of many states demonstrated, that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive."

XXVII. Every one understood him ; but as none had the courage to declare their opinion, when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the king chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, and set no value on the rest of their number. When the barbarians heard this, they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home ; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay even the five thousand, the hire agreed on. To this question, too, he received only evasive answers ; on which the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of Thrace as lay near their road. Now had this body of troops, while the king lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led through the passes of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare, that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence ; but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the river, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. This done, the Romans had even found it difficult enough to take care of themselves, since they could neither stay where they were, after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians stood in their way. By this error, Perseus enlivened the hopes

of the Romans, and damped not a little those of the Macedonians, who had placed much of their dependence on the prospect of that reinforcement. Through the same love of riches, he alienated king Gentius from his interest. When he paid, at Pella, three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered the talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and which he desired should be given immediately to the king. His people, who had charge of the money, sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, had directions to proceed by short journeys, and when they should come to the bounds of Macedonia to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to commence hostilities against the Romans, threw into custody Marcus Perperna, and Lucius Petilius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. As soon as Perseus heard this, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, he sent to recall his money-carriers, as if to make a saving for the Romans, and that their booty, on his being conquered, might be as great as possible. Cryphon, too, returned from Eumenes, without having succeeded in any of his secret negotiations. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly, that the business of the prisoners was concluded, and Eumenes, to elude suspicion, informed the consul that it was so.

XXVIII. Upon the return of Cryphon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hopes from that quarter, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy galleys, to Tenedos, that, spreading among the islands of the Cyclades, they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered, first, to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, under the command of Eudamus ; these they did not offer to molest, but, after conversing with their officers in friendly terms, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round

with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring, through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, under convoy of ten barks, which had orders to return to Tenedos as soon as they saw them safe. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigeum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day, after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, from whence they intended to cross over to Macedonia. A signal being given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. Eumenes' officers could with difficulty believe, that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against the others, proved that they were enemies, dismay seized all on board; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls, even when left quiet, ill able to live at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, fled thither in haste. The barks, however, effected a landing nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient; but the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some before the gate, where they were refused entrance; for the people had shut it, not knowing who they were that fled, or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others were ham-strung by the Macedonians on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten barks, which he had employed before, to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to

return to the fleet as speedily as possible; saying, that he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet staid three days at Chios, and then proceeded to Phanæ; where being joined by the ten barks, sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean sea to Delos.

XXIX. About this time the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, having sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks, and five quinqueremes belonging to Eumenes. The sacred character of the island secured all parties from any kind of violence; so that the Roman and Macedonian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in Apollo's fane. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watch-posts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit, with one of his barks, (sending the other half to cruise among the Cyclades,) and sunk or plundered every ship he met with. Popilius and Eumenes assisted as many as they were able during the day; but, in the night, the Macedonians sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time, ambassadors from Macedonia, and Illyria came together to Rhodes. The attention paid to them was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of a great body of Gauls, both horse and foot, being on their march, in aid of those kings. Dinon and Polyaratus, the warm partizans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly, that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and therefore desired the kings to dispose themselves to accede to an accommodation."

XXX. It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the consul Æmilius in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, king of Illyria, and his queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same mother only. From the latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors, on his



father's side, he apprehended no competition, but, in order to secure himself on the throne, he had put to death Plator, and two of his most active friends, Etritus and Epicadus. It was rumoured, that he was actuated by jealousy towards his surviving brother, who had concluded a treaty of marriage with Etula, the daughter of Honorius, prince of the Dardani-ans, supposing him to intend, by that match, to engage that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her, after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, his treatment of his subjects became highly oppressive, and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been prevailed on, as was mentioned above, to go to war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the province of Cavia, he marched himself to Byssania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. As the inhabitants were in alliance with Rome, he first sent emissaries to sound their intentions, who found them determined rather to endure a siege than surrender. In Caira, the people of the town of Burnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius, on his arrival; but another town, called Caravantis, refused him admittance. He spread depredations over their lands, but many of his straggling soldiers were killed by parties of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to his former force some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhachians, had left his winter-quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Perseus and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill-treatment offered by the latter to the ambassadors, he declared his determination to employ his army against him. The prætor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, despatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. *Having added* to the auxiliary troops, which he then had, two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians, (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus,) he prepared to march into Illyria,

where his principal object at present was, the raising the siege of Bassania. But his enterprise was retarded by an account brought him, of the sea-coast being ravaged by a number of the enemy's barks. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrhachians and Apollonians. *The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and, defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not wait the prætor's coming; but, raising the siege, retired to Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he left part of his army behind. This was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans; but, as he had forsaken them, they surrendered.*

XXXI. The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman prætor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the most important place in the hands of the enemy, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifications of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two sides of it are defended by two rivers; the eastern side, by the Clausula; and the western, by the Barbana, which rises out of the lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from mount Scodrus, and being augmented by many others, empties itself into the Adriatic sea. Mount Scodrus is much the highest hill in all that country; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania; towards the south, Macedonia; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the king himself at their head, yet the Roman prætor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that things would proceed in the same train in which they had hitherto gone, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a

powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops in order of battle. But, if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and the towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans, and baffled all their attempts; instead of which they marched out of the town, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it: for, being forced to give way, they crowded on one another in their retreat, and above two hundred having falling in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately despatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the prætor to beg a truce, in order to gain time to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three days for the purpose, and, as the Roman camp was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbana, into the lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place, where he might hold his councils; but, as afterwards appeared, he was led by a groundless report, that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country, to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers, to request an interview with the prætor, and obtaining his consent, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself, for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and, falling at the prætor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and was even invited to supper; he was allowed to go back into the city to his people, and, for that day, was entertained by the prætor with every mark of respect. On the day following, he was delivered into custody, to Caius Cassius, a military tribune, to which unhappy situation he had let himself be reduced for a consideration of ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators.

XXXII. The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was, to order the ambassadors Petilius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and he enabled them to appear again with a proper degree of splendour. He then immediately despatched Perperna to seize the king's friends and relations; who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva,

the king's consort; his brother Caravantius; with his two sons, Scerdiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and, in a few days after, king Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. It was a singular circumstance respecting this war, that people in Rome received an account of its being finished before they knew it was begun. Perseus, in the mean time, laboured under dreadful apprehensions, on account of the approach, both of the new consul Æmilius, whose threatenings, as he heard, were highly alarming, and also of the prætor Octavius: for he dreaded the Roman fleet, and the danger which threatened the sea-coast, no less than he did the army. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica, with a small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles, as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse, under Antigonus, to Ænia to guard the sea-coast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither, to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histieus, Theogenes, and Milo. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, for the channel being nearly dry, the passage was practicable; and, in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers to *fetch timber from the woods which were not far distant, and erected on the bank such formidable works, strengthened with towers and engines, as he trusted would effectually bar the passage against any effort of the Romans.* On the other side, *the more diligence and caution Paulus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes, which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, the river furnishing but little, and that putrid, in the part contiguous to the sea.*

XXXIII. *The consul, after searching in every place in the neighbourhood for water and being*



*told that none could be found*, at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there to dig holes in several places, not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained in their bowels several bodies of water, the branches of which made their way under ground to the sea, and mixed with its waters; and this appeared the more probable, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first and muddy, but in a little time they threw out clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to examine the river, in hopes of finding a passage, where the descent would be easy, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide, that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly, and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. Though notice was proclaimed of what was to be done, every one did not distinctly hear; and, as the orders received were not clear, some did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves, what was intended. He therefore directed, that the military tribune should communicate, secretly, to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank, what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. According to a practice lately introduced, the centinels carried shields to their posts; this he forbade; for as a centinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived an enemy approaching, to retire, and to give the alarm. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dosing in such a manner, that from the

glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly, the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and the languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a small number was able to get the better of a much superior one. He therefore ordered, that the party which mounted guard in the morning, should be relieved at noon by another, which was to do the duty for the rest of the day; by which means they would never be in danger of the like easy defeat.

XXXIV. Æmilius, after publishing, in a general assembly, his orders for these regulations, added observations, of the same purport with those contained in the speech which he had made in the city, that "it was the business of the commander, alone, to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called, ought not to pronounce judgment on affairs either in public or in private. That it was a soldier's business to attend to these three things,—his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his armour, that it may be always in good order; with his stores of all kinds, so as to be ready in case of a sudden order; and to rest assured, that all other matters relating to him will be directed by the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army, where the soldiers formed plans, and that the chief was called, first one way, then another, by the voice of the idle multitude, nothing could ever succeed. For his part," he declared, that "he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to his designs; but when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier." Having thus admonished them, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged, that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they, by such expressions only, demonstrate their high approbation of the consul's discourse; but the effect of it on their

behaviour was immediate. In the whole camp, not one person was to be seen idle; some were employed in shortening their weapons; others in scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breast-plates; some fitted their armour to their bodies, and tried how well they could move their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a glorious victory, or an honourable death. On the other side, when Perseus saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul, and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans; and that their general had pitched his camp on the opposite bank of the Enipeus, where he employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, with a view of finding some place where he might pass the river; *and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence; he exerted himself, no less diligently on his part to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add strength to his defences, as if he expected an immediate engagement. However, though both parties were full of ardour, they lay a long time, very near each other, without any action.*

XXXV. *In the meantime, news was received that king Gentius had been defeated, in Illyria, by the prætor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the commonwealth; which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their king. At first, Perseus endeavoured to suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already seen certain boys, carried away among the Illyrian hostages: and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the talkative disposition of people employed in the courts of kings. About this time, ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. It was now heard by the council with much greater indignation than at Rome; some even advised that they should be instantly driven out of the camp; but the consul said, that he would give them an*

*answer in fifteen days. But still, to show how little regard was paid to the mediation of the Rhodians, he began to consult on the plan of his future operations. Some, particularly the younger officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, and furnished with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended, that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the sea-coast, make it necessary for the king to divide his forces; so that when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable difficulties; and, besides its being every where furnished with engines, he had been informed, that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and that their aim was almost certain. The consul's judgment leaned quite another way; as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schoenus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him, that the places themselves were not difficult; but that they were occupied by parties of the king's troops; from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard. For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless at such a season; since, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in the exercise of which the Romans had a decided superiority." He resolved to employ those two men as guides; and, sending for the prætor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleus, and to have in readiness, there, ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own*



son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heraeleus, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to confine the king's attention from the view of distant matters, attacked his advanced guards in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven, that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried on, while the king on one side, and the consul, with his legions on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the king's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile weapons; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon, the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sun-rise, the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest; but the Romans were dreadfully annoyed, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged; but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones; so that whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul's loss on this occasion was much greater than before; and, somewhat later in the day, he called off his men from the fight. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea.

XXXVI. *Perseus, who did not extend his cares beyond the objects that lay before his eyes, bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he*

*lay. In the meantime, Publius Nasica, with the detachment under his command, punctually executed the consul's orders. Arriving at the appointed hour at Pythium, he soon dislodged the guard, which was commanded by Milo, Histieus, and Theogenes, and pursued them down into the plains. This event threw Perseus into the greatest perplexity, for as the road was now open, he had reason to fear being surrounded. After long deliberation, he determined to give battle; and, drawing back to Pydna, chose a very advantageous position, and made the most prudent dispositions for ensuring success. Æmilius, being rejoined by the party under Nasica, marched directly against the enemy; and, on coming within sight, was not a little surprised at the formidable appearance of their army in respect of their numbers and the strength of the men, as well as the judicious order in which it was formed. The season of the year was a little after the summer solstice; the time of the day was approaching towards noon; and his march had been incommoded by great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be aggravated by mid-day coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy, fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle on both sides, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men, as those of the enemy. He urged the tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage. At first, they called to him for the signal briskly; but afterwards, as the heat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. He then, without farther disguise, ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, the soldiers openly showed themselves rejoiced at not having been compelled to fight when they were wearied with marching, and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general were the lieutenants-general, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who, when they thought that the consul intended to fight, (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying,) had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while all the rest were silent, Nasica alone ventured to advise the consul, not*

to let slip from his hands, by shunning a battle, an enemy, who had baffled former commanders in the same way. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that he would march off in the night; and then he must be pursued with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose so fair an opportunity, of obtaining a victory, as now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the liberty, taken by a youth of his distinguished character, in offering his advice, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter you will come to think as I do. By long experience in war, I have learned when it is proper to fight, when to abstain from fighting. It would not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops, to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent, concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting, which did not appear to him.

XXXVII. Paullus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spear-men stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly, the spear-men, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away, gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the meantime, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station, until the rampart and trench were finished. The king, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew, that the delay was owing to the enemy; and he led back his troops to their station. When the fortifications of the Roman camp were finished, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that, on the following night, the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned

that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known, and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent, its being obscured, when covered with the shadow of the earth." On the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place. The Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. Their camp was filled with shouting and yelling, until the moon, emerging, sent forth its light. Both armies had been so eager for an engagement, that, next day, both the king and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The king could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp; but, also, as he had posted his men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to have given the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed, at the first light, for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there, too, he was deemed by several to spin out in talking and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be employed in action; but, after many discourses of this sort had passed, the consul addressed them in a speech of the following purport.

XXXVIII. "Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for immediate fight, that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterwards silent, appearing to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper, rather to cavil at their general's conduct in his absence, than to offer advice in his presence. Now, I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion



with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for having rested yesterday, that I am convinced that by that means I preserved the army. Whoever now thinks otherwise, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of the numerous advantages that were on the enemy's side, and the disadvantages on ours. In the first place, how far they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday you had ocular demonstration, when their line was drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left on that duty. But can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or to-morrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp, where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference, whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue, either from a long march or laborious work; after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh; so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wearied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you expose him, under a scorching noon-day sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous cause? Is there any (I appeal to the gods) so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man? We must consider, that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle; had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before the proper dispositions were completed.

XXXIX. "But, to drop the consideration of the unavoidable irregularity and disorder of our line, should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured, by troops, with a thorough knowledge of all the country round; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a harbour of safety, in all emergencies; out of

which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of the fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides inclosing it with works, they strengthened it farther with a numerous guard; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is a residence for the victorious, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, after being worsted in the field, and driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors? This military settlement is another native country to the soldier: the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought, while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared; to what place, in case of being beaten, were we to retire? In opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged. What, if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia? But, for my part, I take it as a certainty, that if he had had any intention of retreating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For, how much easier could he have gone off, while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close at his back? Nor could he go unobserved either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and inclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These were my reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself as much inclined to fight as any; and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way, by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until the war is ended."

XL. When he ceased speaking all remained silent; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were unwilling to find any fault with the proceeding, since any advantage then overlooked could not now be regained.

Even on the day, neither the king nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the king, because he had not the same prospect as the day before, of fighting men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled; nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had been sent from the camp. But, though it was not the wish of either of the commanders, fortune, whose power is not to be controlled by human schemes, brought about a battle. Somewhat nearer to the Macedonian than the Roman camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marrucian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine, and an Æsernian. While all was quiet at the river, neither party disturbing the other; about the fourth hour, a horse breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which reached as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but the Romans slew one of them, and, having recovered the animal, retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last all of them passed over, and attacked the Roman guard on the other side. Reinforcements hastened to both parties, and the affair soon became so serious, that the commanders were obliged to risk a general engagement. In the army of the Macedonians there were two phalanxes; the men of one were called *Leucaspidæ*, those of the other *Aglaspides*, or *Chalcaspides*; there was also a body of targeteers, formed in the same manner, and carrying the same kind of long spears, but lighter armed in other respects. These three bodies

withstood, for a long time, every effort of the Romans; the targeteers even compelled the Pelignian battalions to retire, which alarmed and provoked Æmilius to such a degree, that he tore his robe. At length, observing that the compact order of the phalanx was not every where unbroken, the variation of the ground and of their motions necessarily causing some intervals in their ranks, he ordered his men to watch attentively, and wherever they could discern the least opening in the phalanx, to force themselves in, with all their might, and strive to divide as much as possible. As soon as he had issued this order, he put himself at the head of one of the legions, and led it on to battle.

XLII. The troops were deeply impressed with sentiments of respect, when they considered the high dignity of his office, his own personal renown, and, above all, his age: for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged every obligation of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targeteers and another phalanx, and thus disunited the enemy's line. Behind him were the targeteers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Aglaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against the phalanx of the Leucaspidæ, which formed the centre of the Macedonian line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, the elephants were brought forward, with a cohort of allied cavalry; and these latter were the first who made any of the Macedonians turn their backs. For as new contrivances make an important figure in words, but on being put in practice oftentimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack was followed by the Latine allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre, the second legion dispersed the phalanx, nor was there any more evident cause of the victory that followed, than their being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, by throwing it into irregular motions, and at last quite broke it. For, while it preserves its compact order, and presents a front bristled with extended spears, its strength is irresistible; but if, by separate attacks on various parts of it, the men are once forced to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and



weight, are too unwieldy to be easily moved, they are embarrassed; and, if they are alarmed by any assault on the flank or rear, fall into irretrievable disorder. This was the case now, when they were obliged to oppose the Romans, who, in small parties, and with their line broken into numerous divisions, assailed them in many places at once; and, when any opening was made, worked themselves into the vacant spaces. But had they advanced with their entire line, straight against the phalanx, when in its regular order, the fate of the Pelignians would have been theirs, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targeteers; being run through by the spears, and unable to withstand such a firm body.

XLII. But though the Macedonian infantry were cut to pieces on all sides, except those who threw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The king himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The rest of the cavalry, likewise, went off with full ranks: because, as the line of infantry stood in the way, the enemy remained to put them to the sword, and did not think of pursuing the others. For a long time, the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the enemy's hands, fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. Boats coming from all the ships, they supposed that it was meant to take them in; whereupon, advancing farther into the water, so that some of them even swam, they supplicated aid. But they soon found themselves treated as enemies by the boats; on which, such as were able, regained the land, where they met their death in a more dreadful way; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged, that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred; the greater part of whom

were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all the troops of the vanquished must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

XLIII. Perseus, in his flight as far as the Pierian wood, kept up a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but when he came into the thicket, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, and returned to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella, quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The king, embarrassed by his fears, and the many difficulties which he met with on the way, did not arrive till near midnight. He was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends, who had escaped from the battle by various chances, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight; Evander a Cretan, Neon a Bœotian, and Archidamus an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat, at the fourth watch; for he began to fear, lest those who had refused to obey his summons, might, presently, attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella, in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axios before day, as he thought that the difficulty in passing it would deter the Romans from farther pursuit.

XLIV. The consul returned victorious to his camp; but his joy was much allayed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterwards acquired the title of Africanus by the destruction of Carthage; he was, by birth, the son of the consul Paullus, and, by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened his father's anxiety; for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. He re-

turned late in the evening, however; and then, the consul having received him in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive in the middle of the forum a letter, from the hands of a person whom he had employed for the purpose, and instructed to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a reinforcement, which might enable them to repel the ravagers." After reading this, he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast, telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. He affected not to believe the report of the defeat, alleging that, if it were true, many would have come from the place of action. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strymon, than he shut the gates.

XLV. On the third day after the battle, Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paulus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the meantime, Hippias, Milo, and Pantauchus, whom the king esteemed his best friends, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Berea, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities struck with fear, prepared to follow the example. The consul despatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry, the plunder of the circumjacent country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He then removed towards Pydna. Berea, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. From Pydna, which was the nearest, no deputation had yet been sent; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with

the numbers who had been obliged to fly thither from the field, put it out of the power of the inhabitants to form or unite in any design; the gates, too, were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer, under the wall, with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, the town was surrendered and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure assistance, by sending an embassy to the Basaltians, but without effect, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on seeing the king in so melancholy a situation, and observing him weep in that affecting manner, had joined their plaints with his, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place; that the few of us, who are left alive, may not be destroyed on your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The king retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own homes, as did the rest of the soldiers; the Cretans only following the money, in hopes of a share: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents<sup>1</sup> were laid on the bank, for them to seize as each might be able. After this scramble, they went on board; yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of the barks in the mouth of the river by the weight of the numbers which crowded into it. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound.



Thither, it is said, the king carried with him two thousand talents.<sup>1</sup>

XLVI. Paullus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered; lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained the ambassadors of Perseus; and, as he had not yet been informed of his flight, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the king. In the meantime, Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been ordered to attack, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; for it was not known that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived, with his whole army, on the second day at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days. These he employed in taking a full view of the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom, not without good reason. It stands on a hill which faces the south-west, and is surrounded by morasses, formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes so deep as

to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the surrounding moisture. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and which has a bridge over it; so that if the king chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but, at that time, there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards brought back. While the consul halted at Pella, he gave audience to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly. Then, receiving intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, he left Pella, and after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as *bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty overbearing tyrant.* The consul, after a short delay, proceeded, in pursuit of Perseus into the province of Odontice, and encamped, at Siræ.

<sup>1</sup> 387,480l.

THE

# HISTORY OF ROME.

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## BOOK XLV.

Perseus taken prisoner in Samothrace, by Æmilius Paullus. Antiochus, on the peremptory requisition of the Roman ambassadors, ceases hostilities against Egypt. The Rhodians apologize for their conduct during the war; their apologies not deemed satisfactory. Macedonia reduced to the form of a province. Prusias comes to Rome with congratulations, on occasion of the conquest of Macedonia. Recommends his son, Nicomedes, to the protection of the senate; his mean and despicable behaviour.

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I. NOTWITHSTANDING that Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the discomfiture of Perseus, and while games were exhibiting in the circus, a faint rumour spread itself, suddenly, among the people through all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that the king was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last they shouted and clapped their hands, as if the same had been confirmed to them. The magistrates, being surprised, caused inquiry to be made for the author of the account which occasioned this sudden rejoicing; but, none being found, the joy of course vanished. Although the matter was uncertain, yet the flattering belief still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account,—on that of the victory, and their happy pre-  
sage of it. This exultation in the circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that, on the tenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the consul Lici-

II.

nus was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedonia, delivered to him a letter, decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and, as he rode back to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which, the multitude, regardless of the games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot; and, after reading the letter to them by their direction, he told the people, from the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague Lucius Æmilius had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was totally defeated; that the king had fled with few attendants; and that all the cities of Macedonia had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, they testified their joy by an universal shouting and clapping of hands; and most of them, leaving the sport, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle.

II. On the following day the senate voted a general supplication, and ordered, that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the regulars and seamen; and that the disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as



the deputies from the consul *Æmilius*, who had sent forward the courier, should arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the forum, drawing an immense crowd, who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then sitting, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account, "how very numerous the king's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what a small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how poor an attendance *Perseus* had fled; that it was supposed he would go to *Samo-thrace*, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape, either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the same particulars, and renewed the general joy in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order, that all the places of worship should be opened, and that they should proceed directly to return thanks to the immortal gods, than every temple in the city was filled with vast crowds, not only of men, but of women. The senate, being re-assembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the consul *Lucius Æmilius*, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted, that the ships, which lay in the *Tiber* fit for sea, and ready to sail for *Macedonia*, in case the king had been able to maintain the dispute, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and the seamen belonging to them paid a year's wages, and discharged; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in *Coreyra* and *Brundisium*, on the coast of the upper sea, and in the territory of *Larinum*, should be disbanded; for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the consul *Licinius* might, if occasion required, take them over to reinforce his colleague. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October.

III. Two deputies, *Caius Licinius Nerva* and *Publius Decius*, likewise arrived at this time, who brought intelligence that the army of the *Illyrians* was defeated, their king *Gentius* taken prisoner, and all *Illyria* reduced under

the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the prætor *Lucius Anicius*, the senate voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth, third, and second days of the ides of November. Some writers tell us, that the *Rhodian* ambassadors had not yet been admitted to an audience; and that, when the news of the victory was received, they were called before the senate in order to expose their absurdity and arrogance. On this occasion, *Agessipolis*, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the *Rhodians*, with a commission, to effect an accommodation between the Romans and *Perseus*; the war then subsisting being injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that the kindness of fortune, terminating the war after another manner, had affording them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." To this discourse of the *Rhodians*, the senate returned the following answer: that "the *Rhodians*, in sending that embassy, had not been actuated by concern either for the interests of Greece, or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely by their wishes to serve *Perseus*. For, if their concern had been such as they pretended, the time for sending ambassadors would have been, when that monarch, leading an army into *Thessaly*, had continued, for two years, to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the *Rhodians*; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the *defiles*, and penetrated into *Macedonia*, and that *Perseus* was held inclosed by them, then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever, but a wish to rescue *Perseus* from the impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

IV. About the same time *Marcus Marcellus*, coming home from *Spain*, where he had taken *Marcolica*, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces. While the consul *Paullus Æmilius* lay encamped at *Siræ*, in *Odomantice*, as mentioned above, a letter from king *Perseus* was brought to him

by three ambassadors of mean appearance, the sight of whom, as we are told, excited in his mind such reflections on the instability of human affairs, as caused him to shed tears; that a prince, who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedonia, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, should now, after having lost his army, be expelled his kingdom, and forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own, occasioned him something like pain: but when he read the address, "King Perseus to the consul Paullus, greeting," the seeming insensibility of his condition did away all compassion; so that, notwithstanding the letter consisted of entreaties couched in terms ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without any answer. Perseus, perceiving that it was expected he should, in his vanquished state, forget his pompous titles, sent another letter, inscribed simply with his name, in which he made a request, which was readily complied with, that some persons should be sent to him, with whom he might confer on the present condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly despatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius; but their embassy effected nothing. For Perseus struggled with all his might to retain the regal title, while Paullus insisted on an absolute submission of himself, and every thing belonging to him, to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

V. In the meantime, Cneius Octavius, with his fleet, put in at Samothrace; and presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, he endeavoured at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender. In this design he was greatly assisted by an occurrence, which it is uncertain whether it were accidental or designed. Lucius Atilius, a young man of good character, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, asked permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them; which being granted, he said,—“People of Samothrace, our good hosts; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the country holy and inviolable?” They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place; whereupon he proceeded thus: “Why, then, has a murderer stained with the blood of king

Eumenes, presumed to profane it? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you, nevertheless, suffer your holy places to be polluted by the approach of an assassin?” The story of king Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi, was now well known through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the Romans, were convinced, that the censure thrown on them was not understood; they, therefore, sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style king, to Perseus, to acquaint him, that “Evander the Cretan was accused of murder; that they had a mode of trial established among them, by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If Evander was confident, that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth, and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and take care of himself as well as he could.” Perseus, calling out Evander, told him, that he would by no means advise him to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause, or in influence. He had secret apprehensions, that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him, as the instigator of that abominable act. What then remained, he said, but to die bravely? Evander made, openly, no objection; but telling the king that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told the king, he was alarmed, lest the anger of the Samothracians should be turned against himself, as accessory to the escape of a guilty person, and he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than his mind was immediately stung with remorse. He considered that “he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had affected Evander only; that the latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood.” He contrived, however, to avoid the imputation of this deed, by



bribing Theondas, to tell the people, that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

VI. But such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, disgusted every one. A general defection and going over to the Romans ensued, so that he was left almost alone, and obliged, in that condition, to meditate the means of escaping. He applied to a Cretan, called Oroandes, who was acquainted with the coast of Thrace, having carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel, and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of Samothrace, is a harbour called Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sunset, every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight, the king himself, with three persons, who were privy to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden, near his chamber, and having, with much difficulty, climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail, at the first dusk, as soon as the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, not finding the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast, but, at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. Among the Macedonians, there was a band of boys of the highest birth, chosen out to wait on the king, and called the royal pages: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until Cneius Octavius ordered a herald to proclaim, that, "if the royal pages and other Macedonians, then in Samothrace, would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island, and what they had left in Macedonia." On this notice they came over, and made a formal surrender before Caius Postumius, a military tribune. The king's younger children also were delivered up to Cneius Octavius, by Io of Thessalonica; nor was any one now left with Perseus, except Philip his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged, for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself, and his son, to Octavius. He was put on board the præ-

tor's ship, and, with him, all his remaining money; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. From thence Octavius sent the king into the camp to the consul, having previously informed him by letter, that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

VII. Paullus, justly considering this as a second victory, offered sacrifices on the occasion; then, calling a council, and reading to them the prætor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero, to meet and escort the king; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the prætorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, king Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation, or that of his country, he was at the time a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the principal in this war: and was not only highly conspicuous through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre,—Philip, and Alexander the Great; who acquired to the Macedonians sovereign dominion over the whole world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, whose being a sharer in the calamity added to the wretchedness of his situation. The crowd, which had collected to get a sight of him, prevented his advancing, until the consul sent his lictors, who cleared the way and opened a passage to the prætorium. At his coming, the consul arose, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and, advancing a little, held out his right hand to the king at the entrance; when Perseus offered to fall at his feet, he held him up, nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers, assembled in council.

VIII. He began by asking "what injuries had obliged him to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger?" While all expected his answer, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, "If you

had acceded to the government in early youth, I should have less wondered at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship, or enmity, of the Roman people. But that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us, and, afterwards, must have remembered the peace which we maintained towards him with the strictest sincerity. What motive, then, could induce you to prefer war to peace, with those, whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced?" Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him: on which, the consul added, "Whatever cause may have produced these events, whether mistakes incident to humanity, or accident or necessity, suffer not your spirits to be dejected. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in numerous instances towards kings and nations in distress, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety." This he said in the Greek language to Perseus; and then, turning to his own people, he said, in the Latine tongue, "Do you not observe this striking instance of the instability of human affairs? To you, young men, principally, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to harbour neither sentiments of arrogance nor of rancour; nor to confide implicitly in present advantages; since we know not what the evening may produce. He alone will deserve the character of a man, who suffers not his spirit to be elated by the favourable gales of fortune, nor to be broken by its adverse blasts." He then dismissed the council, and gave the charge of guarding the king to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and received every mark of respect, which his present circumstances would admit.

IX. The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments; the greater part were quartered in Amphipolis, and the rest in the towns in that neighbourhood. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom, long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From Caranus, their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius; received the title of king from the senate in that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven

years. The fame of the Macedonians was but obscure, until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; and though, in his time, and by his means, it began to increase, yet it was still confined within the limits of Europe, extending only to all Greece, with a part of Thrace, and Illyria. Afterwards, the force of Macedonia poured down like a deluge on Asia; and it was in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, that they reduced under their dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians, and then overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time, their empire was the greatest in the world; but on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, each of his successors struggling to grasp power to himself, and thereby dismembering the whole. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfall, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

X. When the news of the victory, obtained by the Romans, was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay, with a fleet of small vessels, at Phanæ, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popilius, who staid at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedonia, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy, with which he was charged; for he wished to meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, they were met by some of the principal Rhodians,—(for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too,) who besought them to sail over to their city; for that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and wellbeing of the Roman state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry home intelligence, founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports." After refusing for a long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded them



to be present at a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened, than allayed, the fears of the public. For Popilius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community, and of individuals, during the war : and, being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atrociousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice ; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged, from the austerity of one Roman senator, what was the disposition of the whole senate towards them. Caius Decimius spoke with more moderation ; and respecting most of the particulars mentioned by Popilius, he asserted that “ the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees, full of flattery towards the king ; and had sent several embassies, which always excited, in the minds of the Rhodians, both shame and sorrow, all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty.” His discourse gave great satisfaction ; not only, because it extenuated the offences of the community, but because it threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the people were not so well pleased with those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popilius, as with those who advised to concur with the opinion of Decimius, and expiate their fault by the punishment of the chief offenders. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned, had left the city on the arrival of the Romans : others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria ; but the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, were still carried on at Rhodes, with the same activity ; and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execution of that business, was entirely owing to the mild behaviour of Decimius.

XI. In the meantime, Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt against the walls of Alexandria, had retired : and being now master of all

the rest of Egypt, he left, at Memphis, the elder Ptolemy, whose settlement on the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though, in reality, he meant to attack him, as soon as he should have vanquished his competitors ; and, then, he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not unapprised of this his intention, conceived hopes, that, while he held his younger brother under terror, and in dread of a siege, he might be able to manage matters so as to procure admittance into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to all these, until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were corroborated by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium : a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able, whenever he pleased, to introduce an army again into the country ; and he foresaw, that the final issue of a civil war with his brother, must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder brother, the younger, and those about him, concurred ; while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation, both by her advice and entreaties. A friendly intercourse, therefore, took place, to the satisfaction of all the parties, and the elder Ptolemy was received into Alexandria. Nor was this displeasing, even to the populace ; who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but, after the enemy had retired, by all communication with every part of Egypt being shut up. Although it was reasonable to suppose, that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt, for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne, — (the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies, and in the letters that he wrote : ) yet he was so highly offended, that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment, than he had shown against the one. He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus ; and, as soon as the spring appeared, putting himself at the head of his army, he directed his route towards Egypt, and advanced into Coele Syria. Near Rhino-

colura, he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks for the assistance, by means of which he had recovered the throne of his ancestors; and he requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit, which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that "he would neither recall his fleet, nor stop the march of his army, on any other conditions, than that all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, should be ceded to him;" and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer, that these terms were complied with.

XII. When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities was elapsed, *Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while he himself entered Egypt, through the deserts of Arabia. He was amicably received by the people about Memphis, as he was, afterwards, by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria. He had just crossed the river at Eleusine, four miles from that city, when he was met by the Roman ambassadors. At their coming, he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius; but Popilius putting into his hand a written tablet, desired him first to peruse that. On reading it, he said, that he would call his friends together, and consult what was to be done; on which Popilius, with that roughness which generally marked his character, drew a line round the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, "Before you go out of that circle, give such an answer as I may report to the senate." Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time; but, at last, replied, "I will do as the senate directs." Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt, on a day prefixed, the ambassadors employed their influence in establishing concord among the royal family, on a more firm basis than it had yet acquired; and then sailed to Cyprus, from whence they sent home the ships of Antiochus, and which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all nations;*

having manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy, the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration, by a glorious victory, the other acquired no new lustre to his reputation, no object presenting itself to call forth his abilities. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place, without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papius, passing the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latine allies. The Roman legions staid all the while in the city, because their assembling had been irregularly ordered. The prætors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papirius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice, at Rome, between natives and foreigners; a duty to which he had been already named.

XIII. When Popilius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, he gave information, that all disputes between the kings were done away, and that the army had marched out of Egypt, into Syria. Soon after, arrived ambassadors from the kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented, that "their king had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever, and had, accordingly, obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors, as implicitly, as if it had been a mandate of the gods." They then offered his congratulations on their victory, "to which," they said, "the king would have contributed with his utmost power, if he had received any orders to act." The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that "they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome, than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since through their intervention, they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers, when it was almost entirely lost." The senate observed of Antiochus that he had acted rightly and properly, in complying with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to



the senate and people of Rome." To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, they answered, that "the senate rejoiced very much, at having been, in any degree, instrumental to their benefit and advantage; and would take care, that they should always have reason to account the good faith of the Roman people the strongest support of their kingdom." Caius Papirius, the prætor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedonia, which greatly added to the public joy, as it brought information, that "king Perseus was in the hands of the consul." After the ambassadors were dismissed, the senate gave hearing to a controversy, between deputies from Pisa, and others from Luna; the former complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted, that the lands in question had been marked out to them, by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nevius Balbus, and Caius Apuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Atheneus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of king Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the quæstor, was immediately despatched to meet and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. As soon as he arrived, the senate was assembled to give him audience. This young prince enhanced the value of services, in themselves meritorious, by the engaging manner in which he mentioned them. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn, his father had sent into Macedonia in aid of the Romans, during the last four years. "But there were two things," he said, "that made him blush; one, the senate having sent, by their ambassadors, a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army: the other, their having sent money, in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered, that the kingdom, which he held, had been acquired, and very greatly augmented, by the Roman people; and, contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It became them, therefore, to take whatever grew in the country, and not to ask from him, nor to purchase, any of the

produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, Masinissa thought fully sufficient for himself. These were the declarations," he said, "of his father, at parting; but he was, afterwards, overtaken by some horsemen, who brought him an account of Macedonia being conquered, with directions to congratulate the senate on that event. He had, also, orders to acquaint them, that Masinissa was so overjoyed at it, that he wished to come to Rome, and, in the capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter, supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that, if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission so to do.

XIV. Masgaba was answered, that "the conduct of his father, Masinissa, was such as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; while his manner of acknowledging the kindness of his friends, added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been faithfully and bravely assisted by him in the Carthaginian war; by the favour of the Roman people, he had obtained his kingdom; and he had, afterwards, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged, with his usual spirit, every duty. That it was no matter of surprise to them, that their successes should give joy to a king, who had so intimately blended his own interests and those of his kingdom, with the interests, of the Romans. That they wished him to return thanks for the same, in the temples of his own country, and which his son might do in his stead at Rome; as he had already said enough, in the way of congratulation, both in his own name and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that by leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, it might, besides being inconvenient to himself, prove detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request, that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, *might be brought to Rome as a hostage in the place of some other, the senate replied, that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians, at the choice of any other person.* The quæstor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince, to the value of one hundred pounds weight of silver, to accompany him to Puteoli, to defray all his expenses while he staid in Italy, and to hire two ships to carry him and his retinue to Africa; every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves receiv-

ing gifts of clothes. Soon after this a letter was brought, concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes, stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was directed, by Lucius Paullus, to go home, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that, while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself, in a bad state of health, driven into Brundisium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinus, the quaestor, was sent to him, to Brundisium, with presents of the same kind with those given to his brother at Rome, and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and *every thing necessary for his health and convenience.* \* \* \*

## XV.

The sons of freedmen had been enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old; all these the censors, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed the year before; and such as had a farm, or farms, in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces,<sup>1</sup> were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour, yet Claudius still insisted, that "a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage. For though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes; which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen, and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey." These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes, they should openly, in the court of the temple of Liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the Æsquiline tribe; on which Tiberius Gracchus published an order, that all sons of freedmen should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to Sempronius for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to Claudius for not obstructing it. These censors

expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, greater numbers than their predecessors. They both concurred, in removing from their tribes, and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half's time allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but Cneius Tremellius, a tribune, provoked at not having been chosen into the senate, protested against it. This year Caius Cicereius dedicated a temple on the Alban mount, five years after he had vowed it; and Lucius Postumius Albinus was inaugurated flamen of Mars.

XVI. The consuls, Quintius Ælius and Marcus Junius, having proposed the business of distributing the provinces, [Y. R. 585. B. C. 167.] the senate decreed that Spain, which during the Macedonian war, had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the present governors, Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius, should continue in the government of Macedonia and Illyria, until, with the concurrence of commissioners; they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and form a new constitution for both kingdoms. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Pisæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The lots of the pretors were of Quintius Cassius, the city jurisdiction; of Manius Juventius Thalna, the foreign; of Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; of Cneius Fulvius, Hither Spain, and of Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate, to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported: the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and, at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the lands of the public, blood had flowed from his hearth, during three days and two nights. On account chiefly of this last, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which

<sup>1</sup> 242l. 4s. 3d.



they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was another supplication, of one day's continuance, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, mindful of the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed, that, "forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and Macedonia and Illyria, with their kings Perseus and Gentius, were in the power of the Roman people, therefore, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, consuls, on occasion of the conquest of king Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, under the superintendence of Quintus Cassius and Manius Juvencius, prætors."

XVII. They then constituted commissioners, with whose advice the generals, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedonia, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedonia were Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, who had been colleague to Paullus in the consulship, and then held the province of Gaul, having been continued in command. To these, who were of consular rank, were added Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria: Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who had been prætor the last year, as had Cicereius, many years before, Publius Terentius Tusciveicanus, and Publius Manilius. The senate then recommended to the consuls that, as one of them must go into Gaul, in the room of Caius Licinius, appointed a commissioner, they should either settle their provinces between themselves, or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome, from all quarters, with congratulations before he went to his province; and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

XVIII. Although the commissioners were men of such characters as afforded confident hopes, that, guided by their counsel, the ge-

nerals would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry out to them a general idea of the whole. First, it was determined, that "the Macedonians and Illyrians should be enfranchised: in order to demonstrate to all the world that the arms of the Roman people were employed not in rivetting chains, but in breaking them; and to convince those who already enjoyed freedom, that it would ensure it to them safe and permanent, under the protection of the *Roman people*; and farther to make known to such as now were subject to despotic rule, that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at the present, more just and mild; and that, should war break out at any time between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and crown lands, should be abolished; as business of that kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers; and wherever people of that description were employed, either the rights of the public were invaded, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring prey to themselves, there would never be an end of disputes and seditions. It was farther determined, that there should be no general council of the nation; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the wholesome liberty granted by the senate; but that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used, formerly, to pay to their kings." Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners; who, by investigating matters on the spot, would be enabled to form more accurate plans.

XIX. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, brother to Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner; for he was received, by those who had served along with him in

the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness, than could have been shown to the monarch himself. He had two reasons for coming, both, apparently, highly honourable; one to offer congratulations, which was quite proper, in the case of a victory to which himself had contributed; the other, to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, so as to endanger his brother's kingdom. But he had, also, a private view; he entertained secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which yet, he could scarcely receive as being more properly the claims of the king. There were some among the Romans who had given him ill counsel; and the prospects, which they opened to him, set his ambition at work. They told him, that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them or to Perseus. That it was not easy to say, with regard to any requests that he might make, whether the senate would have more pleasure in serving him, or in hurting his brother; so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one, and to grant nothing to the other." As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who covet all that hope can promise to itself; and he would have been deluded by these suggestions, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had, in his retinue, a physician called Stratius, whom Eumenes, not perfectly assured of his brother's fidelity, had sent to Rome, for the purpose of watching over his conduct, and for giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive his honour wavering. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a mind labouring under a strong bias, yet, by arguments judiciously timed, restored every thing to its proper state, even after the case had become almost desperate. He urged that "different kingdoms grew into power by different means. As to that of Eumenes, being lately formed, and unsupported by any long established strength, it was upheld, solely, by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of them was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not hold him as such? and that, not only because his present power was

great; but because he must, unquestionably, ascend the throne, in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue;" for he had not, at this time, acknowledged the son who afterwards reigned: "To what purpose, then, employ violence, to attain what of course must soon be his? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers would scarce enable them to withstand. But if to a foreign war dissensions were added, nothing but ruin could ensue; nor would his scheme produce any other effects, than that of hindering his brother from ending his life on the throne, and himself from ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable,—either to preserve the kingdom for his relative, or to take it from him,—yet the honour that would derive to him from the first-mentioned proceeding, as it arose in brotherly love, would be the greater. The latter, indeed, would be detestable and bordering nearly on parricide; what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom, or to seize the whole? If a share were his object, it must follow, that both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every kind; if the whole, would he then require his elder brother,—reduced to a private station, at his time of life, and under such infirmity of body,—either to live in exile, or to end his life? Not to speak of the tragical catastrophes represented on the stage, the fate of Perseus was remarkably striking; who, having, by the murder of his brother, opened himself a way to the seizure of the crown, was obliged, on his knees, to lay down at the feet of a victorious enemy, in the temple of Samothrace; as if the gods, present on the spot, had demanded vengeance for his crimes. Those very men," he continued, "who, from no motive of friendship for him, but of enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would ultimately bestow praises on him, if he maintained his fidelity to his brother."

XX. These arguments determined Attalus. On being introduced to the senate, after congratulating them on their success, he made mention of his own services during the war, and those of his brother; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and



which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that ambassadors might be sent to those people, whose authority would oblige them to desist from hostilities. After delivering these messages, respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of *Ænus* and *Maronea* to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected him to arraign his brother's conduct, and solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. There have been few instances of any discourse, whether delivered by a private person or a king, being received with such a degree of favour and approbation by all who heard it; and presents and honours of every kind were conferred upon him, during his stay, and at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, that colour being the best adapted to persons charged with a message of a joyful nature; for had they worn mourning, it might seem to be put on for the misfortunes of Perseus. Afterwards, on the question being put to the senate, by the consul Marcus Junius, (the ambassadors standing in the Comitium,) whether lodging and entertainment should be allowed them, it was voted that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, the Rhodians told him, that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it. They then requested an audience of the senate, to which he returned this answer: that "it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate, and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the conduct of the Rhodians in the late war, had not entitled them to be ranked in the number of friends or allies." On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul and all present, not to suffer new and false imputations to operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, known to all present, in their favour. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and, going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated with prayers and tears, that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

XXI. Marcus Juvencius Thalna, the prætor who had the jurisdiction between natives and

foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, proposing an order, that "war should be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war:" he hoped that himself should be the person chosen. This proceeding was opposed by two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius. But the prætor, on his part, commenced the business in a manner highly unprecedented, and of very pernicious tendency; for, without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, "Was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?" whereas, it had ever, until then, been the practice, first, to take the judgment of the senate on such a matter, and then, to lay the business before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes *opposed this proceeding*; although it was a received rule, that no tribune should protest against a proposal until opportunity was given to private citizens to argue for and against it: in consequence of which it had often happened that some, who had no intention of protesting, discovered improprieties in the question from the discourses of those who opposed it, and therefore did protest; and some, who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments adduced in its favour. On this occasion, the prætor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. *While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the prætor, they imitated the example by a premature protest. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity of adjourning the business of the Rhodians until the general, and the ten commissioners, should return from Macedonia.*

## XXII.

Whether we have transgressed, or not, is yet doubtful; meanwhile, we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage; after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we *were escorted* from a lodging furnished us by the public, into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, conscript fathers; and, from the senate-

1 The beginning of this speech of Astymedes, chief of the Rhodian embassy, is lost.

house to the capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, where scarcely could we get a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come, in this squalid dress, to the Roman senate-house: we, Rhodians, on whom, a short time ago, you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. Even the Macedonians and Illyrians, you order, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you. Not that we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people. But will you convert, from allies into enemies, the Rhodians, who, during the war, have maintained the strictest neutrality? You are the same Romans, who boast that your wars are successful, because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them (being, as you are, victorious,) as in the commencement of them, because undertaken not without cause. Your war with the Carthaginians was occasioned by their having attacked Messana, in Sicily. The rupture with Philip arose from his attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, and in giving assistance of men and money to Hannibal. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over, in person, with a fleet from Asia to Greece; and, by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the strait of Thermopylae, endeavoured to dispossess you of a part of your empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause of the state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought hither in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask what was our crime with respect to the late war? We favoured, it is said, the interest of Perseus. But have we supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings? Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coasts of Asia. Your ships never fought a bat-

tle in which we did not co-operate. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against no less a commander than Hannibal. The victory, which we gained in the latter, was the more glorious to us, as the loss of a great part of our navy, with a considerable number of the principal young men, in the unfortunate fight at Samos, did not deter us from venturing again to give battle to the king's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation, (that would ill become our present situation,) but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

XXIII. "When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the same fortune, which the favour of the gods, and your own courage, have procured to you, had fallen to the lot of Perseus, and we were to go into Macedonia, to the victorious king, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Could we say, that we had assisted him with money, or with corn; with land or sea forces? Had we defended his garrison; or fought either under his generals, or by ourselves? If he should inquire among the land and sea forces, which we sent to act in concert with his, what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be brought to a trial before him, if successful, as we are now, before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly object to us, what cannot be objected by you, conscript fathers, that, at the commencement of the war, we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our ships, our arms, and our men. That we did not perform this, you were, yourselves, the cause; you, who, whatever was the reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; which duty, had not you prevented us, we should have performed. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said, or done, in your country, which you disapprove of, and which might give just cause of offence to the Romans? Henceforward, I do not mean to



defend what has been done, I am not so weak, but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard, that, even among the Romans, there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that you lost the power of directing the affairs of government. If it were possible for this to happen in a state where the rules of conduct are so well established, who can wonder at there being some among us, who, out of a wish to gain the king's friendship, seduced our meaner people by bad advice? Yet their intrigues produced no farther effect than our remaining inactive, without infringing our duty. I shall not pass by that, which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you, and to Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate undertaking was, by a furious orator, as we afterwards heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it appears, that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popilius, the Roman ambassador, would have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. The Athenian nation has the character of being quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and the Lacedæmonian, of being dilatory and backward, in entering upon business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the Rhodians is too much tinctured with vain glory, which arises from our being supposed to hold some pre-eminence above the neighbouring states. That, however, is owing not so much to our particular strength, as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. Our first embassy received a sufficient rebuke from you. But, if the disgrace which we then underwent was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient

expiation for the offence. Arrogance, it is true, creates disgust in some, and ridicule in others; more especially, if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. It was to be feared the Rhodians should condemn the Romans! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

XXIV. "What charge, then, remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part? Must the too haughty expressions of an ambassador, though they deserve the displeasure of the hearers, be punished by the ruin of the state? Conscript fathers, I heard you debating on the penalty which we ought to pay for our secret wishes. Some assert that we favoured the king, and, therefore, that we should be punished with war; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to be held criminal, since neither the practice nor the laws of any state admit, that simply desiring the destruction of a foe, should subject any one to the penalty of death. We are absolved from the punishment, but not from the crime; and for this it may be thought we should be thankful; but we lay down this law for ourselves: if we all entertained the wishes imputed to us, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed: let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the king, I do not demand, that, for the sake of us, who were on your side, the favourers of the king may be saved; but I pray you that we may not be ruined through them. You are not more inveterate against them, than is our state itself; and knowing this, most of them fled, or put themselves to death, the others have been condemned by us, and will soon be in your power, conscript fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war, so neither have we deserved punishment. Let our former services be set against our late inactivity. You have recently waged war with three kings: let not the demerit of our inaction, during one of these wars, outweigh the merit of having fought on your side in the other two. Consider Philip Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes; two of them acquit us, one is doubtful, but rather inclines to our side than otherwise. If

they were to sit in judgment, they would give sentence against us. Conscript fathers, you are to decide, whether Rhodes is to continue to exist or to be utterly destroyed. The issue of your deliberations will not be war; because, conscript fathers, though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelary deities, both public and private, repair to Rome; where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here, and be far removed from the sight of the sacking and burning of our city. The Romans may pass a judgment, that the Rhodians are enemies; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer the last extremities."

XXV. Such was their speech; after which they all prostrated themselves again, and as supplicants, held out olive branches; but, at length, they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. The opinions of the senators were then demanded. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those, who as consuls, prætors, or lieutenant-generals, had acted in Macedonia, during the war; and the person who was most useful to their cause was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator, on this occasion, with much mildness. It is not necessary, here, to give a specimen of his copious eloquence, by inserting his speech, as he has published it himself, in the fifth book of his *Antiquities*. The answer given to the Rhodians was, that "they should neither be declared enemies; nor, any longer, be considered as allies." At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astymedes. Half their number, with Philocrates, were ordered to carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and the other half, with Astymedes, to remain at Rome, that they might be acquaint-

ed with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria, before a certain day. This news was, in itself sufficiently afflicting; nevertheless, as it relieved the Rhodians from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, it occasioned even a degree of joy. They, therefore, immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold, and deputed Theodotus, the commander of their fleet, to be the bearer of it. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but, in such a manner, as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor anything be committed to writing; so that, if they should fail of success, the disgrace of a refusal might appear the less. Theodotus was empowered, singly, to negotiate that business, with the above proviso; for during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, without being bound by any treaty; their reason for which was, that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not so much for the sake of security against others, (for excepting the Romans, they feared none,) as to render them less liable to jealousies, on the part of the Romans. About this time, the Carians revolted from them, and the Mylassians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken, as to hinder their perceiving, that, if Lycia and Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom, by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that themselves would then be shut up in a small island; within the shores of a barren country, inadequate to the maintenance of the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out with all speed, a body of troops, and reduced the Carians to obedience, though they had received succours from Cybara: and afterwards defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had united their forces, and came to meet them.

XXVI. Such were the occurrences in Rhodes,



in Macedonia, and in Rome. Meanwhile, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced king Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed a garrison in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom, and gave the command to Gabinus. He also garrisoned Rhizo, and Olcinium; towns very conveniently situated, and appointed Caius Licinius commander. Committing the government of Illyria to these two, he marched, with the rest of his forces, into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him; the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis, all the towns of which province, except Passora, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passora. The two men of the greatest authority in that city, were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus, and hatred to the Romans; into a revolt from whom, the whole nation had been hurried by their instigations. These men, conscious of their own delinquency, and despairing of pardon, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorting the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last, one Theodotus, a young man of distinction, (his greater dread of the Romans overpowering the lesser fear of his own leaders,) exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessory to the crimes of individuals, and only two in number? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country; but never, before these, were any found, who required that their country should perish for theirs. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power, to which the whole world has submitted?" As he spoke thus, he was followed by the multitude; on which Antinous and Theodotus, rushing out on the first advanced guards of the enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power, the gates of Tecmo were shut; but he was soon put to death, and then the town capitulated. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops in winter-quarters, through the most convenient

towns; and returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the principal men, from all parts of the province. There, with advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that "the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issans and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, the Rizonites, and the Olcinians should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes; because when Gentius was in his full strength, they had quitted him, and sided with the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans; because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms to the Romans; and that the Scodrans, Dassarensians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king." He then divided Illyria into three districts; the first was composed of the people above mentioned, the second comprehended all the Labeatians and the third the Agranonites, Rizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having thus regulated affairs in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter-quarters at Passaro.

XXVII. While these matters passed in Illyria, Paullus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium; the former, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to Perseus: the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated, with hostile cruelty, some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia; because the inhabitants had continued in arms with more obstinacy than the neighbouring nations. Autumn now approached, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those celebrated curiosities, the knowledge of which is, by the major part of a people, generally taken from the reports of others. With this intention, he gave the command of his quarters to Caius Sulpicius Gallus; and, with a moderate

retinue, began his journey, in which he was accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, king Eumenes' brother. He directed his route, through Thessaly, to Delphi, so famous for its oracle, where he offered sacrifices to Apollo; and observing in the porch some unfinished pillars, on which it had been intended to place statues of king Perseus, he determined, that statues of himself should be erected on them, to commemorate his successes. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend, in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercynna, who have a temple there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis, he passed over to Aulis, a port three miles distant, and famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon's fleet of one thousand ships; he then visited the temple of Diana, in which the Argive chief purchased a passage to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica; where the prophet Amphilochus is worshipped as a god, and has an ancient temple, surrounded by delightful springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræus with the city; the dock-yards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, exceedingly curious, both in respect of the materials, of various kinds, and the skill of the several artists.

XXVIII. After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. At this time, that city flourished in extraordinary splendour; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which almost meet from the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though not comparable to them in opulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, standing at five

miles' distance, and, at that time, rich in offerings dedicated to that semi-deity by the sick, in acknowledgment of the recovery of their health; but now showing only the traces of them, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned, not for magnificent works of art, but for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Magalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; so much so, that he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice, with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the capitol. Thus he finished his circuit through Greece; during which, he never once inquired how any one, either in their public or private capacity, had stood affected toward Perseus, during the war; being unwilling to disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias, he was met by a crowd of Ætolians, in mourning apparel. Expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told, that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the goods of the killed and exiled were in the hands of their accusers. They were ordered to attend him at Amphipolis; and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. Perseus, being too negligently guarded, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, the distance of a day's journey. To him Æmilius spoke with great courtesy; but, when at the quarters of the troops, he gave a severe reprimand to Caius Sulpicius; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and, next for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back, the buildings to be repaired, and put in their former condition. Perseus, with his elder son Philip, he gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and



younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

XXIX. When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the king, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, where he was surrounded by the whole multitude of the Macedonians. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet a tribunal, of a different kind from what they were acquainted with, impressed them with terror; the lictor clearing the way, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paullus promulgated, in the Latine tongue, the regulations adopted by the senate, and by himself with the advice of the council; and the prætor, Cneius Octavius, repeated the same in Greek. First of all he ordered, that "the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities and lands as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people, one-half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedonia should be divided into four districts. That one, which should be deemed the first, should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus, with the addition of that tract, beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting Ænus, Maronea, and Abdera; and of the tract beyond the Strymon, towards the west, comprising all Bisaltica, with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second district should be the country inclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were excepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axios, on the west; to which should be added the Pontæans, living on the eastern bank of the Axios. That the third district should have for its bounds, the river Axios on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of Pæonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axios; Edessa also, and Berœa, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of Mount Bora, touching Illyria,

on one side, and Epirus, on the other. He then appointed the capitals of the districts, in which the councils should be held; of the first district, Amphipolis; of the second, Thessalonica; of the third, Pella; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these, he ordered, that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected." He then gave notice, that it was determined, that intermarriages should not be allowed; that no one should be at liberty to purchase lands or houses, out of the limits of his own district; that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked; but those of iron and copper might; the persons working them paying one-half of the tax which they had paid to the king. He likewise forbade the importation of salt. To the Dardanians, who reclaimed Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared, that he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus. Pæonia he refused; but to compensate for this refusal, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians, (and excepting the third, this was the case of them all,) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

XXX. These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them, beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, they thought the territory dismembered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other; so little did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division, and how competent each part was to subsist by itself. The first division contains the Bisaltians, men of the greatest courage, residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon; it is peculiarly productive of the fruits of the earth, has mines also, and the city of Amphipolis, most advantageously situated; for, standing just in the

way, it shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessalonica and Cassandria, and the country of Pallene, abundantly productive of grain and fruits; it is also well calculated for-maritime business, by means of its harbours, at Toro, and at Mount Athos, (called *Ænea*), besides others, some of which are conveniently situated upon the Eubœa, and some opposite the Hellespont. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Beroœa, and Pella; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people, also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotis. All this tract is cold, and the soil rough, and unfavourable to tillage; to which the tempers of the inhabitants bear a strong resemblance. They are rendered the more ferocious by their vicinity to the barbarians, who, by frequent attacks, inure them to a life of arms, and during peace, introduce their customs among them. Having, by this division of Macedonia, separated the interests of the several districts, he informed them that the regulations which were to be binding on the Macedonians in general, should be made known to them, when the time came, which he intended to appoint, for giving them a body of laws.

XXXI. The *Ætoli*ans were then summoned to appear; but in the trial of their cause, the inquiry was directed to discover, rather, which party had favoured the Romans, and which the king, than which had done, and which suffered injury; for the murderers were absolved of guilt, the exilements confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius, alone, was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers on the occasion. The consequence of this decision through the states and nations of Greece, was, that it puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to an intolerable degree of arrogance: and subjected to be trodden under their feet, all those who were in the least suspected of being in the king's interest. Of the leading men in the states, there were three parties: two of which paying servile court either to the Romans, or the kings, sought to aggrandise themselves by enslaving their countries; while the third, taking a different course from either, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their

laws and liberty. These last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, but the least interest among foreigners. The great successes of the Romans had raised their partizans to such importance, that they alone held the offices of magistracy; they alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations. that "those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause; much greater numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who, under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure prejudicial to the Roman interest; and that those nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirits of these parties were subdued, and the influence of those, who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power, were augmented and strengthened." These men gave a list of the persons alluded to, whom the general called by letter out of *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*, to follow him to Rome, and account for their conduct. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, were sent to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons concerned there. For this procedure there were two reasons; one, that it was believed that the Achæans would be apt to show more courage than the rest, and refuse obedience, and, perhaps, even endanger Calliocrates, and other authors of the charges. The other reason for summoning them, on the spot, was, that the commissioners had in their possession, letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the king's papers; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the *Ætoli*ans were dismissed, the *Acarnanian* nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then, taking a wider range for their inquiries, respecting those who had, publicly or privately, favoured the king, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna; because, when Antenor, the commander of the king's fleet, was cruising with



his squadron on the coast of Lesbos, they admitted him into their harbour, and supplied him with provisions. Two distinguished men were beheaded, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an *Ætolian*, because, accompanying his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people; and Néo, a *Theban*, by whose advice, his countrymen were led to form an alliance with *Perseus*.

XXXII. After the interruption caused by the consideration of these foreign matters, *Æmilius* re-assembled the council of Macedonia, and informed them, that "with regard to the future form of government they must elect senators called by themselves *Synedroi*, to whom the administration of public affairs should be entrusted." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared, afterwards, to the Macedonian populace, to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were *Perseus's* friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships or garrisons; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the king, and to domineer haughtily over others; some immoderately rich, others vying in expense with those to whom they were inferior, in point of fortune; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all of them incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the king, even those who had been upon the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedonia and go into Italy; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedonia with such care, that they seemed intended not for vanquished foes, but for faithful and deserving allies; laws so wise, that even long experience, the infallible test of excellence, has not been able to discover in them any thing liable to exception. Serious business being now despatched, he turned his thoughts to the celebration of games, for which he had long been making preparations, having sent people to the states and kings in Asia, to give notice of the intended diversions. In his late tour through Greece, he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people: and he now exhibited

them at Amphipolis with very great splendour. There came thither from every quarter, multitudes of artists of every sort, skilled in such exhibitions, wrestlers, and remarkably fine horses; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect, usually shown to gods or men, on occasion of the great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that people's admiration was excited, not only by the magnificence, but likewise by the skill displayed in the entertainments; in which kind of business the Romans were, at that time, quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and elegance. An expression of his was generally remarked, that, to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, required talents equal to those of a consummate general.

XXXIII. When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships; the rest of the arms, being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, *Minerva*, mother *Lua*, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes who stood round, all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that, at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that the general made presents of divers articles to private persons, and states, and nations; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The crowd were not more highly gratified by the sight of the stage entertainments, the gymnastics, and the horse races, than by that of the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view. In the palace was such a number of statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, most elaborately formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, that they seemed intended not merely for present show, like the furniture of that of Alexandria, but even for the use of after times. These were embarked in the fleet, and given in charge to *Cneius Octavius*, to be carried to Rome. *Paullus* then dismissed the ambassadors with every demonstration of good will; and, crossing the *Strymon*, encamped for the night at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis; then re-

suming his march, he arrived, on the fifth day, at Pella. Halting for two days at a place called Spelæum, he detached his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum; then, taking the road to Epirus, on the evening of the fifteenth day, he reached the city of Passaro.

XXXIV. Not far from hence was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for the senate had granted to his soldiers, the plunder of those cities in Epirus, which had revolted to Perseus. He despatched centurions, who were to give out, that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free, as well as the Macedonians; and summoning before him ten of the principal men of each city, he gave them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street. He then sent cohorts to the several states, ordering those who had the greater distance to go, to set out sooner than the others, that they might all arrive at the places of their destination, on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning, all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses<sup>1</sup> to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, in number about seventy, were rased; the effects sold, and the soldiers' shares paid out of the price. Paullus then marched down to the sea to Oricum; he found, that, contrary to his opinion, he had by no means satisfied the wishes of his men, who were enraged, at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the king, as if they had not waged any war in Macedonia. Finding, at Oricum, the troops sent with his son Maximus and Scipio Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a short time after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs, whose cases he had reserved for consideration, to follow him, waited only for the return of the ships that had carried the Macedonian army, and then

passed over to Italy. During the transactions in Macedonia and Epirus, the ambassadors, sent with Attalus, to put a stop to hostilities between the Gauls and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms; for the winter, the Gauls were gone home, and the king had retired to Pergamus into winter-quarters, where he was seized with a heavy fit of sickness. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synada, while Eumenes had collected all his forces at Sardis. The Romans went to confer with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference with the aforesaid chieftain; and the account he gave was, that mild remonstrances rendered him more presumptuous. It might, therefore, seem matter of wonder, that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet, that it should have had no kind of efficacy with the Gauls.

XXXV. The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome, and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then came the Macedonians, who had been laid under injunctions to attend the senate, with the principal Greeks, in the same circumstances; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned, but even those, who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, and such kind of works, which had been the property of the king; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. The senate voted a triumph to each, and charged the prætor, Quintus Cassius, to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who should propose to the commons the passing of an order, investing them with plenary authority, during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Secondary objects are generally secure from popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs



of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet Paullus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison, felt the attacks of invidious detraction. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient rules of discipline, and his donations, out of the spoil, were smaller than they hoped to have received, when the treasures of the king were so large; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have been nothing left to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army were disposed to neglect attending, in support of their commander's pretensions, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, (who had been military tribune in Macedonia, and who harboured a personal enmity against the general,) partly, by his own importunities, partly, by soliciting them, through the soldiers of his own legion,—had spirited them up to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to “take revenge on a haughty and morose commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it right, that he should have power to withhold the money, and the army not have power to withhold the honours? Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude, which he had not merited.”

XXXVI. By such expressions, did he stimulate their resentment; and when, in the capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and it came to the turn of private citizens to speak on the subject, the passing of it was thought so clear of all doubt, that not one stood forth to argue in favour of it. Whereupon, Servius Galba suddenly came forward, and demanded of the tribune, that, “as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons, for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and take up the business early in the morning: for not less than an entire day would be sufficient to say what was requisite in the cause.” The tribune desired, that, whatever he chose to object, he would say it then; and he spoke so long, as to protract the affair until night. He represented, and reminded the soldiers, that “the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity; that greater toil and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion re-

quired; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale; and if such commanders succeeded in their views, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious, while it would produce to conquering troops, neither riches nor honours. That the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. He then told them, that if they would attend next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn, that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery.” The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the capitol next day, with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to come in and vote. The tribes, first called in, gave a negative to the question; on which the principal men in the state ran together to the capitol, crying out, that “it was a shameful thing, that Lucius Paullus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. A desire of popularity, of itself, too often led generals astray; but what must be the consequence, if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals?” All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested that the tribunes would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the arguments of some of the first rank, complied with the entreaty of Servilius, that they would call back the tribes as soon as himself and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

XXXVII. Servilius then said: “Roman citizens, if there were no other proof of the eminent abilities of Lucius Æmilius, as a commander, this one would be sufficient: that, notwithstanding he had in his camp soldiers so inconstant and mutinously inclined, with an enemy so active, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet was there never any tumult in his army. That strictness of discipline, at which they have now conceived so much displeasure, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they

then remained quiet. As to Servius Galba, if he were disposed to set himself up for an orator, and to give a specimen of his eloquence, in accusing Lucius Paullus, he ought not now to obstruct his triumph; if for no other reason than this, that the senate has pronounced that, in their judgment, he has deserved it. But the proper way would have been, on the day after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, to prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws; or else, when he himself should be invested with magistracy. Let Galba cite him to a trial; let him accuse his enemy before the people. In that method, Lucius Paullus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to depreciate the character of a man, to whom he cannot impute a single act either criminal or dishonourable. Yesterday he demanded a whole day, for making his charges on Lucius Paullus, and four hours which remained of that day, he spent in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that his offences could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paullus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let me, for a moment, suppose two assemblies: one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedonia; the other, of sounder judgment, unbiassed either by favour or dislike; where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the business be discussed, first, before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens; for such a discourse, as you made before, is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand on your guards with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you performed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest: he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the king's

treasure in his triumph, and deposit it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some degree of weight, and are well calculated to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice; yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in consequence of improper indulgence given by commanders, or of victories gained in consequence of strict enforcement of discipline; yet must they surely remember, so late as in the last Punic war, what a difference there was between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence, on the part of Paullus, would be needless and superfluous.

XXXVIII. "Let us now pass to the other assembly; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, you can hear yourselves so called without blushing, and feeling the deepest shame for your illiberal treatment of your general. And, to say the truth, I feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, than it was, just now, when I addressed myself to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no conquest over Macedonia; and are not you tearing him in pieces, with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians? That man, who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken, if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. Not Paullus alone is interested in the present case. Many who failed of obtaining from the senate the grant of public entry, have triumphed on the Alban mount. No man can ravish from Lucius Paullus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second; or from those who have triumphed *either before those generals, or since*. Neither will a triumph



add to, or diminish, the honour of Lucius Paulus, as a commander : the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have repeatedly persecuted such by exciting the hatred of the populace. Your ancestors were sufficiently culpable in the case of Camillus. They treated him injuriously, before the city was recovered from the Gauls through his means ; and the same was done by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush, when we reflect, that the habitation of the conqueror of Africa, was at Liternum ; his tomb at Liternum ? And shall Lucius Paullus, equal to any of those men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill-treatment ? Let that, then, be blotted out, which dishonours us among foreigners, and injures us at home ; for who will, henceforward, wish to resemble either Africanus, or Paullus, in a state where merit meets only with ingratitude and enmity ? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race ? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or are they not, in fact, the triumphs of the Roman people ? As the triumphs were celebrated not merely over Pyrrhus, or Hannibal, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians ; so it was not the individual, Manius Curius, or Publius Cornelius, but the Romans, that triumphed. The soldiers, indeed, are peculiarly interested in this case ; for it is their part to appear with crowns of laurel, and decorated with the honorary presents which each has received, to utter the acclamations of victory, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur ; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, though absent, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked, for what purpose you were brought home to Italy, and not disbanded, immediately, when the business of the province was finished ; why ye came to Rome, in a body, round your standards ; why you loiter here, rather than repair

to your several homes ; what other answer can you give, than that you wished to be seen in festival ? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

XXXIX. "Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present prince, and over Antiochus : both of whom were in possession of their thrones, when these were performed ; and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to this city ? But if, (while the other generals mounted the capitol in their chariots, clad in gold and purple,) Lucius Paullus, alone, reduced to a private rank, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, call out from the lower ground, and ask them, 'Lucius Anicius, and Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves, or me, more deserving of a triumph ?' I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, present to him, with their own hands, their ensigns of honour. Do ye choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession, rather than Perseus ; do you wish to triumph over an accessory, rather than over the principal in the war ? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns ; and shall the Macedonian legions, being refused one for themselves, be only spectators of other men's glories ? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative ? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy ? or shall they be sent back to Macedonia ? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory ; the pictures, the ingenious productions of the loom ; such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of money as the king's ? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury, by night ; as if they were stolen ? What will become of the greatest of all shows ; where will that very celebrated and powerful king, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people ? What a concourse the captured king Syphax, an auxiliary only in the Punic war, caused, most of us remember ; and shall the captured king, Perseus, with his sons, Philip and Alexander, names so illustrious, be kept from the view of the public ? All men are eagerly anxious to behold Lucius Paullus himself, twice consul, the conqueror of Greece, entering the city in his triumphal chariot. We made

him consul, for this very purpose, that he should finish a war which had been protracted for four years, to our great shame. When he obtained that province by lot, and when he was setting out for it, with presaging minds, we destined to him victory; and shall we now, when he is victorious, refuse him a triumph; shall we defraud, not only men, but the gods also of the honours due to them? A triumph is due to the gods, as well as to men: your ancestors commenced every business of importance with worshipping them, and ended all in the same manner. The consul, or pretor, (when going to his province, and to a war, dressed in his military robe, and attended by his lictors,) offers vows in the capitol; and when he returns victorious, carries, in triumph, to the capitol, to the deities to whom he made the vows, the due offering of the Roman people. The victims that precede him are not the most immaterial part of the procession,—to demonstrate that the commander comes home with thanksgivings to the gods for the success granted to the business of the state. All those victims, which he has provided to be led in his triumph, you may slay at sacrifices, performed by different persons. Do you intend to interrupt those banquets of the senate, which are not allowed to be served up, either in any private, or even public place, if unconsecrated, but only in the capitol, whether they are meant for the gratification of men, or in honour both of gods and men,—because such is the will of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against Lucius Paullus' triumph? Shall Perseus, king of Macedonia, with his children, the multitude of other captives, and the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind, on this side of the river? Shall Lucius Paullus, in a private character, go straight from the gate to his house, as if returning home from his country-seat? And you, centurion, you, soldiers, listen to the votes of the senate respecting your general Paullus, rather than to the babbling of Servius Galba; listen to me, rather than to him. He has learned nothing, but to speak; and even that with rancour and malice. I have three-and-twenty times fought the enemy, on challenges, and from every one I brought off spoils. I have my body plentifully marked with honourable scars, all received in front." It is said, that he then stripped himself, and mentioned in what war each of his wounds was received; and that, while he was showing these,

he happened to uncover what ought to be hid, and that a swelling in his groins raised a laugh among those near him, on which he said, "This too, which excites your laughter, I got by continuing days and nights on horseback; nor do I feel either shame or sorrow for it, any more than for these scars, since it never obstructs me in doing good service to the public, either in peace or war. An aged soldier, I have shown to youthful soldiers this body of mine, often wounded by the weapons of the enemy. Let Galba expose his, which is sleek and unhurt. Tribunes, be pleased to call back the tribes to vote. Soldiers, I \* \* \*."

XL. Valerius Antias tells us, that the total of the captured gold and silver, carried in the procession, was one hundred and twenty millions of sesterces;<sup>1</sup> but from the number of philippics, and the weights of the gold and silver, specifically set down by himself, the amount is unquestionably made much greater. An equal sum, it is said, had been either expended on the late war, or dissipated during the king's flight, on his way to Samothrace. It is wonderful, that so large a quantity of money should have been amassed within the space of thirty years, since Philip's war with the Romans, out of the produce of the mines, and the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans with his treasury very poorly supplied; Perseus, on the contrary, with his immensely rich. Last came Paullus, in his chariot, making a very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person, and of his age. He was accompanied, among other illustrious personages, by his two sons, Quintus Maximus, and Publius Scipio; then followed the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denarii<sup>2</sup> to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is believed that he would have given double to each, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had answered with thankful acclamations when that sum was announced as their reward. Perseus, led through the city in chains, before the chariot of the general, his

<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of this speech is lost. The effect of it was, that the order for the triumph of Lucius Paullus passed unanimously. The beginning of the account of the procession is also lost.

<sup>2</sup> 968,750l.

3 3l. 4s. 7d.



conqueror, was not the only instance, at the time, of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paulus, though glittering in gold and purple. For, of two sons, (who, as he had given away two others on adoption, were the only remaining heirs of his name,) the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years of age, three days after it; children, who might have been expected, a short time before, to be carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the prætexta, and anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, Marcus Antonius, tribune of the commons, summoned a general assembly, at the general's request. Æmilius, after descanting on his own proper services, as usually done by other commanders, proceeded in a very remarkable manner, and well becoming a man of the first consequence in Rome.

XLi. "Although, Romans, I cannot suppose you uninformed, either of the success which has attended my endeavours in the service of the commonwealth, or of the two dreadful strokes which have lately crushed my house; since, within a short space of time, my triumph and the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view; yet, I beg leave to represent to you, in few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation, and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundisium at sun-rise; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Coreyra. On the fifth day after, I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in behalf of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi, I arrived, on the fifth day, in the camp; where, having received the command of the army, and put in order several matters, which greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country; the enemy's post being impregnable, and there being no possibility of forcing Perseus to fight. In spite of the guards which he had stationed, I made my way through the pass at Petra, and, at length, compelling the king to come to an engagement, gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans; and, in fifteen days, finished a war, which three consuls before me, had, for three years, conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events fol-

lowed in consequence of this; all the cities of Macedonia submitted; the royal treasure came into my hands; the king himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, delivered up in a manner by the gods themselves. I now thought my good fortune excessive, and became apprehensive of a change; I began to dread the dangers of the sea in carrying away the king's vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing farther to wish, I prayed, that, (as fortune generally from the highest elevation rolls backwards,) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I trust, therefore, that the public is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph come in between the funerals of my two sons; such is the delusive imperfection of human happiness! And though Perseus and myself are at present exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes to which mankind are liable, yet he,—who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive,—has them still in safety; while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring; nor out of so large a stock of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paullus. For, having a numerous progeny, I gave away two, on adoption, to the Cornelian and Fabian families. In the house of Paullus not one is there remaining but himself! However, for this disaster of my own family, I find consolation in your happiness, and in the prosperous state of the commonwealth." These words, expressive of such magnanimity, moved the minds of the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

XLII. Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph, over king Perseus, on the calends of December, in which appeared neither prisoners nor spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses<sup>1</sup>; to the pilots, who were on board, twice that sum; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held, and they ordered, that Quintus Cassius should conduct king

Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody ; but that he should retain his attendants, money, silver, and furniture. Bitis, son to the king of Thrace, with the hostages he had given to Macedon, were sent to Carseoli ; the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, king of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. Being introduced to an audience of the senate, they alleged, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to it ; and they requested the senate to allow the hostages to be ransomed, at any rate that should be judged proper. They were answered, that " the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, as well as with his predecessors, and the Thracian nation ; that the giving of hostages, was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an apology for it ; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that, notwithstanding Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity, than what treatment he had merited ; and would send home his son and the hostages ; that the kindness of the Roman people was always gratuitous ; and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it in present." Titus Quintius Flaminius, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, were nominated ambassadors to conduct Bitis, with the hostages, to Thrace ; and a present of two thousand *asses*<sup>2</sup> was made to each of the ambassadors. Some of Perseus's ships, of a size never seen before, were hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

XLIII. While people yet retained, not only fresh in memory, but almost before their eyes, the celebration of the Macedonian conquest, Lucius Anicius triumphed over king Gentius, and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar, than equal. The commander himself was inferior ; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius ;

a prætor, in dignity of office, with a consul ; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians ; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible. For Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their posts ; he had also taken their king, and the whole royal family. He carried, in his triumph, many military standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture ; and also twenty-seven pounds weight of gold, and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses<sup>3</sup> and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand.<sup>4</sup> Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen, and children ; Carovantius, the king's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty, he gave forty-five denariuses<sup>5</sup> to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman ; to the Latine allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The troops showed more joy in their attendance on this triumph than in that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias, says, that this victory produced to the public twenty thousand sesterces,<sup>6</sup> besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury ; but, as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my author, instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate, taken to Spolegium, to be kept there in custody ; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome ; but the people of Spolegium refusing the charge, the royal family was removed to Iguvium. There remained of the Illyrian spoil, two hundred and twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Coreyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

XLIV. The consuls of this year after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome to elect new magis-

3 96l. 17r. 6d.

4 3874l.

2 6l. 9s. 2d.

5 1l. 9s. 1d.

6 16l. 458l. 6s. 8d.



trates, without having performed any matter of importance. The first day on which the assembly could meet, were chosen consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. [Y. R. 586. B. C. 166.] Next day were elected prætors, Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius. To these prætors were decreed the two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and in his place was chosen by the college, Titus Quintus Flamininus. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year king Prusias arrived at Rome, with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city, with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the forum, to the tribunal of the prætor, Quintus Cassius; and a crowd immediately collecting, he said, that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two kings, Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedonia and Illyria under their dominion." The prætor told him, that, if he chose it, he would procure him audience of the senate on the same day; but he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods; see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then questor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed his conductor in Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after, he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He farther desired that the alliance with him might be renewed; and that the territory taken from king Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him." Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. His

interest was espoused by all those who had commanded armies in Macedonia; his requests, therefore, were granted, except that, with regard to the territory, he received this answer: that "they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a present of the kind as Prusias. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse them if they did not choose to confer a favour on him at the expense of others' rights. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver, which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy king of Egypt, was an instance of the great care of the Roman people in supporting the children of their friends." With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him, to the value of \* \* \* \* sesterces, besides vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds; with others to his son, Nicomedes, of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of king Masinissa; and that victims, and other matters pertaining to sacrifices, should be furnished to the king at the public expense, the same as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Præneste; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundisium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet which was freely given to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should constantly attend him, and defray all his expenses, and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents the behaviour of that king as highly unbecoming a person of his rank,—saying that he used to meet the ambassadors, wearing a cap, and having his head shaved; calling himself a freed slave of the Roman

people, and, accordingly, bearing the badges of that class : that, likewise, when coming into the senate-house he stooped down and kissed the threshold ; called the senate his tutelary deities, with other expressions not so honour-

able to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He staid in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom.

HERE ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, which it originally consisted of, the contents only have been preserved ; they are as follow :—

### BOOK XLVI.

Eumenes comes to Rome. [Y. R. 586. B. C. 166.] He had stood neuter in the Macedonian war ; in order, however, that he might not be deemed an enemy, if excluded, or considered as absolved of all guilt, if admitted, a general law was made, that no king be received into the city. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, subdues the Alpine Gauls ; and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. [Y. R. 587. B. C. 165.] The ambassadors of king Prusias complain of Eumenes, for ravaging their borders ; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy, with Antiochus, against the Romans. A treaty of friendship made with the Rhodians, upon their solicitation. [Y. R. 588. B. C. 164.] A census held ; the number of the citizens found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, dethroned by his younger brother, is restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. [Y. R. 589. B. C. 163.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who enters anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. [Y. R. 590. B. C. 162.] Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, attended with various success. Commotions in Syria, on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who left a son, an infant ; who, together with his guardian, Lesias, is murdered by Demetrius, who usurps the kingdom. [Y. R. 591. B. C. 161.] Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus : Such was the moderation and incorruptibility of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedonia, yet, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's for-

ture. [Y. R. 592. B. C. 160.] The Pomptine marshes drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul Cornelius Cethegus.

### BOOK XLVII.

Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, [Y. R. 593. B. C. 159.] fined, for contending in an unjust cause, with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief priest ; which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law made, respecting the canvassing for offices. [Y. R. 594. B. C. 158.] A census held ; the number of Roman citizens found to be three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty concluded between the Ptolemies, brothers, that one should be the king of Egypt, the other of Cyrene. [Y. R. 595. B. C. 157.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, deprived of his kingdom, by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, king of Syria ; restored by the senate. Ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. [Y. R. 596. B. C. 156.] Caius Marcius, consul, fights the Dalmatians, at first, unfortunately ; but, afterwards, successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made incursions upon the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [Y. R. 597. B. C. 155.] The Dalmatians completely subdued, by the consul, Cornelius Nasica. The consul, Quintus Opimius, defeats the Transalpine Ligurians, who had plundered Antipolis and Nicaea, two towns belonging to the Massilians. [Y. R. 598. B. C. 154.] Various ill successes, under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter upon



office, immediately after the conclusion of their election; which alteration was made, on account of a rebellion in Spain. [Y. R. 599. B. C. 153.] The ambassadors, sent by the senate, to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several prætors, accused of extortion, by different provinces, condemned and punished.

### BOOK XLVIII.

A census held; [Y. R. 600. B. C. 152.] the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. A third Punic war; causes of it. Marcus Porcius Cato urges a declaration of war against the Carthaginians, on account of their employing a vast body of Numidian troops under the command of Arco-barzanes, destined, they allege, to act against Masinissa, but he asserts, against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage, to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate being reproved for levying forces, and preparing materials for ship-building, contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, upon condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisco, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans, in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves by flight, from personal violence. On this being told, at Rome, the senate becomes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrates the funeral of his son, who died in the office of prætor, at a very small expense. Andrisus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed, gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial, on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass: alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men, used, formerly, to be decorated

by trains of images, and not by sumptuous expense. An inquiry instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, tried before the prætor, and executed. [Y. R. 601. B. C. 151.] Gulusa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were levying, and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declaration of war, and Nasica dissuading it, entreating the senate to do nothing rashly; it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and Aulus Postumius Albinus, carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, committed to prison by the tribunes of the people, for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain, having so discouraged the citizens of Rome, that none could be found to undertake any military command, or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever, which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul, Claudius Marcellus, had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless, his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaceæans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards, hitherto unknown; all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paullus, and nephew, by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia, being the first who scaled the wall. The prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, fights the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. The ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies, and Gulusa, report that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage. The matter taken into consideration by the senate. Cato, and other principal senators, urge, that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he yet saw no just cause for war, it is resolved that the same should not be declared, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet, and disband their troops; but if not, that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre which

the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty, they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

### BOOK XLIX.

The third Punic war; [Y. R. 602. B. C. 150.] which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and contend sharply: Cato urging the demolition of Carthage; Nasica arguing against it. It was, however, resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet, contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa, the friend and ally of the Romans: and refusing to admit Gulussa, who accompanied the ambassadors into their city. [Y. R. 603. B. C. 149.] Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans: a circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time, a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games exhibited at Tarentum, in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books. The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome, to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war, prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcus and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege, two military tribunes force their way in, with their

troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set upon and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterwards by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort, attacked by the enemy, in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth, in great force, to attack the camp. When, afterwards, one of the consuls, (the other being gone to Rome, to hold the elections,) observing that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, proposed to attack Hasdrubal, who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass; he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture upon an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous: and then, his advice being overruled by those who were envious, both of his prudence and valour, he, himself, rushes into the pass; and when, as he foresaw the Romans were routed and put to flight, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety. Which valiant action, Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms: saying that all the others, who were fighting in Africa, were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself: and such was the favour he gained among his fellow-citizens, that at the ensuing election, the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law, that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul, by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children, and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf, in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question is carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable



him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedonia. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot; that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman, to be taken care of, and brought up; in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which the king was, at that time, engaged with the Romans, some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, upon the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramyttium, until he was twelve years old; ignorant, all along, of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That, at length, this person being ill, and like to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth; informing him, at the same time, of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which had been entrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him, when he should attain to manhood: but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret, until the arrival of that period. That, when the time came, the writing was delivered to him; in which was indicated a very considerable treasure, left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country, before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, who, being the determined enemy of his father Perseus, would, most assuredly, procure him to be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria; and had there, first, ventured openly to declare who he was.

### BOOK L.

The aforesaid impostor [Y. R. 604. B. C. 148.] assuming the name of Philip, about to invade, and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, is prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, king of Bithynia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus, king of Pergamus. He had another son, who in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, had one entire bone. The

Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars, from many wounds; another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding: Cato said, it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The king of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-houses, brothels, and such-like places of infamous resort, Ammonus rules in his stead; and puts to death all the king's friends, together with his queen Laodice and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. Masinissa, king of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years; and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorised by his will so to do, divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it, to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabales. Scipio persuades Phamias, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied upon by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, lost in a storm. Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on account of his affinity to Gulussa, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the ædileship, is, by the people, elected consul, though under age: a violent contest arises from this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election; which, at length, terminates in his favour. Marcus Manlius takes several citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the prætor Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, is, himself, afterwards subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovers Macedonia.

### BOOK LI.

Carthage, [Y. R. 605. B. C. 147.] comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, besieged with immense exertion, and gradually taken; first, by Mancinus, acting as lieutenant-general; and afterwards, by Scipio, consul, to

whom Africa was voted as his province, without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole, (the old one being destroyed by Scipio,) and equipped, secretly, in an extraordinary short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage, unsuccessfully, in a sea-fight. Hasdrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, cut off by Scipio: who at length, masters the city in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. [Y. R. 606. B. C. 146.] The greater part of the spoil returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hasdrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who, a few days before, had not been able to prevail upon him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower, into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia, celebrates solemn games; during which, he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. War declared against the Achæans, who had forcibly driven away the Roman ambassadors, sent to Corinth to separate the cities, under the dominion of Philip, from the Achæan council.

## BOOK LII.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Beotians and Chalcidians. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself; in whose room, the Achæans choose Diæus, the chief promoter of the insurrection, general; he also is conquered, in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achaia reduced; Corinth demolished, by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, destroyed. Extraordinary moderation of Mummius, who, having all the vast wealth, and splendid ornaments, of the opulent city of Corinth in his power, took none of it. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs, on account of his victory, over Andiscus; likewise, Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of Carthage and Hasdrubal. [Y. R. 607. B. C. 145.] Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterwards, general of a power-

ful army, with which he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the prætor, Petilius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, prætor, sent against him; is equally unsuccessful. So successful was his career, that, at length, it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterwards slain by Demetrius, (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius,) aided by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, king of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection: vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia. Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Splendid triumph of Lucius Mummius over the Achæans.

## BOOK LIII.

Appius Claudius, consul, [Y. R. 608. B. C. 144.] subdues the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, makes his appearance in Macedonia; vanquished by the questor, Lucius Tremellius. [Y. R. 609. B. C. 143.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. [Y. R. 610. B. C. 142.] Quintus Fabius, proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the Roman history, in the Greek language.

## BOOK LIV.

Quintus Pompeius, consul, [Y. R. 611. B. C. 141.] subdues the Terrestines, in Spain; makes peace with them, and also with the Numantians. The census held; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedonia complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the prætor, had extorted money from that province; the senate, at his desire, refer the inquiry into the matter to Ti-



tus Manlius Torquatus, father of Silanus ; having finished the inquiry, in his own house, he pronounces his son guilty, and disclaims him ; and would not, afterwards attend his funeral, when he put an end to his life, by hanging himself ; but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing, which concerned him, had happened. [Y. R. 612. B. C. 140.] Quintus Fabius, proconsul, having successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories, by making peace with Viriathus, upon terms of equality. [Y. R. 613. B. C. 139.] Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus, by traitors ; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was, in truth, a great man, and a valiant general ; and in the fourteen years during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

### BOOK LV.

While Publius Cornelius Nasica, [Y. R. 614. B. C. 138.] (who was nicknamed Serapio, by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour,) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls, were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men then assembled, which afforded a very useful example : Caius Matienus was accused, before the tribunes, of deserting from the army in Spain ; being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave, for a very small piece of money.<sup>1</sup> The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers whom they thought proper ; which being refused by the consuls, they commit them to prison. Junius Brutus, consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popilius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, is routed, and his whole army put to flight. [Y. R. 615. B. C. 137.] While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop, and fly away ; afterwards, as he was getting on board his ship, to sail for Spain, a voice is heard cry-

ing out, "Go not, Mancinus, go not." The event afterwards proves these omens to have been inauspicious : for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, having no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. Upon this occasion, thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania, as far as the western sea ; his soldiers refusing to pass the river Oblivion, he snatches the standard and carries it over ; whereupon, they follow him. The son of Alexander, king of Syria, traitorously murdered by his guardian Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon : his physicians were bribed to give out that he had a stone in his bladder ; in pretending to cut him for which, they killed him.

### BOOK LVI.

[Y. R. 616. B. C. 136.] Decius Junius Brutus fights the Gallæcians, with success, in the Farther Spain : Marcus Æmilius Lepidus engages the Vacæans, unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves of the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people ; but they refuse to receive him. [Y. R. 617. B. C. 135.] The lustrum closed by the censors : the number of citizens, three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, consul, subdues the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, prætor, fights the Scordiscians, in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia, owing to the ill-conduct of the generals, still continuing, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship upon Scipio Africanus : on which occasion the law, which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time, is dispensed with. [Y. R. 618. B. C. 134.] An insurrection of the slaves in Sicily ; which, the prætor not being able to quell it, is committed to the care of the consul, Caius Fulvius. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war ; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army : Cleon, also, another slave,

<sup>1</sup> Worth less than 4d.

having assembled seventy thousand slaves, joins him; and they, several times, engage the Roman forces in those parts.

### BOOK LVII.

Scipio Africanus lays siege to Numantia. [Y. R. 619. B. C. 133.] Reduces to strict discipline the army, now exceedingly licentious, being corrupted by luxurious indulgence: this he effects by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the prostitutes who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes, for their fortifications; whenever he observed any of them sinking under the burden, he used to cry out, "When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then shall you be eased from your load of timber." He made them carry shields of immense size and weight; and not unfrequently ridiculed them, for being more expert in managing their shields for the defence of their own bodies, than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged, with vine twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy, with good success. The Vaccaëans, being reduced to extremity, first put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves. Antiochus, king of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders, who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the *quæstor* to place the whole to the public account; and promised, out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders, that those who came out, in search of victuals, should not be killed; saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed.

### BOOK LVIII.

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law, (con-

trary to the sense of the senate, and the equestrian order,) that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion, that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law; that the same commissioners should be authorised to determine which was public and which private land; and to settle the extent of each. When, afterwards, it appeared that there was not land sufficient to be divided according to his scheme, and that he had excited the hopes of the people, by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those, who, by the law of Sempronius, were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money, out of the bequest of Attalus, king of Pergamus. The senate was roused to indignation, at such repeated ill-treatment; and chiefly Publius Mucius the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus, in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless, he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus endeavouring to procure his re-election, as tribune, slain, in the capitol, by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica; is thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the river, together with some others, who fell in the tumult. Various engagements with various success, against the slaves in Sicily.

### BOOK LIX.

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress, by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio, having taken the city, destroys it, and triumphs in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage. [Y. R. 620. B. C. 132.] The consul, Publius Rupilius, puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily. Aristonicus, the son of king Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which having been bequeathed to the Roman people, by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him, out of Italy, (which never before was done,) engages him in battle, is beaten and slain.



Marcus Peperna, consul, subdues Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pompeius, the first plebeians, who were ever, both at one time, elected censors, close the lustrum; the number of citizens amount to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows. [Y. R. 621. B. C. 131.] Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech upon the occasion, is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cæsar read it, in the senate, upon occasion of his proposing to remove from marriage all restraints, on account of difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor Quintus Metellus to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him [Y. R. 622. B. C. 130.] Quintus Carbo, plebeian tribune, proposes a law, that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus argues against the proposition, in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Caius Gracchus supports the proposed law; but Scipio prevails. War between Antiochus king of Syria, and Phraates king of Parthia. Commotions in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, detested by his subjects for his cruelty; they set his palace on fire: he escapes to Cyprus. The people confer the kingdom upon his sister Cleopatra, who had been his wife, but he had divorced her, having first ravished, and then married her daughter. Incensed at his dethronement, he murders the son he had by her, and sends to her his head and limbs. [Y. R. 623. B. C. 129.] Seditions excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, commissioners for carrying into execution the Agrarian law: these were opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who going home at night, in perfect health, is found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife Sempronia, sister of the Gracchuses, with whom Scipio was at enmity, is strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry, however, is made into the matter. Upon his death, the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the con-

sul, fights the Iapidæ, at first, unsuccessfully; but soon repairs all his losses, by a signal victory, gained chiefly by Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

## BOOK LX.

A rebellion in Sardinia; [Y. R. 624. B. C. 128.] quelled by the consul, Lucius Aurelius. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who, first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, sent to assist the Massilians, against the Salvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, prætor, subdues the revolted Fregellans, and destroys their town, Fregellæ. [Y. R. 625. B. C. 127.] An extraordinary multitude of locusts, in Africa, killed and lying dead on the ground, produces a pestilence. [Y. R. 626. B. C. 126.] The censors close the lustrum: the number of the citizens, three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. [Y. R. 627. B. C. 125.] Caius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, yet professing more eloquence than him, carries some very dangerous laws; among others, one respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market, at the rate of half and a third of an *as*: also an Agrarian law, the same as his brother's: and a third, intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who at that time, were subservient, in all their opinions, to the senate: it was, that six hundred of them should be admitted of their house. At that time, the senate consisted of only three hundred members: the operation of the law was to throw all the power into the hands of this order, by making them double in number to the ancient senators. His office being continued to him another year, he causes several colonies to be led out into various parts of Italy; and one, which he conducted himself, to be established on the soil where Carthage, now demolished, formerly stood [Y. R. 628. B. C. 124.] Successful expedition of the consul Quintus Metellus against the Balearians, called by the Greeks Gymnesians, because they go naked all the summer. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons: or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him, when he sailed to Geryon. [Y. R. 629. B. C. 123.] Commotions in Syria, in

which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius ; and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown, without her consent, upon his father's death.

### BOOK LXI.

Caius Sextius, proconsul, [Y. R. 630. B. C. 122.] having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he names *Aque Sextiæ*, after his own name, and on account of the plenty of water, which he found there, flowing both from hot and cold springs. [Y. R. 631. B. C. 121.] Cneius Domitius, proconsul, fights the *Allobrogians*, with success, at the town of *Vindalium*. The cause of this war was their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, *Teutomalius*, the king of the Salyans, who had fled to them ; and ravaging the lands of the *Æduans*, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [Y. R. 632. B. C. 120.] Caius Gracchus, upon the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seizes upon the *Aventine* mount, with a considerable number of armed followers ; *Lucius Opimius*, by a decree of the senate, arms the people, drives him from thence, and puts him to death ; together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, a man of consular rank, associated with him. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, the consul, nephew of *Paullus*, gains a battle against the *Allobrogians*, and *Bituitus*, king of the *Arvernians* ; in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of *Bituitus* are slain. [Y. R. 633. B. C. 119.] The king comes to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, and is sent prisoner to *Alba*, there to be kept in custody, it not being deemed safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree also passes, that his son *Concentiatus* should be taken, and sent to Rome. Submission of the *Allobrogians*. *Lucius Opimius* brought to trial, before the people, for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned ; acquitted.

### BOOK LXII.

The consul *Quintus Marcius* [Y. R. 634. B. C. 118.] subdues the *Stonians*, an Alpine nation. *Micipsa*, king of *Numidia*, dying, bequeaths his kingdom to his three sons, *Ather-*

*bal*, *Hiempsal*, and *Jugurtha*, his nephew, whom he had adopted. [Y. R. 635. B. C. 117.] *Metellus* subdues the *Dalmatians*. *Jugurtha* goes to war with his brother *Hiempsal* ; vanquishes and puts him to death ; drives *Atherbal* from his kingdom ; who is restored by the senate. [Y. R. 636. B. C. 116.] *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, censors, expel thirty-two senators. [Y. R. 637. B. C. 115.] Disturbances in *Syria*.

### BOOK LXIII.

*Caius Porcius*, the consul, [Y. R. 638. B. C. 114.] combats the *Scordiscians*, in *Thrace*, unsuccessfully. The lustrum closed by the censors : the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. *Æmilia*, *Licina*, and *Marcia*, vestals, found guilty of incest. [Y. R. 639. B. C. 113.] The *Cimbrians*, a wandering people, come into *Illyria*, where they fight with, and defeat, the army of the consul *Papirius Carbo*. [Y. R. 640. B. C. 112.] The consul *Livius Drusus* makes war upon the *Scordiscians*, a people descended from the Gauls ; vanquishes them, and gains great honour.

### BOOK LXIV.

*Jugurtha* attacks *Atherbal*, besieges him in *Cirtha*, and puts him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. [Y. R. 641. B. C. 111.] War is declared against him, which being committed to the conduct of the consul, *Calpurnius Bestia*, he makes peace with *Jugurtha*, without authority from the senate and people. [Y. R. 642. B. C. 110.] *Jugurtha*, called upon to declare who were his advisers, comes to Rome upon the faith of a safe-conduct ; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. He murders *Massiva*, who sought, through the hatred which he saw the Romans bore to *Jugurtha*, to procure his kingdom for himself. Being ordered to stand his trial, he escapes ; and is reported to have said, on going away, " O venal city ! doomed to quick perdition, could but a purchaser be found ! " *Aulus Posthumius*, having unsucces-



fully fought Jugurtha, adds to his disgrace, by making an ignominious peace with him ; which the senate refuses to ratify.

### BOOK LXV.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, consul, [Y. R. 643. B. C. 109.] defeats Jugurtha, in two battles, and ravages all Numidia. Marcus Junius Silanus, consul, combats the Cimbrians, unsuccessfully. The Cimbrian ambassadors petition the senate for a settlement and lands ; are refused. [Y. R. 644. B. C. 108.] Marcus Minucius, consul, vanquishes the Thracians. Cassius, the consul, with his army, cut off by the Tigurine Gauls, in the country of the Helvetians. The soldiers, who survived that unfortunate action, condition for their lives, by giving hostages, and agreeing to deliver up half their property.

### BOOK LXVI.

Jugurtha, [Y. R. 645. B. C. 107.] driven out of Numidia, by Caius Marius, receives aid from Bocchus, king of the Moors. [Y. R. 646. B. C. 106.] Bocchus, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivers up Jugurtha, in chains, to Marius. In this action, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, quæstor under Marius, most highly distinguishes himself.

### BOOK LXVII.

Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, [Y. R. 647. B. C. 105.] lieutenant-general under the consul, taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed : slain by Boiorix, for saying, in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, taken prisoners, by the same enemy who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers, and other followers of the camp. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, sold by auction, by order of the people ; being the first person whose effects were confiscated, since the dethroning of king

Tarquin. [Y. R. 648. B. C. 104.] Jugurtha, and his two sons, led in triumph, before the chariot of Caius Marius ; put to death in prison. Marius enters the senate, in his triumphal habit ; the first person that ever did so : on account of the apprehensions entertained of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second, and a third time, in his absence : dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, pass into Spain ; where, having committed the like depredations, they are at length put to flight by the Celtiberians : returning into Gaul, they join the Teutons, a warlike people.

### BOOK LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius, prætor, [Y. R. 649. B. C. 103.] attacks the pirates, and chases them into Cilicia. The consul, Caius Marius, attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians, with their utmost force, defends himself ; and afterwards, in two battles, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeats them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph offered to him, which he defers, until he shall have subdued the Cimbrians also. [Y. R. 650. B. C. 102.] The Cimbrians drive Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athesis, which he abandons. They pass into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fight and vanquish them : in this battle, we are told, that there fell, one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, is received with the highest honours, by the whole body of the citizens ; two triumphs offered him, but he contents himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were, for some time, extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred upon a new man, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. [Y. R. 651. B. C. 101.] Publicius Malleolus executed for the murder of his mother ; being the first that ever was sewn up in a sack and cast into

the sea. The sacred shields, are said to have shaken, with considerable noise, previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

## BOOK LXIX.

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius,—the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius,—forcibly elected prætor; exercises his office, with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people, for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile, to Rhodes: there he passed his time entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character. [Y. R. 65. B. C. 100.] On his departure, Caius Marius, who was, in fact, the chief promoter of the sedition, and who had now purchased a fourth consulship, by openly distributing money among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment upon him. The same Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have, in him, a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. The senate were at length roused by such repeated acts of enormity, and Marius (a man of a very versatile character, and always desirous of being on the strong side, if he could any way discover it) joined them. In consequence of this, Saturninus, together with Glaucias, the prætor, and some others of his mad associates, is attacked by force of arms, and slain by one Rabirius. [Y. R. 653. B. C. 99.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, honourably recalled from banishment. Marcus Aquilius, proconsul, puts an end to the war of the slaves in Sicily.

## BOOK LXX.

Marcus Aquilius, [Y. R. 654. B. C. 98.] accused of extortion, refuses to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him; whereupon Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cuts open his vest, and shows the scars of his honourable wounds, received in front; upon

sight of which he is immediately acquitted. [Y. R. 655. B. C. 97.] This fact is related upon the authority of Cicero only. Successful expedition of Didius, the proconsul, against the Celtiberians. [Y. R. 656. B. C. 96.] Ptolemy, king of Cyrene, dies; bequeathes his kingdom to the Roman people: the senate decrees that the cities shall be free. [Y. R. 657. B. C. 95.] Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia, by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, king of Parthia, come to Sylla, to solicit the friendship of the Roman people. [Y. R. 658. B. C. 94.] Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, having exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, becomes odious, on that account, to the equestrian order, who had the cognisance of affairs of that nature; is brought to trial, and condemned to exile. [Y. R. 659. B. C. 93.] Caius Geminius, prætor, unfortunate in an expedition against the Thracians. [Y. R. 660. B. C. 92.] The senate, disgusted by the many abuses committed by the equestrian order in the exercise of their jurisdiction, endeavour to bring that jurisdiction into their own hands; they are supported by Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune; who, in order to gain the people, holds out to them the pernicious hope of a pecuniary gratification. Commotions in Syria.

## BOOK LXXI.

Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune, [Y. R. 661. B. C. 91.] in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, engages the concurrence of the allies, and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the agrarian and corn laws, he carries that, also, relative to criminal jurisdiction;—that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It is afterwards, found that the freedom which he had promised, cannot be conferred upon them; which incenses and incites them to revolt. An account of their assembling; their combinations and speeches made at their meetings, by the chief men among them. Drusus becomes obnoxious to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair; is considered as the cause



of the social war; is slain in his own house by an unknown hand.

## BOOK LXXII.

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolt. The war begins with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, proconsul, murdered, in the town of Asculum, and all the Roman citizens in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assume the military dress. Servius Galba, taken by the Lucanians, escapes by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. [Y. R. 662. B. C. 90.] Æsernia and Alba, besieged by the Italians. Aid sent to the Romans, by the Latines, and other foreign nations. Military operations, expeditions, and sieges, on both sides.

## BOOK LXXIII.

The consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar, engages the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola falls into the hands of the Samnites, together with Lucius Posthumius, the prætor, whom they kill. Many different states go over to the enemy. Publius Rutilius slain in an engagement, with the Marcians; Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, fights them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeats the Pelignians, in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant general, makes a successful sally against the enemy besieging him: on account of which success, he is made equal in command to Marius; becomes adventurous and rash; is surprized in an ambuscade, his army routed, and himself slain. Successes of the consul Lucius Cæsar against the Samnites; on account of his conquests, the inhabitants of Rome lay aside the military habit. The war carried on with various success. Æsernia, with Marcellus, falls into the hands of the Samnites; Caius Marius vanquishes the Marcians, and kills Herius Asinius, the prætor of the Marrucinians. Caius Cæcilius subdues the rebellious Salvians in Transalpine Gaul.

## BOOK LXXIV.

Cneius Pompeius defeats the Picentians, and lays siege to their town; on account of

this victory, the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, other usual ornaments of dress, and distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fights an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons now, for the first time, received into the army. [Y. R. 663. B. C. 89.] Aulus Plotius subdues the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes restored to the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes, to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, consul, overthrows the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens, being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, prætor, is murdered in the forum, by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursion of the Thracians, and devastations committed by them against the Macedonians.

## BOOK LXXV.

Aulus Posthumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, upon a suspicion of treachery, murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeats the Samnites, and takes two of their camps. The Vestinians surrender to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, slain in an attack upon their camp, which circumstance decides the victory in favour of the enemy. Cosconius and Luceius overthrow the Samnites in a battle, slay Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and receive the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdues the Hirpinians, defeats the Samnites in many battles, and receives the submission of several states: in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, he repairs to Rome to solicit the consulship.

## BOOK LXXVI.

Aulus Gabinius defeats the Lucanians, and takes several of their towns; is slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, commits military execution on the Marrucinians, and reduces their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, forces the Vestinians and Pelignians to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles, by Lucius

Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sue for peace. [Y. R. 664. B. C. 88.] Asculum taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians there, put to death by Mamerkus Æmilius. Silo Pompeius, the author of the revolt, killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Predatory incursions of the Thracians into Macedonia.

## BOOK LXXVII.

Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, (having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws : that those who had been banished, should be recalled ; that the newly-created citizens, and the sons of freedmen, should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed general against Mithridates,) commits violence against Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings ; kills Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter. Lucius Sylla comes into the town with an army, and fights the faction of Sulpicius and Marius, in the city ; he gets the better of them, and drives them out. Twelve of them, among whom are Caius Marius, the father, and his son, condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius, having concealed himself in a farm-house, in the neighbourhood, is discovered by one of his slaves, apprehended, and put to death. The slave being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer is made free ; and is then thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passes over into Africa, Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, is seized by the townspeople : a Gallic slave, sent to despatch him, terrified at his majestic appearance, retires, unable to accomplish the deed ; he is sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla makes a considerable reform in the state ; sends forth several colonies. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, procures the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, king of Pontus, seizes Bithynia and Cappadocia, having driven thence the Roman general, Aquilius ; at the head of a great army enters Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

## BOOK LXXVIII.

Mithridates possesses himself of Asia ; throws into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquilius, the general ; orders all the Romans in Asia to be massacred on the same day ; attacks the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state. Being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreats. [Y. R. 665. B. C. 87.] Archelaus, one of the king's governors, invades Greece ; takes Athens. Commotions in several states and islands, some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

## BOOK LXXIX.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, having, by force of arms, procured the enacting of several injurious laws, is driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from the authority, he procures the command of his army under Appius Claudius, by bribery, and makes war upon the city, having called to his assistance, Caius Marius, and other exiles, from Africa. In this war, two brothers, (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's,) encounter each other, without knowing it ; the conqueror, upon stripping the other, whom he had slain, discovers who he is, whereupon, in the agony of grief, he kills himself. Having erected a funeral-pile for his brother, is himself consumed in the same flames. This war might easily have been suppressed, in the beginning, but is kept up by the artifices of Pompeius, who underhand encouraged both parties and kept himself aloof, till much of the best blood in the state was spilt : the consul, also, was singularly languid and negligent. Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, lay siege to the city. Marius takes Ostia, which he plunders in the most cruel manner.

## BOOK LXXX.

The freedom of the city of Rome granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continue in arms, join Cinna and Marius, and overthrew Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius seize the Janiculum ; repelled by the consul Octavius.



Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state, having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery of their troops and of the commanders, (most of whom had been gained by bribes,) receive Cinna and Marius into the city. As if it were a captured place, they murder great numbers of the inhabitants, and plunder others in the most cruel manner. They put to death the consul Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Caesar, whose heads they stick up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria; his father, to escape suffering indignity, kills himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declare themselves consuls. The first day of their entering upon office, Marius, after having committed very many atrocious acts, dies, on the ides of January; a man, whom, if we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he were greater in war, or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterwards, by every species of artifice and fraud; and, finally, destroyed it by open force.

### BOOK LXXXI.

Lucius Sylla besieges Athens, [Y. R. 666. B. C. 86.] held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and takes it, after an obstinate resistance: the city and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, restored to liberty. Magnesia, the only city in Asia which continued faithful, defended against Mithridates, with great valour. The Thracians invade Macedonia.

### BOOK LXXXII.

Sylla defeats Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routs and destroys the king's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrenders to Sylla. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, appointed to succeed Sylla, in the command of his army, becomes so odious to his men, on account of his avarice, that he is slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general,

a man of consummate audacity, who, thereupon, assumes the command. Several cities in Asia taken by Mithridates, who treats them with extreme cruelty. Invasion of Macedonia by the Thracians.

### BOOK LXXXIII.

[Y. R. 667. B. C. 85.] Caius Fimbria having defeated several of Mithridates' generals in Asia, takes the city of Pergamus, and is very near making the king captive. He takes and destroys the city of Ilion, which adhered to Sylla, and recovers a great part of Asia. Sylla overcomes the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, make preparations for war against Sylla; Lucius Valerius Flaccus moves the senate, and, assisted by those who were desirous of peace, prevails, that a deputation should be sent to Sylla, to treat of terms. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, is slain by them. [Y. R. 668. B. C. 84.] Carbo sole consul. Sylla makes peace, in Asia, with Mithridates, upon condition that the king shall evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, puts himself to death.

### BOOK LXXXIV.

Sylla answers the deputies, that he would yield to the authority of the senate, upon condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored; which proposition appears reasonable to the senate, but is opposed and rejected by Carbo, and his faction, who conceive that they may derive more advantage from a continuance of a war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, is overruled by the senate. The right of voting given to the new citizens, by a decree of the senate. Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, prepares for war in Africa; is crushed by Caius Fabius, the prætor. [Y. R. 669. B. C. 83.] Carbo's faction and the Marian party procure a decree of the senate, that the armies shall every where be disbanded. The sons of freedmen distributed among the

thirty-five tribes. Preparations for war against Sylla.

### BOOK LXXXV.

Sylla enters Italy, at the head of an army : his ambassadors ill treated by Norbanus, the consul, whom he afterwards defeats in battle. Having, ineffectually, tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepares to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army, seduced by some of his soldiers, who had insinuated themselves among them, desert to him in a body. Having restored Scipio in his power, he sets him free, when he might have killed him. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius who took Asculum, raises an army of volunteers, and goes over to Sylla with three legions : also, the whole body of the nobility quit the city and join his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy.

### BOOK LXXXVI.

Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, made consul [Y. R. 670. B. C. 82.] by force, before he was twenty years old. Caius Fabius burned alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the prætor, Quintus Antonius, takes Sardinia. Sylla, in order to conciliate the different Italian states, makes a league with them, contracting not to deprive them of the city, and the right of voting lately conferred upon them. So confident is he of the victory, that he publishes an order that all suitors, bound by sureties, should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the prætor, having called together the senate, at the desire of Marius, murders what remains of the nobility in the city ; among them Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high priest, endeavouring to make his escape, is killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. The war in Asia, against Mithridates, renewed by Lucius Murena.

### BOOK LXXXVII.

Sylla having subdued and destroyed Caius Marius's army, at Sacriportus, lays siege to

Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge ; recovers Rome, out of the hands of his enemies. Marius attempting to break forth from Præneste, is repelled. Successes of the different commanders under him, every where.

### BOOK LXXXVIII.

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo, at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drives him entirely out of Italy ; fights and overthrows the Samnites, the only nation in Italy which still continued in arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stains his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed ; he murders eight thousand men, in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and publishes a list of persons proscribed : he fills with blood the city of Rome, and all Italy. All the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, he orders to be murdered : he kills Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius besieged at Præneste, by Lucretius Asella, and other partisans of Sylla, endeavours to escape through a mine ; failing in which attempt he kills himself.

### BOOK LXXXIX.

Lucius Brutus sent, in a fishing-boat, from Cossura, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, to Lilybæum, to discover if Pompeius were there, is surrounded by some of Pompeius's vessels, whereupon he destroys himself. Cneius Pompeius sent by the senate to Sicily, with full powers, takes Carbo prisoner, and puts him to death, who dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla made dictator ; assumes a state never before seen, walking, preceded by twenty-four lictors. He establishes many new regulations in the state ; abridges the authority of the plebeian tribunes ; takes from them entirely the power of proposing laws ; increases the college of priests and augurs to fifteen ; fills up the senate from the equestrian order ; takes from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sells such of their effects as had



not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He orders Lucretius Ofella to be put to death, in the forum, for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship, without having previously obtained his permission; at which the people of Rome being offended, he calls a meeting, and tells them, that Ofella was slain by his orders. [Y. R. 671. B. C. 81.] Cneius Pompeius vanquishes and kills Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, in Africa; also Hiarbas, king of Numidia, who was making preparations for war. He triumphs over Africa, although not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before. Caius Norbonus, of consular rank, being proscribed, seeks safety at Rhodes, where, being discovered, he kills himself. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise, to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, she refuses to admit him, telling him that he was a forbidden man, whereupon he stabs himself, and sprinkles the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla takes Nolla, a city of the Samnites. [Y. R. 672. B. C. 80.] He leads forth forty-seven legions into the conquered lands, and divides them among them. [Y. R. 673. B. C. 79.] He besieges and takes the town of Volaterra; he demolishes likewise Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates.

### BOOK XC.

Death of Sylla; [Y. R. 674. B. C. 78.] he is buried in the Campus Martius, by a decree of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, by attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raises new commotions; is driven out of Italy, by his colleague, Quintus Catulus; endeavouring to excite a war in Sardinia, he loses his life. [Y. R. 675. B. C. 77.] Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul, slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raises a formidable war in the Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, proconsul, and Marcus Domitius, overthrown in a battle by the quæstor Herculeius. Expedition of the proconsul, Publius Servilius, against the Cilicians.

### BOOK XCI.

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, sent against Sertorius with consular authority. Sertorius takes several cities, and reduces many others to submission. The proconsul, Appius Claudius, conquers the Thracians in several battles. [Y. R. 676. B. C. 76.] Quintus Metellus, proconsul, cuts off Herculeius, with his whole army.

### BOOK XCII.

Cneius Pompeius, fights an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being reciprocally beaten. Quintus Metellus conquers Sertorius and Peperna, with both their armies; Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engages in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, makes frequent sallies, to the great loss of the besiegers. [Y. R. 677. B. C. 75.] Successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians. Cruelties of Sertorius against his own partisans, many of whom he puts to death, upon pretended suspicion of treachery.

### BOOK XCIII.

Publius Servilius, proconsul in Cilicia, subdues the Isaurians, and takes several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, bequeaths his dominions to the Roman people, who reduce them into the form of a province. [Y. R. 678. B. C. 74.] Mithridates establishes a league with Sertorius, and declares war against Rome; makes vast preparations, both of land and sea forces, and seizes Bithynia. Marcus Aurelius Cotta overcome in an action by the king, at Chalcedon. Pompeius and Metellus conduct the war against Sertorius, who proves fully equal to them in the military art. Sertorius raises the siege of Calgurius, and compels them to retreat into different countries. Metellus into the Farther Spain, Pompeius into Gaul.

### BOOK XCIV.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeats Mithridates, in an action between their cavalry, and makes several successful expeditions; a

mutiny among his soldiers, arising from an eager desire of fighting, repressed. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, kills certain officers of Mithridates, who were stirring up war in Phrygia. Successes of Pompeius, against Sertorius, in Spain.

### BOOK XCV.

Caius Curio, proconsul, [Y. R. 679. B. C. 73.] subdues the Dardanians, in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua: having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and putting themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they attack and defeat Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, prætor. Lucius Lucullus, proconsul, destroys the army of Mithridates, by the sword and famine, at Cyzicus; that king, driven from Bithynia, having suffered much, in several engagements and shipwrecks, is, at length, obliged to fly to Pontus.

### BOOK XCVI.

Quintus Arrius, the prætor, [Y. R. 680. B. C. 72.] defeats and kills Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engages Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeats Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius slain at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Peperna, and other conspirators: he was a great general, and being opposed to two commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his force devolved upon Peperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain, towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Spartacus gains another victory over Caius Cassius, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor: the charge of that war committed to the prætor, Marcus Crassus.

### BOOK XCVII.

Marcus Crassus, the prætor, [Y. R. 681. B. C. 71.] engages with and defeats an army of the fugitives, consisting of Gauls and Germans, killing thirty-five thousand of them,

together with their general, Granicus; afterwards, he fights Spartacus, whom he conquers, killing him and forty thousand men. The war against the Cretans, unfortunately undertaken, finishes with the death of the prætor, Marcus Antonius. Marcus Lucullus, proconsul, subdues the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus gives battle to Mithridates, in Pontus: overcomes him, killing sixty thousand men. [Y. R. 682. B. C. 70.] Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompeius, elected consuls; the latter being only of the equestrian order, not having yet served the office of quæstor; they restore the tribunitian power. The right of trial transferred to the Roman knights, by the prætor, Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flies for refuge to Tigranes, king of Armenia.

### BOOK XCVIII.

A treaty of friendship made by Machares, son of Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and Caius Galius, censors, exercise their office with extreme rigour; they expel sixty-four senators. The lustrum closed: the number of citizens amounts to four hundred and fifty thousand. [Y. R. 683. B. C. 69.] Lucius Metellus, prætor, is successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the capitol, having been consumed by fire, rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. [Y. R. 684. B. C. 68.] Lucius Lucullus defeats Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul, Quintus Metellus, he lays siege to the city of Cydonia. [Y. R. 685. B. C. 67.] Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory; the principal authors of the sedition were the Valerian legions, who refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

### BOOK XCIX.

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, takes Gnosus, Lyctum, Cydonia, and many other



cities. Lucius Roscius, plebeian tribune, carries a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drives them wholly from the sea; and having finished the war against them in Cilicia, reduces them to submission, and assigns them lands and towns. Successes of Metellus against the Cretans. Letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complains, that Pompeius had treated him injuriously, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans: Pompeius alleges, that he had a right to do so.

### BOOK C.

Caius Manilius, tribune of the people, [Y. R. 686. B. C. 66.] to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposes, that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. His excellent speech upon that occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposes laws upon that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, setting out for the war against Mithridates, renews the treaty of friendship with Phraates, king of Parthia; overcomes Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. War between Phraates, king of Parthia, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; afterwards, between the father and son Tigranes.

### BOOK CI.

Cneius Pompeius vanquishes Mithridates, in a battle fought in the night, and compels him to fly to Bosphorus; reduces Tigranes to submission, taking from him, Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; restores to him his own kingdom of Armenia. A conspiracy to murder the consuls suppressed; the authors of it were certain persons, who had been convicted of unlawful practices, when candidates for the consulship. [Y. R. 687. B. C. 65.] Pompeius pursues Mithridates into remote, and even unknown regions; he fights and conquers the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. Mithri-

dates flies to the Colchians and Heniochians his transactions at Bosphorus.

### BOOK CII.

Pompeius reduces Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces son of Mithridates, makes war upon his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, takes poison, which, not producing the desired effect, he procures himself to be slain by a Gaul, named Bituitus. Pompeius conquers the Jews, and takes their temple, hitherto unviolated. [Y. R. 688. B. C. 64.] Catiline, having twice failed in his pursuit of the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth; he raises an army in Etruria: [Y. R. 689. B. C. 63.] the conspiracy is discovered, and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul. Catiline is driven out of Rome; the other conspirators punished with death.

### BOOK CIII.

Catiline's army vanquished, [Y. R. 690. B. C. 62.] and himself slain, by the proconsul, Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius accused of having entered a chapel, disguised in woman's apparel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter; and of having defiled the wife of the high-priest: acquitted. Caius Pontinius, prætor, subdues the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joins the party of the people. Caius Cæsar subdues the Lusitanians: [Y. R. 691. B. C. 51.] being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth into his own hands, he forms a party with two of the principal men of the state, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Crassus. [Y. R. 692. B. C. 60.] Cæsar, now consul, procures the passing of some Agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. [Y. R. 693. B. C. 59.] Caius Antonius, proconsul, defeated in Thrace. [Y. R. 694. B. C. 58.] Marcus Cicero banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Ro-

man citizens uncondemned. Cæsar goes into the province of Gaul, where he subdues the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. Description and situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphs over the children of Mithridates and Tigranes, the father and son: the surname of the Great conferred upon him by a full assembly of the people.

### BOOK CIV.

Situation of Germany; description of that country, and of the people. Caius Cæsar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus; he rouses the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies; he then defeats the Germans in an engagement, and drives them out of Gaul. [Y. R. 695. B. C. 57.] Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate, and of all Italy, recalled from banishment chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of providing corn for the city committed to Cneius Pompeius for five years. Cæsar overcomes in battle the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduan, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, and reduces them all to subjection. He afterwards, at great risk, engages the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and entirely cuts them off; this war they continued with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business committed to Marcus Cato. [Y. R. 696. B. C. 56.] Ptolemy ill-treated by his subjects, and dethroned, comes to Rome. Caius Cæsar defeats the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. Successful expeditions of his lieutenants-general.

### BOOK CV.

Caius Cato, tribune of the people, persists in preventing the holding the elections; on which

the senate goes into mourning. [Y. R. 607. B. C. 55.] Marcus Cato, a candidate for the prætorship, loses the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato committed to prison, by the tribune, Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces, for five years: to Cæsar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinus, proconsul, restores Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, dethroning Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. [Y. R. 698. B. C. 54.] Cæsar, having vanquished the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, passes the Rhine, and subdues them also in those parts: he then crosses the sea, and, having suffered much from tempests, invades Britain; where, having killed a considerable number of the inhabitants, he reduces a part of the island to subjection.

### BOOK CVI.

Julia, Cæsar's daughter, and wife of Pompeius, dies; by a vote of the people, she is honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolt, and put themselves under the command of Ambiorix; they ensnare and cut off Cotta and Titurius, lieutenants-general under Cæsar, with the armies under their command: having attacked other legions, who with difficulty defended their camps, and, among the rest, Quintus Cicero, they are at length defeated by Cæsar himself. [Y. R. 699. B. C. 53.] Marcus Crassus crosses the Euphrates, to make war upon the Parthians, and is overthrown in a battle, in which his son is killed; having collected the remains of his army upon a rising ground, a conference to treat of peace, is proposed; at which he is seized by a party under the command of Surenas; to avoid suffering any indignity, he makes such resistance as obliges them to put him to death.

### BOOK CVII.

Caius Cæsar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passes over a second time into Germany; finding no enemy there, he returns to Gaul, and reduces to obedience the Eburones, and other cities, which had revolted. Titus Annianus Milo, a candidate for the consulship, kills



Publius Clodius, on the Appian road, near Bovilla, whose body the people burn in the curia. [Y. R. 700. B. C. 52.] The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carry on their contention with so much rancour, as to come to open violence, which excites a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius is, a third time, elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague,—a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A law made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cæsar to stand for the consulship, though absent. Cæsar's operations against the Gauls, who had almost all revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix; he takes many towns; amongst others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

### BOOK CVIII.

Cæsar overthrows the Gauls at Alesia, and reduces all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's quaestor, defeats the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. [Y. R. 701. B. C. 51.] M. Cato fails in his pursuit of the consulship; the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus. Cæsar subdues the Bellovacians, and other Gallic tribes. Disputes between the consuls, concerning the sending out a person to succeed Cæsar; Marcellus contends that Cæsar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period. Exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

### BOOK CIX.

Causes and beginning of the civil war: [Y. R. 702. B. C. 50.] disputes about sending a successor to Cæsar, who refuses to disband his army, unless Pompeius shall also do the same. Caius Curio, plebeian tribune, takes an active part; first, against Cæsar, afterwards, in his favour. [Y. R. 703. B. C. 49.] A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cæsar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius are driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure. Orders sent by the senate to the consuls, and

to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cæsar, determined to make war upon his enemies, arrives in Italy with his army; he takes Corsinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharges: drives Cneius Pompeius, and his adherents, out of Italy.

### BOOK CX.

Cæsar besieges Massilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenants-general, Caius Trebonius and Decius Brutus, to carry on the siege, he sets out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenants-general, with seven legions, surrender to him at Ilerda: he dismisses them all in safety. He also reduces to submission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He grants the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yield to Cæsar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cæsar, makes an unsuccessful attack upon Pompeius's forces in Illyria, and is taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cæsar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, kill one another. Caius Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants-general in Africa, after a successful engagement of Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, attacked and cut off, together with his army, by Juba, king of Mauritania. Caius Cæsar passes over into Greece.

### BOOK CXI.

Marcus Cælius Rufus, prætor, [Y. R. 704. B. C. 48.] having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people, that their debts should be annulled, turned out of his office, and driven from the city; he joins Milo, who, being in exile, was raising an army of fugitives: they are both slain. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians, in Spain, harassed by the extortion and oppression of the prætor Quintus Cassius, desert Cæsar's party, together

with two legions. Cneius Pompeius besieged by Cæsar at Dyrrachium; beating him out of his lines, the siege is raised. The seat of war removed to Thessaly: Cæsar overcomes Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remains in the camp,—a man without any kind of talent for war. Cæsar grants a free pardon to all who submit themselves to his power.

## BOOK CXII.

Consternation and flight of the vanquished party, in all parts of the world. Pompeius, endeavouring to escape into Egypt, is slain, before he could get on shore, by order of Ptolemy, the king, a minor, upon the persuasion of Theodotus, his governor. Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his son, fly to Cyprus. Cæsar follows him, three days after his victory; upon being presented with the ring of Pompey by Theodotus, he is highly offended with him for putting him to death, and laments his fate with tears. [Y. R. 705. B. C. 47.] Cæsar enters Alexandria in safety, notwithstanding that city was in a state of tumult. Cæsar created dictator; restores Cleopatra to her throne; and defeats Ptolemy with great slaughter, who had made war upon him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to death. Ptolemy, in his flight, driven on shore, in his vessel, in the Nile. Laborious march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through vast tracts of desert country. Unsuccessful war of Domitius against Pharnaces.

## BOOK CXIII.

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the command in chief is given to Publius Scipio,—Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving up. When it was deliberated, in council, whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cæsar, Cato opposes that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba. Cato's opinion prevailing, he is appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, puts himself at the head of them,

II.

and renews the war there. Pharnaces, king of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, is subdued. A sedition excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to extinguish the debts of the people. Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brings troops into the town, and kills eight hundred of the people. Cæsar discharges the veteran soldiers, who were grown mutinous: crosses over into Africa, and engages the forces of king Juba, in a very hazardous combat.

## BOOK CXIV.

Cæcilius Bassus, [Y. R. 706. B. C. 46.] a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirs up war in Syria: the legion left there, under the command of Sextus Cæsar, having slain their commander, and revolted to Bassus. Cæsar defeats the prætor Scipio, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, and takes their camps. Cato, hearing of this disaster, stabs himself at Utica; his son coming in, forces him to consent to have his wound dressed; but he, afterwards, tears away the dressing, and expires, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Petreius also puts Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio also, his ship being overpowered, slays himself, having said to those who inquired after the general, "The general is well." Faustus and Afranius slain. Cato's son is pardoned. Brutus, Cæsar's lieutenant-general, gives battle to the rebellious Bellovacians, and overcomes them.

## BOOK CXV.

Cæsar triumphs four times: over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gives a feast, and exhibits shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he grants leave to return; but he is murdered, at Athens, by Magius Cilo, one of his dependents. Cæsar holds a census: the number of citizens amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand. [Y. R. 707. B. C. 45.] Cæsar goes to Spain against Cneius Pompey; where, after many attacks on both sides, he at length gains a signal victory, after a most desperate engagement, at Munda. Pompeius flies.

3 Y



## BOOK CXVI.

Cæsar triumphs, a fifth time, over Spain. Very many and high honours decreed him by the senate; among others, that he should be styled Father of his country, and Sacred, and also that he should be perpetual dictator. [Y. R. 708. B. C. 44.] He gives much ground of offence by his haughtiness and pride: for when the senate, waiting upon him to signify the honours they had decreed him, find him sitting before the temple of Venus Genetrix, he rises not to receive them: when also Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, running among the Lupercalians, came up to him, and placed a diadem upon his head, he took it off, and laid it by him upon a chair: he turned out of their office, Epidius Marullus, and Cæsetius Flavius, plebeian tribunes, for asserting that he had assumed the office of king. Having, by these measures, incurred the public hatred, a conspiracy was at length formed against him; the chiefs of which were, Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius; with two of his own partisans, Decius Brutus and Caius Trebonius. These kill him in the court of Pompeius, giving him three-and-twenty wounds; they then seize the capitol. The senate passes a decree of oblivion; then the conspirators, having first received the children of Antonius and Lepidus as hostages, come down from the capitol. Octavius, Cæsar's nephew, is, by his will, made heir of half his acquisitions. Cæsar's body burnt by the people, in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, excites some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar; slain.

## BOOK CXVII.

Caius Octavius comes to Rome from Epirus, whither Cæsar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia: is received with the most auspicious omens: assumes the name of Cæsar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus contrives to procure his election to the office of chief priest. Marcus Antonius, consul, governs with much haughtiness, and forcibly causes a law to be passed respecting, the change

of provinces. Cæsar, requesting him to join in punishing the murderers of his uncle, is harshly treated by him. Cæsar, to strengthen himself, and the commonwealth, against Antonius, applies to the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in the colonies. The fourth legion also, and the Martians, declare for Cæsar against Antonius. Antonius having put many to death, on mere suspicion, causes the revolt of very considerable numbers to Cæsar. Decius Brutus, in order to stop Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seizes Mutina with his army. Attempts of both parties to get possession of the provinces: preparations for war.

## BOOK CXVIII.

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, manages to get the command of Vatinius' army, and province. [Y. R. 709. B. C. 43.] To Cæsar, who first took arms in the defence of the commonwealth, is given the command, in quality of proprætor, with the consular ornaments; he is also made a senator. Marcus Antonius besieges Brutus at Mutina; he sends deputies to Rome, to treat of peace, but without effect. The people of Rome assume the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduces Antonius and his army to submission, in Epirus.

## BOOK CXIX.

Publius Dolabella circumvents Caius Trebonius in Asia, and kills him; for which crime the senate votes Dolabella to be a public enemy. Pansa, the consul, being engaged in an action with Antonius, and in danger of being worsted, Aulus Hirtius, his colleague, arrives, routes Antonius's forces, and restores the fortune of the day. Antonius, conquered by Hirtius and Cæsar, joins Lepidus; is declared a public enemy, by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in the action, are buried in the Campus Martius. To Cæsar, the only surviving general of the three, the senate showed but little gratitude; for a triumph was voted to Decius Brutus,

who was relieved from the siege of Mutina, by Cæsar, while they made but slight mention of Cæsar and his army: on which account he becomes reconciled to Antonius, by the intervention of Lepidus, and arrives in Rome at the head of his army: whereupon those, who before treated him with indifference, struck with fear, now elect him consul, although only in his twentieth year.

### BOOK CXX.

Cæsar, consul, procures a law to be passed for an inquiry into his father's death: in consequence of which Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decius Brutus, are condemned, though absent. Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having joined their forces to those of Antonius, Decius Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antonius, being deserted by the legions under his command, flies; is killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he fell. Cæsar becomes reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, and, in conjunction with them, assumes the entire direction of the public affairs for five years: it is agreed among them, that each shall have the power of proscribing their own particular enemies. In this proscription are included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cæsar, Antonius's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero. This last slain by Popilius, a legionary soldier, and his head and right hand stuck up on the rostrum, in the sixty-third year of his age. Transactions of Brutus in Greece.

### BOOK CXXI.

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, pronounced a public enemy, by virtue of this authority takes the command in Syria, and putting himself at the head of the three armies, which were in that province, besieges Dolabella, in Laodicea, and puts him to death. Caius Antonius taken and slain, by order of Marcus Brutus.

### BOOK CXXII.

Marcus Brutus unsuccessful in an engagement with the Thracians. Afterwards, all the pro-

vinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, are brought into obedience to him and Cassius; they meet at Smyrna to hold a council relative to the conduct of the war they are about to engage in. [Y. R. 710. B. C. 42.] They subdue Publicola, the brother of Marcus Messala, and agree in granting a pardon.

### BOOK CXXIII.

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans, and other fugitives, in Epirus, wanders about, for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length, they seize, first, Messana in Sicily, and, afterwards, the whole province. Then, having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the prætor, they defeat Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cæsar's, in a sea-fight. Cæsar and Antonius, with their armies, pass over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificus overcomes Titus Sestius, in a battle in Africa.

### BOOK CXXIV.

Cæsar and Antonius fight an indecisive battle with Brutus, at Philippi; in which the right wing of each army is victorious; and, on both sides, the camps are taken; the death of Cassius at length decides the victory; for, being at the head of that wing which is beaten, he supposes his whole army routed, and kills himself. Afterwards, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, puts an end to his life.

### BOOK CXXV.

Cæsar, [Y. R. 711. B. C. 41.] leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond sea, returns to Italy, and makes a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspire against their general. Lucius Antonius, consul, influenced by Fulvia, makes war upon Cæsar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cæsar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he enters it in a hostile manner.



## BOOK CXXVI.

Cæsar, now twenty-three years of age, [Y. R. 712. B. C. 40.] besieges Antonius in Perusia; who, after several attempts to escape, is at length forced by famine to surrender. Cæsar grants a pardon to him, and all his followers. And having reduced all the various armies, in different parts, puts an end to the war without effusion of blood.

## BOOK CXXVII.

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party, under the command of Labienus, invade Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seize that whole province. Marcus Antonius, being urged by his wife Fulvia to make war against Cæsar, repudiates her, and to strengthen his alliance with him, marries his sister Octavia. He discovers the guilt of Quintus Salvidienus, who was endeavouring to promote a conspiracy against Cæsar: Quintus being condemned, puts himself to death. [Y. R. 713. B. C. 39.] Publius Ventidius overcomes the Parthians in a battle, in which their general Labienus is killed, and drives them out of Syria. Sextus Pompeius, keeping possession of Sicily, greatly obstructs the importation of corn; he demands peace, which is granted, and he is made governor of that island. Commotions and war in Africa.

## BOOK CXXVIII.

[Y. R. 714. B. C. 38.] Sextus Pompeius breaks the treaty which he had solicited, and infests the seas by his piracies; Cæsar, obliged to make war upon him, fights him in two indecisive sea-engagements. [Y. R. 715. B. C. 37.] Publius Ventidius overthrows the Syrians in battle, and kills their king. [Y. R. 716. B. C. 36.] Antonius's generals vanquish the Jews. Preparations for the war in Sicily.

## BOOK CXXIX.

Several battles at sea, with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cæsar's two

fleets, one under the command of Agrippa gains a victory; the other, led by Cæsar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being sent on shore, are exposed to great dangers. Pompeius is afterwards defeated, and flies into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus comes from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cæsar in the war against Sextus Pompeius, but, in reality, to fight against Cæsar; is deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, but his life is granted him. Cæsar confers a naval crown upon Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

## BOOK CXXX.

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indulgence with Cleopatra, arrives late in Media; with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, he makes war upon the Parthians. Having lost two of his legions, and nothing prospering with him, he retreats to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he flies three hundred miles in twenty-one days. About eight thousand men lost by tempests; he was himself the cause of all these misfortunes, as well of the losses by the tempests, as in the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

## BOOK CXXXI.

Sextus Pompeius, [Y. R. 717. B. C. 35.] notwithstanding his engagements to Marcus Antonius, endeavours to raise a war against him in Asia; slain by one of Antonius's generals. [Y. R. 718. B. C. 34.] Cæsar represses a mutiny of the veterans, which threatened much mischief; he subdues the Japidae, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians. [Y. R. 719. B. C. 33.] Antonius, having, by promises of safety and protection, induced Artavardes, king of Armenia, to come to him, commands him to be thrown into chains, and gives the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, whom he had by Cleopatra, and whom he now treats as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

## BOOK CXXXII.

Cæsar conquers the Dalmatians in Illyria; [Y. R. 720. B. C. 32.] he passes over to

Epirus, at the head of an army, [Y. R. 721. B. C. 31.] against Antonius, who, fascinated by the love of Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Philadelphus, would neither come to Rome, nor, the time of his triumvirate being expired, would he resign that office; but meditated war, and was preparing a great force, both for sea and land. He had also divorced Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Sea-fights, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which Cæsar is victorious.

### BOOK CXXXIII.

Antonius's fleet vanquished by Cæsar at Actium. Antonius flies to Alexandria, where, his affairs being reduced to extremity, and being agitated by a false report of Cleopatra's death, he kills himself. Cæsar having reduced Alexandria, [Y. R. 722. B. C. 30.] Cleopatra, to avoid falling into his hands, puts herself to death. Cæsar, on his return to Rome, triumphs three times: first, over Illyria; secondly, on account of the victory at Actium; and, thirdly, over Cleopatra. Thus ends the civil war, after it had lasted one-and-twenty years. [Y. R. 723. B. C. 29.] Marcus Lepidus, the son of Lepidus who was of the triumvirate, forms a conspiracy against Cæsar; taken and killed.

### BOOK CXXXIV.

Cæsar, having settled the affairs of the state, [Y. R. 724. B. C. 28.] and reduced all the provinces to exact order, receives the surname of Augustus; the month Sextilis, is named, in honour of him, August. [Y. R. 725. B. C. 27.] Cæsar calls a meeting of the states at Narbo, and holds an inquiry into the state of the three Gauls, which were conquered by his father. War against the Bastarnians, Moesians, and other nations, under the conduct of Marcus Crassus.

### BOOK CXXXV.

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### BOOK CXXXVIII.

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### BOOK CXL.

[Y. R. 743. B. C. 9.] War, against the German nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, who breaks his leg, by a fall from his horse, and dies, on the thirteenth day after the accident. His brother Nero, on receiving an account of his illness, hastens to him; carries his body to Rome, where it is buried in the tomb of Caius Julius. Augustus Cæsar, his uncle, pronounces his funeral oration, and the highest honours are paid him.





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- Q. Publilius*, plebeian tribune, during the dissensions excited by Manlius, supports the cause of the senate, vi. 19; and commences a prosecution against Manlius, 20.
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*Quinquatrus*, feast of Minerva, lasting five days, xxvi. 27. xlv. 20.  
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*Quæstorium*, part of a camp taken by the Samnites, x. 32.  
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- Thoas*, prætor of the Ætolians, persuades them to engage Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, in alliance against the Romans, xxxv. 12—exaggerates the power of Antiochus, 32—dissuades Antiochus from employing Hannibal, 42—opposes Phœneas's proposal of an accommodation, 45—is required to be given up to the Romans, xxxvii. 38.
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- Thracians* attack the troops of Manlius on their march, xxxviii. 40, 41, 46—consent to give a passage to the Bastarnians, xl. 57—on the death of Philip, quarrel with, and expel them, 58—send ambassadors to Rome, and form an alliance and friendship, xlii. 10—wage frequent wars with the Macedonians, 52—attack the Roman cavalry with extraordinary fury, 59—send an embassy to Rome to ransom prisoners, and obtain them without ransom, xlv. 42.
- Thrasippus*, Macedonian, commander of a chosen band of targeteers, xlii. 51.
- Thraso*, intimate friend of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, falsely accused as a conspirator, and put to death, xlv. 5.
- Thrasimene*, or *Trasimene*, lake, the battle near it, xxii. 6, 7. xxiv. 13.
- Thrasians*, plunderers, put to flight by the Romans, xxxviii. 41.
- Thronium*, a conference held there between Philip and Quintius, xxxii. 36. xxxv. 37, xxxvi. 20.
- Thuria*, or *Thurii*, ix. 19. x. 2—having revolted to Hannibal, returns to its former friendship with Rome, xxv. 1—revolts again to Hannibal, the Roman garrison being treacherously exposed to Hannibal's stratagem, 15.
- Thyatira*, xxxvii. 8, 21.
- Thymbria*, river, xxxviii. 18.
- Thyrium*, xxvi. 11—refusing an alliance with Antiochus, is besieged by him, but the siege is soon raised, 12—a council of the Acarnanians held there, to give audience to Roman commissioners, xlii. 17.
- Thunder* being heard while an assembly is held, vitiates the proceedings, xxxii. 31.



- Tiberina*, island, ii. 5.  
*Tiberinus*, tenth king of Alba, i. 3.  
*Tiber*, or *Tiberinus* river, formerly *Albulæ*, until king Tiberinus was drowned in it, i. 3—frozen so hard, that the navigation is stopped, xv. 13—remarkable floods in it, xxiv. 9. xxx. 38. xxxv. 9—two bridges and many buildings in Rome destroyed, 21—the field of Mars, and low parts of the city, overflowed twelve times in one year, xxxviii. 28.  
*Tibur*, xxii. 12.  
*Tiburtians*, war declared against them by the Romans, vii. 9; who gain a victory over them, 11—they come in the dead of the night to the walls of Rome, and are defeated, 12—compelled to submit to the Romans, 19—they support the Pedians, viii. 12—are conquered by L. Furius, 13—and stripped of part of their lands, 14.  
*Ticinus*, river, v. 34.  
*Tichius*, a summit of Mount Ceta, xxvi. 16, 18.  
*Tifata*, mount, vii. 29. xxiii. 36. xxvi. 5. xxxii. 7.  
*Tifernum*, ix. 44. x. 14, 31.  
*Timanor*, Macedonian general, xlii. 58.  
*Timasocrates*, Rhodian naval commander, xxxvii. 14.  
*Timasitheus*, commander of the Liparean pirates, protects the Roman ambassadors, v. 28.  
*Timavus*, lake, xli. 2.  
*Timocrates*, governor of Gythium, xxxiv. 29, 40.  
*Timon*, a person of consequence in Phthiotic Thebes, xxxiii. 5.  
*Timon* made governor of Lydia by Antiochus, xxxvii. 44.  
*Timotheus*, Macedonian general, xlii. 67.  
*Titienses*, a century of Roman knights, an old tribe, i. 13, 36. x. 6.  
*L. Titinius*, consular tribune, v. 12—again, he is unsuccessful against the Faliscians, 18.  
*M. Titinius*, plebeian tribune, iii. 54.  
*M. Titinius*, master of horse, x. 1.  
*M. Titinius Curvus*, prætor, xl. 59.  
*M. and C. Titinius*, plebeian tribunes, oppose the suit of L. Cornelius, for a triumph, xxxv. 8.  
*P. Titinius*, lieutenant-general, xxxi. 21.  
*Toletum*, xxxv. 7—taken by M. Fulvius, 22.  
*Toistobioan Gauls*, xxxviii. 16, 19.  
*Lars Tolumnius*, king of the Veians, orders the Roman ambassadors to be slain, iv. 17—is killed in battle by Cornelius Cossus, military tribune, 19.  
*Torquatus*. See *Manlius*.  
*Torone* taken by Philip, xxviii. 7. xlii. 12.  
*Torone*, promontory, xxxi. 45.  
*Trallians*, Illyrian, xxvii. 32. xxxi. 35. xxxvii. 39, 40.  
*Tralles*, in Asia, surrendered to the Romans, xxxvii. 45—assigned to Eumenes, xxxviii. 39.  
*Treasury*, ii. 23. iv. 22. xxiv. 18. xxvi. 36.  
*M. Trebellius*, xliii. 21.  
*Q. Trebellius*, centurion, claims the mural crown at New Carthage, xvi. 48.  
*Trebia* taken by Coriolanus, ii. 39.  
*Trebia*, river, where Hannibal defeats the Romans, xxi. 48.  
*Trebius* procures the surrender of Compsa to Hannibal, xxiii. 1.  
*C. Trebonius*, plebeian tribune, v. 11.  
*C. Trebonius*, lieutenant-general, x. 40.  
*L. Trebonius*, plebeian tribune, a bitter adversary to the patricians, thence surnamed *Asper*, iii. 65.  
*M. Trebonius*, consular tribune, vi. 21.  
*Trebonian law*, vi. 11, 12.  
*Trebulæ* stormed by Fabius, xxiii. 39.  
*Trebulans* made free of Rome, x. 1.  
*C. Tremellius Flaccus*, ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11—prætor, xxx. 26.  
*C. Tremellius*, commissioner of lands, xxii. 4.  
*C. Tremellius Flaccus*, plebeian ædile, xxx. 26.  
*Cn. Tremellius*, plebeian tribune, protests against the censors being continued in office, xlv. 15.  
*Triarian*, veteran soldiers, ii. 47. vii. 23. viii. 8.  
*Tribune of the celeres*, i. 59.  
*Tribunes*, military, on the secession of the soldiers, are appointed by the troops, iii. 51.  
*Tribunes*, military, at first appointed by the generals, afterwards in part by the people, vii. 5. ix. 30.  
*Tribunes*, consular, three in number, first elected, iv. 67—four elected, 31—eight are elected, v. 1—all patricians, during forty-four years, vi. 37—the first plebeian, v. 12.  
*Tribunes*, plebeian first created, ii. 33—their persons inviolable, iii. 55—magistrates of the commons, not of the people at large, ii. 35, 56—ordered to be elected in an assembly of the tribes, and three added to their number, 56, 58—the number increased to ten, iii. 30—the office laid aside on the creation of decemvirs, 32—restored, 54—two are brought in by choice of their college, 64, and v. 10—this mode of co-optation forbidden, iii. 65, and v. 11—a plebeian tribune orders his head to seize a consul, ii. 56—the tribunes threaten to imprison the consuls, iv. 26—do the same to the consular tribunes, v. 9—prevent the election of curule magistrates during five years, vi. 35—their power confined within the walls of the city, iii. 20.  
*Tricca*, xxxii. 13—recovered from the Athamanians, xxxvi. 13—disputed by Philip and the Thessalians, xxxix. 25.  
*Tricorian people*, xxi. 30.  
*Trigemina gate*, iv. 16. xxxv. 10, 41. xli. 27.  
*Tripudium Solistimum*, when the chickens eat greedily, x. 40.  
*Triphylia* restored to the Achæans by Philip, xxviii. 8. xxxii. 5.  
*Tripolis*, in Laconia, xxxv. 27.  
*Tripolis*, *Sece*, in Perrhæbia, xlii. 53, 55, 67.  
*Tritonum*, xxviii. 7.  
*Triumph of Tarquinius Priscus*, the first mentioned by Livy, i. 38.  
*Triumph*, iii. 29—the dress of generals in triumph, x. 7—the granting of a triumph belongs properly to the senate, iii. 63—a triumph ordered by the people, without the approbation of the senate, iii. 63. vii. 17—one without an order of either, x. 37.  
*A triumph* not allowed to a commander, who was not invested with any magistracy, xxviii. 38.  
*Triumph of Scipio Africanus*, xxx. 45.  
*Trocmi*, one of the three tribes of Gauls that migrated to Asia, xxxviii. 16.  
*Trogiliti harbour*, xxv. 23.  
*Troilium*, x. 46.  
*Tromentine tribe* added, vi. 5.  
*Trophonian Jupiter*, his temple in Lebadia, xlv. 27.  
*Troy* taken; two other places named Troy, i. 1.  
*Trojan district*, i. 1.  
*Q. Tubero*, historian, iv. 23. x. 9.  
*M. Tuccius*, curule ædile, xxxv. 41—prætor, xxxvi. 45—commissioner of a colony, xxxix. 23.  
*Tullia*, two of the name, daughters of Servius Tullius, king, i. 46—59.  
*Man. Tullius*, consul, ii. 19.  
*Sex. Tullius*, chief centurion a seventh time, addresses the dictator Sulpicius on his protracting the war, vii. 13—shows extraordinary bravery in battle, 16.

*Tullianum*, prison, xxix. 22.  
*Tumult*, Gallic, vii. 9.  
*Tunes*, a strong city, fifteen miles distant from Carthage, taken by Scipio, xxx. 9, 16.  
*Turdetans*, or *Turdulians*, a restless people in Spain, xxi. 6—are entirely subdued by the Romans, sold by auction, and their city rased, xxiv. 42—their lands tributary to Saguntum, xxviii. 39—they are defeated by P. Manlius, xxxiv. 17, 19.  
*Turnus*, king of the Rutulians, i. 2.  
*Tuscans*. See *Etrurians*.  
*Tuscan sea*, v. 33. xxvi. 19.  
*Tuscan street*, in Rome, ii. 14. xxvii. 39.  
*Tusculum*, ii. 15, 16—taken by the Latines, and recovered, vi. 33—shuts its gates against Hannibal, xxvi. 9—in its hills, iii. 7, 8—citadel, 23, and vi. 33.  
*Tusculans* send succours to Rome, iii. 18—war declared against them by the Romans, which they avoid by peaceable demeanour, obtain peace, and privileges of Roman citizens, vi. 25, 26. viii. 14, 37.  
*Tutia*, river, xxvi. 11.  
*Tyche*, part of Syracuse, xxiv. 21. xxv. 25.  
*Tyscos*, xxxviii. 18.  
*Tyndarium*, xxxvi. 2.  
*Tyrrhæum*, or *Thyrium*, xxxvi. 11. xxxviii. 9.  
*Tyros*, xxxiii. 48, 49. xxxiv. 61.

## U &amp; V

*Vaccæans*, people, Spanish, conquered by Hannibal, xxi. 5—defeated by M. Fulvius, xxxv. 7. xl. 47, 50.  
*Vacciprata*, viii. 19. See *Vitruvius*.  
*Vadimon lake*, a furious battle fought there by the Romans and Etrurians, ix. 39.  
*Valerius Antias*, historian, iii. 5—regardless of truth, xxvi. 49—quoted, xxv. 39. xxix. 35. xxx. 19, 29, &c.  
*Valerius Flaccus*, military tribune, xxv. 14. xxxix. 4.  
*C. Valerius*, consular tribune, vi. 36.  
*C. Valerius*, consul, viii. 18.  
*C. Valerius Potitus*, consular tribune, iv. 49—consul, 53—consular tribune a second time, 57—a third time, 61.  
*C. Valerius Flaccus* made flamen of Jupiter against his will, assumes a seat in the senate, xxvii. 8—made curule ædile, he cannot take the requisite oath, xxxi. 50.  
*C. Valerius Tappus*, plebeian tribune, xxxviii. 36.  
*L. Valerius*, quæstor, accuses Spurius Cassius of treason, ii. 41—is made consul, 42—again, 61—wages war with the Æquans, 62.  
*L. Valerius Interrex*, v. 17.  
*L. Valerius*, deputed to carry to Delphi an offering to Apollo, is taken by pirates, and set at liberty, v. 28.  
*L. Valerius*, master of horse, viii. 18.  
*L. Valerius Poplicola*, consular tribune, v. 26—a second time, vi. 1—a third time, 5—a fourth, 21—a fifth, 27.  
*L. Valerius Potitus* commences an opposition to the decemvirs, iii. 39, 41—with M. Horatius drives Appius out of the forum, 49—is deputed by the senate to the commissioners, 50, 53—made consul, he procures laws in favour of the commissioners, 55—his conduct in war, 60, 61—he triumphs by order of the people, without consent of the senate, 63—refuses to be continued in office, 64. See iv. 6.  
*L. Valerius Potitus*, consular tribune, iv. 49—a second time, 53—a third, v. 1—a fourth, 10—a fifth, 14—consul, he defeats the Æquans, and triumphs, 31.  
*L. Valerius Potitus*, interrex, v. 32—again, vi. 5.  
*L. Valerius*, pontiff, xxxiii. 44.

*L. Valerius Flaccus*, curule ædile, xxxi. 4—prætor, 49—consul, xxxiii. 42—defeats the Boians, xxxiv. 21—proconsul, he entirely vanquishes the Boians, and Insubrians, 46.  
*L. Valerius Flaccus*, with L. Valerius Tappus, commissioners of colonies, xxxvii. 46, 57—candidate for the consulship, 58.  
*L. Valerius Flaccus*, chosen censor with Cato in opposition to the nobility, xxxix. 41—pontiff; dies of the plague, xl. 42.  
*L. Valerius Tappus*, prætor, xxxv. 10—commissioner of colonies, xxxvii. 46.  
*M. Valerius*, herald, ratifies a treaty in form, i. 24.  
*Man. Valerius*, brother of Poplicola, consul, triumphs over the Sabines, ii. 16—is slain at Regillus in attempting to kill Tarquinius, 20.  
*Man. Valerius*, not the first dictator, ii. 19.  
*Man. Valerius*, son of Volesus, dictator, ii. 30—triumphs over the Sabines, and not being suffered to fulfil the hopes that he had given to the commissioners, abdicates, 31.  
*Man. Valerius*, quæstor, iii. 25—consul, 31.  
*Man. Valerius*, military tribune, gains the surname of Corvus, from being aided by a crow in a single combat with a Gaul, and is made consul at twenty-three years of age, vii. 26—a second time consul, he triumphs over the Volscians, 27—a third time consul, 28—is beloved by the soldiers, 33—triumphs over the Samnites, 38—dictator, 39—composes a mutiny of the troops, 40, 41—a fourth time consul, he triumphs over the Ausonians, viii. 16—interrex, 17; and ix. 7—dictator, a second time, x. 3—triumphs, 5—consul, a fifth time, 6—a sixth time, 11.  
*M. Valerius Maximus*, consular tribune, v. 14—again, 24.  
*M. Valerius Maximus*, ix. 28—lieutenant-general, 40—prætor, a fourth time, 41.  
*M. Valerius Poplicola*, master of horse, vii. 12—consul, 17—again, 19.  
*M. Valerius Falto*, ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11—curule ædile, xxx. 26—prætor, 40.  
*M. Valerius Lævinus*, prætor, xxiii. 24, 30, 31, 37—prætor, he guards the coast at Brundisium, xxiv. 10—his exploits in Greece during the Macedonian war, 40, and xxvi. 24, 26—he is chosen consul, in his absence, 22—exchanges provinces with Marcellus, 29—persuades the senators to contribute their gold, silver, and money to the treasury, 36—drives the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily, 40—disputes with the senate about the nomination of a dictator, xxvii. 5—proconsul, he passes from Sicily into Africa, xxviii. 4—is sent ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11—proposes restitution of the money contributed by private citizens, 16—remarkable funeral games are exhibited in honour of him by his sons, xxxi. 50.  
*M. Valerius Messala*, admiral, sails to Africa, and ravages the coast, xxvii. 5—is made prætor, xxxiv. 54—consul, xxxvii. 47—a second time, xxxviii. 35—pontiff, xlii. 28.  
*P. Valerius*, son of Volesus, accompanies Collatinus to Lucetia, i. 58—swears after Brutus, 59—is made consul in the place of Collatinus, ii. 2—overcomes the Tarquini in battle, 6—is accused of aiming at sovereignty, clears himself, compliments the people, and is surnamed Publicola; is also made consul, 8—a third time, 15—a fourth, he defeats the Sabines, triumphs, and dies so poor, as not to leave sufficient money for his funeral, 16.  
*P. Valerius*, consul, ii. 52.



- P. Valerius Potitus*, consular tribune, vi. 6—a second time, 18—a third, 27—a fourth, 32—a fifth, 36—a sixth, 42.
- P. Valerius Publicola*, interrex, iii. 8—consul, 15—attempts to recover the capitol from Herdonius, and is slain, 18.
- P. Valerius Publicola*, consul, vii. 21—prætor, 23—dictator, 28—master of horse, viii. 17.
- P. Valerius Flaccus*, ambassador to Hannibal, xxi. 6—lieutenant-general under Marcellus, xxiii. 16—commander of the fleet, 34, 38. See xxvi. 8.
- T. Valerius*, lieutenant-general, xxiv. 40.
- Vatican lands*, x. 26.
- Vesitius*, mount, iii. 50.
- Vettones* defeated by M. Fulvius, xxxv. 7—a second time, 22.
- Veians* make incursions on the Roman territories, and are routed by Romulus, i. 15—again, by Tullus, 27. See 30, 42—they assist Tarquinius, ii. 6—waste the lands of the Romans, 43—challenge the Romans to battle, 45—are defeated, 46, 47—after cutting off the Fabii, 50—are vanquished by the Romans, 51—are defeated again, 53—they kill the ambassadors sent from Rome, and renew the war with bad success, iv. 17, 18, 19—force the Romans to retire, 31; but are afterwards routed, 33—obtain a truce of twenty years, 35—their senate gives a haughty answer to Roman ambassadors, 58; on which the Romans declare war, 60—the Veians elect a king, which disgusts the Etrurians, v. 1.
- Veii* is besieged by the Romans, iv. 61—a winter encampment before it, v. 2—transactions of the siege, 7—21; when it is taken by Camillus after a siege of ten years, 22—a design formed at Rome of removing to Veii causes great commotions, 24, 25, 29; is laid aside, 30—the relics of the fight at the Allia fly to Veii, 38—Camillus marches thence to recover Rome, 46, 48—the proposal of removing to Veii is renewed, 49, 50; rejected, 55—such as had gone thither are recalled, vi. 4—a tenth part of the spoils of Veii vowed to Apollo by Camillus, v. 21. See 23, 25, 28.
- Veian lands* are divided among the commons of Rome, v. 30.
- Velabrum*, a street in Rome, xxvii. 37.
- Velia*, a city in Lucania, xxvi. 39.
- Velia*, a district in Rome, ii. 7.
- Velitres*, ii. 30—a colony, 31—augmented, 34.
- Velitres* revolt, vi. 13, 21—are subdued, 22, 29—attack Tusculum, and are invested by the Romans, 36—42—plunder the Roman territory, vii. 15—revolt again, viii. 3, 12—are treated with severity on account of their many revolts, and banished beyond the Tiber, 14.
- Veneti*, in Italy, descended from the Heneti and Trojans, i. 1—live round the bottom of the Adriatic gulf, v. 33. x. 2.
- Venus*, i. 1—her temple, near the circus, built out of fines levied for breach of chastity, x. 31.
- Venus Cloacina*, iii. 48.
- Erycina*, xxii. 9. xxiii. 30, 31, xxx. 38.
- Venustians* give an hospitable reception to the fugitives from Cannæ, xxii. 54—maintain their loyalty to the Romans during a general defection, xxvii. 10.
- Veragrians*, an Alpine tribe, xxi. 38.
- Vergæ*, xxx. 19.
- Vercellius* beheaded for promoting a revolt of the Hirpinians, xxiii. 37.
- Vergium*, a fort in Spain, a receptacle of robbers, is taken by Cato; the robbers are put to death, and the guilty part of the inhabitants sold, xxxiv. 21.
- Vergilia*, constellation, xxi. 35.
- Vermia*, son of Syphax, forces Masinissa to fly, xxix. 33—brings succours to the Carthaginians, xxx. 36—sends ambassadors to Rome, xxxi. 11—submits the conditions of peace to the Romans, 19.
- Verona*, v. 35.
- Verrugo*, iv. 1, 55, 56. v. 28.
- Verses*, *Fescennine*, vii. 2.
- Verulans*, ix. 42—prefer their own laws to the rights of Roman citizens, 43—Vertumnus, his statue, xlv. 16.
- Vesclia*, xxxv. 22.
- Vescia*, viii. 11—comes into the hands of the Romans, ix. 25.
- Vescian people*, x. 20.
- lands*, xxi. 31.
- Veseria*, river, viii. 8. x. 28.
- Vesta*, a couch for her at a feast of the gods, xxii. 10—the fatal pledge of the Roman empire is kept in her temple, which is saved by some slaves from being burnt, xxvi. 27—her fire is extinguished, xxviii. 11.
- Vestal*, Rhea Sylvia, mother of Romulus, is made one, i. 3, 4.
- Vestal virgins*, chosen by Numa, have a stipend appointed, and many privileges are conferred on them, i. 20.
- Vestal virgins*, with the sacred stores, are carried to Cære by L. Albinus, v. 40.
- A Vestal* accused is dismissed, with a charge to be more serious in conversation, and more grave in her dress, iv. 44.
- A Vestal*, convicted of a breach of chastity, is buried alive, viii. 15.
- A Vestal*, who had the charge of the sacred fire, when it was extinguished, is scourged to death, xxviii. 11—of two vestals found guilty of incontinence, one is buried alive at the Colline gate, the other kills herself, xxii. 57.
- Vestia Oppia*, a woman of Atellæ, who had offered daily sacrifices for the prosperity of the Romans, is restored to her liberty and property, xxvi. 33, 34.
- Vestians* join the Samnites, are routed and dispersed, viii. 29—an alliance is granted on their petition, x. 3.
- Vesuvius*, mount, viii. 8.
- Vetians*, a warlike people, adjoining Macedonia, xlv. 30.
- Veturia*, mother of Coriolanus, prevails on him to retire from Rome, ii. 40.
- Veturian century*, xxvi. 22.
- C. Veturius*, consul, is charged with misconduct, iii. 31—is made an augur, 32.
- C. Veturius*, consular tribune, vi. 32—again, 36.
- L. Veturius*, decemvir, iii. 33.
- L. Veturius*, consular tribune, vi. 38.
- L. Veturius Philo*, dictator to hold elections, xxii. 33—censor, xxvii. 6.
- L. Veturius Philo*, curule ædile, xxvii. 6—prætor, 7—prætor in Gaul, 22—lieutenant-general, xxviii. 9—consul, 10—master of horse, xxix. 11—is sent home from Africa, and recounts the exploits of Scipio, xxx. 38, 40.
- M. Veturius*, consular tribune, v. 13.
- T. Veturius Philo*, flamen of Mars, xxix. 38.
- T. Veturius Calvinus*, consul, viii. 16—again, ix. 1—is sent under the yoke of Caudium, 6—offered as prisoner to the Sabines, 10.
- T. Veturius Geminus*, consul, routes and disperses the Volscians, iii. 8—is honoured with an ovation, 10.
- C. Vetusius*, consul, ii. 19.
- T. Vetusius*, consul, ii. 28—marches against the Æquans, 30.
- Ufens*, river, v. 35.
- Ufentine tribe* added, ix. 20.

- Uffugum* revolts from the Carthaginians to the Romans, xxx. 19.
- Vibius Accuæus*, præfect of a Pelignian cohort, throws the standard into the enemy's camp, xxv. 14.
- Vibius Virius*, one of the Campanian ambassadors to the consul Varro, persuades his countrymen to join the Carthaginians, xxiii. 6—exhorts the senators to put an end to their lives, xxvi. 13—he and twenty-seven senators swallow poison, 14.
- Vibius*, a Bruttian of distinction, comes ambassador to Rome with offers of submission, xxvii. 15.
- Vibo*, xxxi. 3—a colony settled there, xxxv. 40—its lands, xxi. 51.
- Vicapota*, or *Victory*, her temple, ii. 7.
- Vicilinus*, *Jupiter*, xxiv. 44.
- Victims*, of the larger kinds, xxx. 21.
- Victory*, her temple, built with money accruing from fines, x. 53—her temple on the Palatine, xxix. 14—a chapel of Virgin *Victory*, xxxv. 9—a golden image of *Victory*, weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, sent by Hiero to the Roman senate, xxii. 37—mount of *Victory*, xxiv. 41.
- Q. Victorius*, chief centurion, throws a standard among the enemy, xxxiv. 46.
- Victumvæ*, sea-port, xxi. 45—is taken with great slaughter of the inhabitants, 57.
- Villa publica*, house for lodging ambassadors and strangers of note, built, iv. 22—repaired, xxxiv. 44.
- L. Villus Tappulus*, plebeian ædile, xxv. 2.
- L. Villus Tappulus*, prætor, xxxi. 49.
- P. Villus*, plebeian tribune, iii. 54.
- P. Villus Tappulus* is raised from the office of plebeian ædile to that of prætor, xxix. 39.
- P. Villius*, a commissioner to adjust a dispute between Antiochus and Ptolemy, xxxiii. 39.
- P. Villius Tappulus*, commissioner of lands for Scipio's soldiers, xxxi. 4—consul, 49.
- Viminal hill* added to Rome, i. 44.
- Vindicius*, a slave discovers a conspiracy formed for restoring the Tarquinii, ii. 4—is rewarded with liberty, and a sum of money, 5.
- Virbian hill*, i. 48.
- Virginia*, daughter of Aulus, a patrician, married to Volumnius, a plebeian consul, being excluded from the temple of Patrician Chastity, dedicates a chapel and altar to Plebeian Chastity, x. 23.
- Virginia*, daughter of Lucius, her unfortunate beauty, lamentable death, and the punishment of her persecutors, iii. 44, 48, 58.
- A. Virginius*, consul, ii. 28—routes the Volscians, 30.
- A. Virginius*, son of Appius, consul, ii. 63.
- A. Virginius Rutilus*, consul, ii. 51.
- A. Virginius*, commissioner of lands, iii. 1.
- A. Virginius*, plebeian tribune, commences a capital prosecution against Cæso Quintius, which causes violent contentions, iii. 11, 13.
- A. Virginius* is brought to trial and fined, for having, in his tribuneship, favoured the senate, v. 29.
- L. Virginius*, father of Virginia, chief centurion, iii. 44—his contest with Appius about his daughter, 47—he kills her, 48—commotions in consequence, 49, 50—he advises the soldiers to elect ten military tribunes, and refuses to be one, 51—is made plebeian tribune, 54—prosecutes Appius, 56; and orders him to be imprisoned, 57—remits the capital punishment of Claudius, who had claimed Virginia, 58.
- L. Virginius*, consul, iv. 21—again, 23.
- L. Virginius*, consular tribune, out of enmity neglects assisting his colleague Servius, v. 8—both are compelled to resign the office, 9—he is brought to trial by a plebeian tribune, and fined, 11, 12.
- L. Virginius*, consular tribune, vi. 1.
- Opiter Virginius*, consul, with his colleague, takes Pometia, and triumphs, ii. 17.
- Opiter Virginius*, consul, ii. 54.
- Proculus Virginius*, consul, maintains a contest with his colleague, about the Agrarian law, ii. 41.
- Sp. Virginius*, consul, iii. 31.
- T. Virginius*, consul, ii. 21, 48.
- T. Virginius Rutilus*, augur, iii. 7.
- T. Virginius Cælimontanus*, consul, iii. 65.
- Virtue*, her temple vowed by Marcellus, xxvii. 25—dedicated by his son, xxx. 11.
- Visceratio*, distribution of flesh, viii. 22.
- Vitellia* taken by Coriolanus, ii. 39—a Roman colony taken by the Æquans, v. 29.
- Vitellii*, brothers, conspirators in favour of the Tarquinii, ii. 4.
- Vitruvius Vaccus*, of Fundæ, general of the Privernians, viii. 19—is scourged, and put to death by the Romans, his house razed, and his property confiscated to Semo Sanchus, 20—the site of his house on the Palatine is called Vacciprata.
- Ulysses* said to be progenitor of Octavius Mamilius, i. 49.
- Umbria*, x. 1—part of it called the Materine tract, ix. 41—another part the Sappinian tribe, xxi. 2. xxii. 9, xxvii. 43.
- Umbrians* are driven out of their country by the Boians, v. 35—they, and the Etrurians, are defeated by the Romans at the Ciminian forest, ix. 37—utterly overthrown, 39—they boast that they will attack Rome, are vanquished, and compelled to give up the advisers of their revolt, 41—they join the Etrurians, Samnites, and Gauls, against the Romans, x. 21, 27.
- Vocontians*, xxi. 31.
- Vole*, or *Bole*, belonging to the Æquans, iv. 49, 51, vi. 2.
- Volatene*, x. 12—the inhabitants promise Scipio rigging for his ships, and corn, xxviii. 45.
- Volcans* oppose Hannibal's passing of the Rhone, xxi. 26.
- Volero*—See *Pubilius*—the tribunes called Voleros by Appius Claudius, ii. 58.
- Volones*, slaves enlisted in the armies, xxii. 57. xxiii. 32. xxiv. 11—Gracchus promises them liberty, on condition of their bringing the heads of the enemies, xxiv. 14—they are set free, 15—Gracchus orders their public feast, at Beneventum, to be represented in painting: hangs up the picture in the temple of Liberty, 16. xxv. 20. xxvii. 38. xxviii. 46.
- Volscians* are attacked by Tarquinius Superbus, i. 53—corn is purchased from them, ii. 9—they prepare to assist the Latines, but give hostages, yet secretly prepare for war, 22; and march to attack Rome, 24—are defeated, 25—renew the war, and are conquered, 30—deprived of part of their lands, 31—again defeated, 33—are ordered to quit Rome, 37—at the instigation of Attius Tullus they take arms against the Romans, xxxviii. 39—are led to Rome by Coriolanus, 40—are conquered, and treated with the harshest severity, 53—a truce of forty years is granted to them, 51—they renew hostilities, 58—defeat the Romans, 59—attack their camp and are severely beaten, 64, 65—they invade the Roman territory, are utterly routed, and the nation is almost extirpated, iii. 7, 8—they renew the war in conjunction with the Æquans, 10—are vanquished, 12, 60—they lay siege to Ardea, and are sur-



rounded by the Romans, iv. 9—beaten, and sent under the yoke, 10—they again join the Æquans against the Romans, 26—attack the consul's camp, 27—their own camp is taken, and all the prisoners, except senators, are sold as slaves, 29—again they renew hostilities, 37, 55, 56—suffer a defeat, 57—take Venugo, 58—are again worsted in battle, 61—they besiege Anxur, v. 16—obtain peace, 23—break the peace, and are reduced to submission by Camillus, vi. 2—meet the same fate in two subsequent efforts, 6, 8, 11, 13—join the Prænestines, and take Satricum, 22—suffer several discomfitures, 23, 32, vii. 17. viii. 1—they desert Hannibal, and submit to the Romans, xxvii. 15.

*Volscians* and *Æquans*, so often conquered, still found recruits for their armies; this is accounted for, vi. 12.

*Volscians*, people in Spain, their much-approved answer to the Roman ambassadors, xxi. 19.

*M. Volscius Fictor* appears as a witness against Cæso Quintus, iii. 13—is prosecuted for false evidence by the questors, 24—condemned and banished, 29.

*Volturnians* make inroads on the Roman territory, v. 31—are defeated, and obtain a truce of twenty years, 32—they use nails, fixed in the temple of the goddess Nortia, as a registry of the years, vii. 3—they suffer several defeats, ix. 41. x. 37.

*Voltumna*, goddess, her temple, iv. 23, v. 17—a general assembly of Etruria is summoned thither, iv. 23, 25. v. 17—a conspiracy against the Romans is formed there, vi. 2.

*Volumnia*, wife of Coriolanus, ii. 40.

*L. Volumnius*, consul, gets the better of the Sallentines, ix. 42—a second time consul, x. 15—he leaves his own province to succour Appius Claudius, and, after some altercation, they gain a glorious victory, 18, 19—he surprises the Samnites who had plundered Campania, 20, 21—shows remarkable moderation and prudence at the elections, 21—is continued in command, 22; and acts with success in Samnium, 30, 31.

*P. Volumnius*, consul, iii. 10—ambassador to the Æquans, he is insulted by their leader, Gracchus Clælius, 25.

*Voluntary contribution* to the treasury by the senators, xxvi. 36.

*Volunteer soldiers*, v. 16. xxvii. 46. xxviii. 45. xxix. 1, &c.

*Volustana*, summit of the Cambranian mountains, xlv. 2.

*Urbicua* taken by Fulvius with great difficulty, xl. 16.

*Urites*, people, furnish ships to the Romans for the Macedonian war, xlii. 48.

*Uscana*, in Illyria, where Appius Claudius is ensnared by the garrison, and suffers severely, xliii. 10—it is taken by Perseus after an obstinate defence, 18—Perseus, in violation of the capitulation, sells the natives, and confines the Romans, 19.

*Uruers* fined, vii. 28. x. 23—their practices, viii. 28.

*Utens*, river. See *Ufens*.

*Utica*, its lands ravaged by Otacilius, xxv. 31—again wasted, xxvii. 5—again by Valerius Lævinus, xxviii. 4—Scipio encamps near it, xxix. 28—lays siege to it, and retires, 35—besieges it again, xxx. 3, 5, 8—his fleet is attacked by the Carthaginians, 9, 10.

*Vulcan*, the arms and spoils of the enemy dedicated to him, and burned, i. 37. viii. 10—his temple in the field of Mars, xxiv. 10—arms of the Carthaginians offered to him by Scipio, xxx. 6—court of his temple, ix. 46. xxxix. 46. xl. 19.

*Vulcan's islands*, xxi. 49, 51.

*Vulturnus*, river, viii. 11. x. 20, 31. xlii. 14. xliii. 14, 19—sort at its mouth, afterwards a city, xxv. 20, 22.

*Vulturnus*, a city of the Etrurians, seized by the Samnites, and called Capua, iv. 57.

*Vulturnus wind* blows dust into the eyes of the Romans at Cannæ, xxii. 46.

## W

*Walls* built round Rome, i. 6, 33, 36, 44. vi. 32.

*War*, the mode of declaring it, i. 32.

*Water* brought into the city, ix. 29.

*Waters of Cumæ*, medicinal, xii. 16—those of Sinuessa much celebrated, xxii. 13.

*Watches*, the night divided into four; the first, v. 44—second, vii. 35—third, ix. 44—fourth, ix. 37.

*Watches* mounted by senators, iii. 6.

*Watches* posted in all the streets of Rome, x. 4.

*Wicked street*, i. 48.

——— *field*, viii. 15.

*Widows*, their taxes assigned to the maintenance of horses for the knights, i. 43—their money lent to the public, xxiv. 18.

*Wine* for sacrifices supplied by the public, x. 23.

*Wine* allured the Gauls into Italy, v. 33.

*Winter campaign* at Veii, v. 23.

*Winter*, uncommonly severe, v. 13.

*Wood*, the Arsan, ii. 7.

——— *Ciminian*, ix. 36.

——— *Mæsan*, i. 33.

——— *Malitios*, i. 30.

——— *Litana*, xxiii. 24.

*Writers* quoted by Livy:—Acilius's Annals, xxv. 39—Cincius, vii. 3—Claudius Quadrigarius, viii. 19—Clodius Licinius, xxix. 22—Licinius Macer, iv. 7—Piso, i. 55—Silenus, xxvi. 49—Tubero, iv. 23—Valerius Antias, iii. 5—linen books, iv. 7—books of the magistrates, iv. 20—commentaries of the pontiffs, vi. 1. See iv. 3.

*Wolf*, said to have suckled Romulus and Remus, i. 4—images of the wolf and infants, x. 23.

*Wolf* sacred to Mars, x. 27.

## X

*Xanthippus*, Lacedæmonian general, xxviii. 43.

*Xenarchus*, prætor of the Achæans, wishes to ingratiate himself with Perseus, xli. 23.

*Xenocides*, governor of Chalcis, disappoints an attempt of Thos and the Ætolians, xxxv. 38—reinforces the garrison of Chalcis, 50.

*Xenophanes*, head of an embassy from Philip to Hannibal, is taken by a party of Romans, and escapes through an artful fiction, xxiii. 3—is taken again, and conveyed to Rome, xxxiv. 38.

*Xenophon*, Achæan chief, accompanies Quintius at a conference with Philip, xxxii. 33.

*Xyntæ*, xxxii. 13. xxxiii. 3.

*Xychus*, accomplice of Perseus in compassing the ruin of Demetrius, forges letters under the signature of Flaminus, xl. 55.

## Y

*Year* is divided by Numa into twelve lunar months, i. 19.

*Years* reckoned among the Volscians by nails fixed in the wall of a temple, vii. 3.

*Yoke*, military, iii. 28—a Roman army sent under it, ix. 5—a Samnite army, 15. See x. 36.

*Youth*, a goddess, v. 54—a feast of the gods in honour of her, xxi. 62.

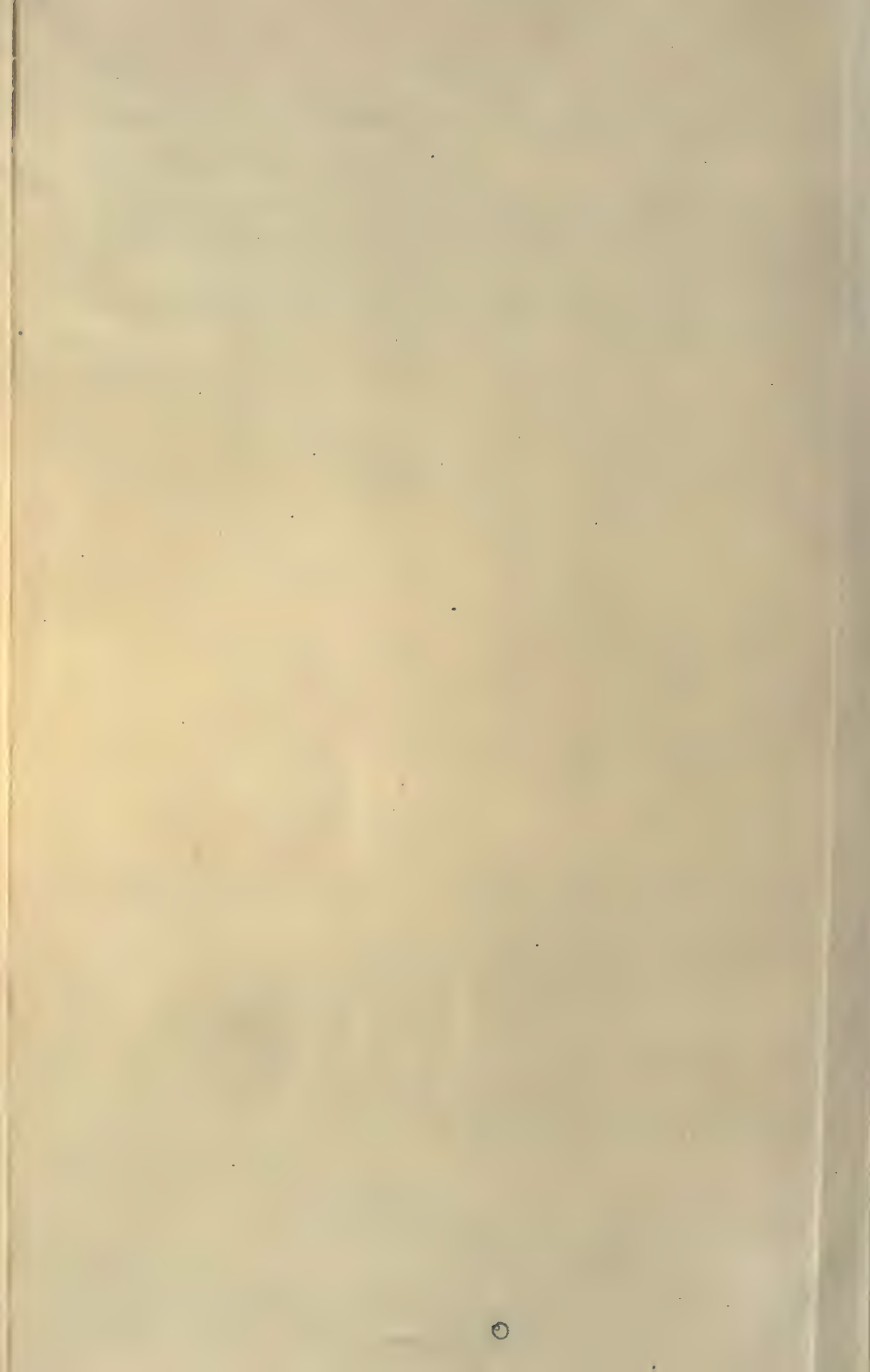
## Z

*Zacynthus*, island, xxi. 7—is taken by Lævinus, xxvi. 24  
—is given up to the Romans, xxxvi. 32.  
*Zama*, five days' journey from Carthage; here Scipio  
defeated Hannibal, xxx. 29.  
*Zama*, or *Same*, island, xxxii. 16.  
*Zelasium*, promontory, xxxi. 46.  
*Zeno* supplicates T. Quintius in favour of his country-  
men the Magnesians, xxxv. 31.

*Zeno* is made governor of Aparnea by Antiochus,  
xxxvii. 44.  
*Zeno*, Macedonian, governor of Theium, xxxviii. 1.  
*Zeuxides*, prætor of Acarnania, is deposed for favouring  
the Romans, xxxiii. 16.  
*Zeuxis*, ambassador from Antiochus to Scipio, xxxvii. 45.  
*Zoippus*, son-in-law of Hiero, guardian of Hieronymus,  
xxiv. 4, 5—being sent ambassador to Egypt, he remains  
in voluntary exile, and his wife and daughters are  
murdered by the Syracusans, 26.  
*Zybaa* holds part of Bithynia in opposition to Nico-  
medes, and is conquered by the aid of the Gauls,  
xxxviii. 16.

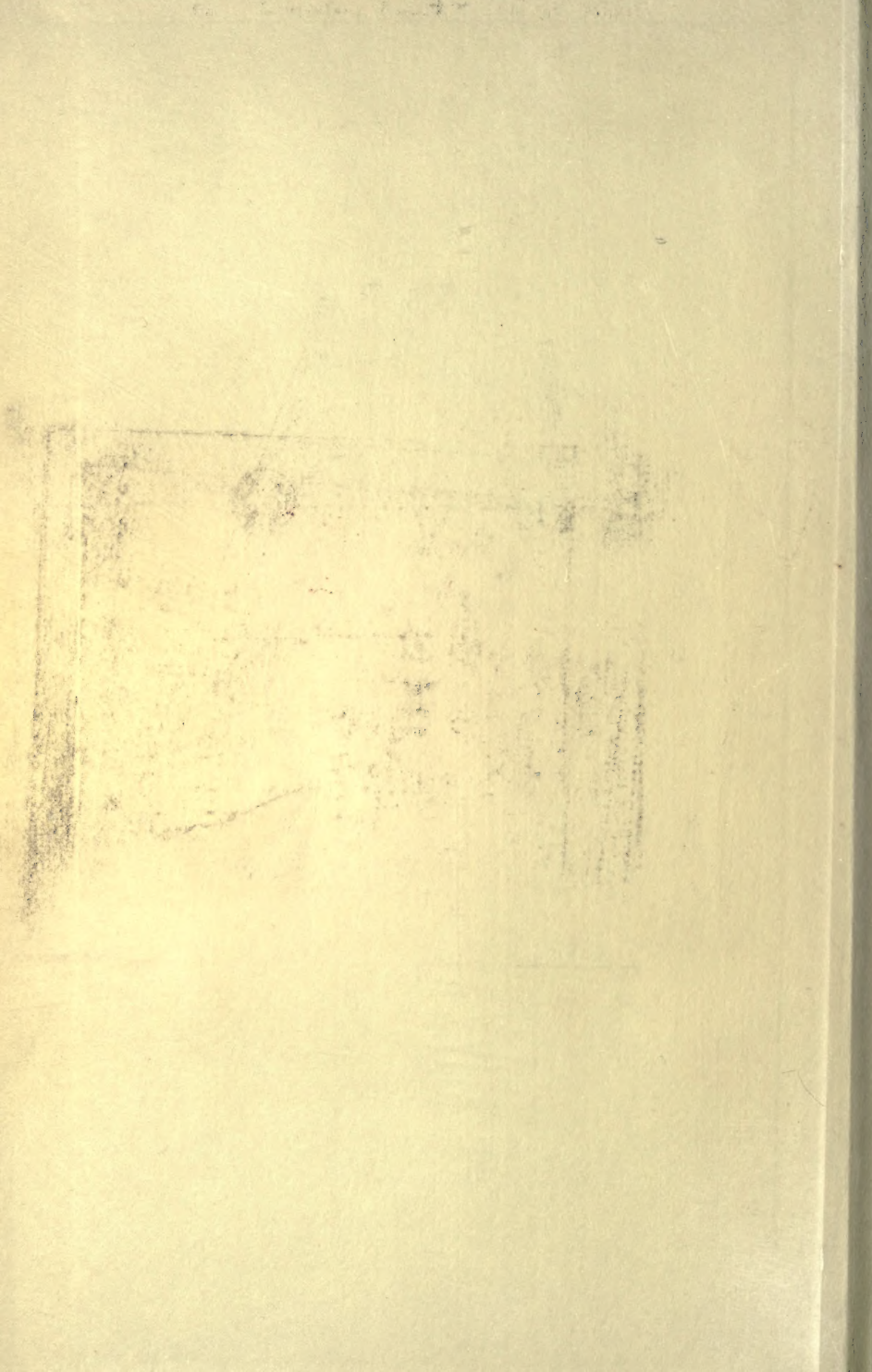
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